

SOPHIA-KARIN PSARRAS

Han Material Culture

An Archaeological Analysis and Vessel Typology



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Han Material Culture is an analysis of Han dynasty (206 BC–AD 220) Chinese archaeology based on a comparison of the forms of vessels found in positively dated tombs. The resultant chronological framework allows for the cross-dating of tombs across China, of which approximately one thousand are documented here. In the context of this body of data, the development of not only vessel types but also tomb structure and décor are reevaluated together with the pervasive intercultural exchange visible in all areas of this material. The Han dynasty emerges as a creative, surprisingly open society, heir to the Bronze Age and herald of what might be called the Age of Ceramics.

SOPHIA-KARIN PSARRAS is an independent scholar specializing in the political history and the archaeology of Han dynasty China and of contemporaneous non-Chinese cultures. Her work has appeared in such journals as *Monumenta Serica*, *Early China*, *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne*, and *Artibus Asiae*. Of particular importance in her research is the exploration of interregional relations within Han China and of China's international relations, not only with its immediate neighbors but also with territories extending through India and Central Asia to the classical West.

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Note: Maps are approximate, not to scale, based on Anon., *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo fensheng ditu* (Shanghai: Ditu, 1984) and (for Map 3) Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi ditu*: *yuanshi shehui, Xia, Shang, Xi Zhou, Chunqiu, Zhanguo shiqi* (Shanghai: Ditu, 1982), 20–1.

Map 1. Modern China: Provinces

A Heilongjiang
B Jilin
C Liaoning
D Inner Mongolia
E Beijing Municipality
F Tianjin Municipality
G Hebei
H Shanxi
I Shaanxi
J Gansu
K Ningxia
L Xinjiang
M Tibet
N Qinghai
O Sichuan
P Hubei
Q Henan
R Shandong
S Jiangsu
T Anhui
U Zhejiang
V Jiangxi
W Hunan
X Guizhou
Y Yunnan
Z Guangxi
AA Guangdong
BB Fujian

Map 2. Modern China: Selected Archaeological Sites

1 Holingor ([Helin'ge'er,] Inner Mongolia)
2 Tangshan (Hebei)
3 Dingxian (Hebei)
4 Handan (Hebei)

- 5 Changzhi Municipality (Shanxi)
- 6 Suide (Shaanxi)
- 7 Xianyang Municipality (Shaanxi)
- 8 Xi'an Municipality (Shaanxi)
- 9 Wuwei (Gansu)
- 10 Tongxin (Ningxia)
- 11 Guyuan (Ningxia)
- 12 Datong (Qinghai)
- 13 Maowen (Sichuan)
- 14 Mianyang Municipality (Sichuan)
- 15 Chengdu Municipality (Sichuan)
- 16 Suizhou Municipality (Hubei)
- 17 Jingmen Municipality (Hubei)
- 18 Dangyang (Hubei)
- 19 Jiangling (Hubei)
- 20 Yunmeng (Hubei)
- 21 Zhengzhou Municipality (Henan)
- 22 Miyang (Henan)
- 23 Luoyang Municipality (Henan)
- 24 Nanyang Municipality (Henan)
- 25 Xinyang Municipality (Henan)
- 26 Zibo Municipality (Shandong)
- 27 Yanggu (Shandong)
- 28 Feicheng (Shandong)
- 29 Jiaxiang (Shandong)
- 30 Jining Municipality (Shandong)
- 31 Linyi (Shandong)
- 32 Cangshan (Shandong)
- 33 Xuzhou Municipality (Jiangsu)
- 34 Yangzhou Municipality (Jiangsu)
- 35 Wuhu Municipality (Anhui)
- 36 Shaoxing (Zhejiang)
- 37 Changsha Municipality (Henan)
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It goes without saying that any errors in this work are my own.

Note

With few exceptions, I have used Hans Bielenstein's translations of official titles from *The Bureaucracy of Han Times* (Cambridge University Press, 1980). For the identification of coins, I have followed Guojia wenwuju “Zhongguo guqian pu,” eds., *Zhongguo guqian pu* (*Illustrative Plates of Chinese Ancient Coins*, Beijing: Wenwu, 1989). For material included in my typologies and in the lists of dated sites, full references are provided separately under the heading “References for Dated Sites”; in the typologies and text presented here (but not in the footnotes), only the name of the site, with an abbreviated form of the publication reference, is used. Because of space constraints, only a minimum of Chinese characters is provided. Characters for site names (but not locations) are given in the Alphabetical Listings of Dated Han and of Dated Non-Chinese, Sites.

Abbreviations

BMFEA	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities</i>
KG	<i>Kaogu</i>
KGXB	<i>Kaogu xuebao</i>
KGXJK	<i>Kaoguxue jikan</i>
KGYYW	<i>Kaogu yu wenwu</i>
HHS	Fan Ye, <i>Hou Hanshu</i> . Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982. 12 volumes.
HS	Ban Gu, <i>Hanshu</i> . Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983. 12 volumes.
HXKG	<i>Huaxia kaogou</i>
NMGWWKG	<i>Neimenggu wenwu kaogu</i>
SJ	Sima Qian, <i>Shiji</i> . Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982. 10 volumes.
WW or WW	<i>Wenwu</i> (the journal) or Wenwu (the publishing house)
WWCKZL	<i>Wenwu cankao ziliao</i>
WWZLCK	<i>Wenwu ziliao congkan</i>

Han Emperors

Western Han

206–195 BC Gaozu

194–188 BC Huidi

187–180 BC Empress Dowager Lü

179–157 BC Wendi

156–141 BC Jingdi

140–87 BC Wudi

86–74 BC Zhaodi

73–49 BC Xuandi

48–33 BC Yuandi

32–7 BC Chengdi

6–1 BC Aidi

1 BC–AD 5 Pingdi

Eastern Han

AD 6–8 Child Emperor, Regency of Wang Mang

Xin Dynasty

AD 9–24 Wang Mang

AD 25–57 Guangwu

AD 58–75 Mingdi

AD 76–88 Zhangdi

AD 89–105 Hedi

AD 106 Shangdi

AD 107–125 Andi

AD 126–144 Shundi

AD 145 Chongdi

AD 146 Zhidi

AD 147–167 Huandi

AD 168–188 Lingdi

AD 189 The Young Emperor

AD 189–220 Xiandi

Pre-Han Chronology

Late Shang ca. 13 c.–mid-11 c. BC
Western Zhou ca. 1050/1040–771 BC
Early Western Zhou ca. 1050/1040–950 BC
Middle Western Zhou ca. 950–850 BC
Late Western Zhou ca. 850–771 BC
Eastern Zhou ca. 771–221 BC
Springs and Autumns ca. 771–475 BC
Early Springs and Autumns ca. 771–670 BC
Middle Springs and Autumns ca. 670–570 BC
Late Springs and Autumns ca. 570–475 BC
Warring States ca. 475–221 BC
Early Warring States ca. 475–390 BC
Middle Warring States ca. 390–310 BC
Late Warring States ca. 310–221 BC

Generalized Han Chronology

Western Han ca. 206 BC–AD 6

Early Western Han ca. 206–157 BC

Middle Western Han ca. 156–74 BC

Late Western Han ca. 73 BC–AD 5

de facto Wang Mang AD 6–24

Eastern Han ca. AD 25–220

Early Eastern Han ca. AD 25–105

Middle Eastern Han ca. AD 106–167

Late Eastern Han ca. AD 168–220



Map 1. Modern China: Provinces



Map 2. Modern China: Selected Archaeological Sites



Map 3. Pre-Han China: Springs and Autumns (ca. 771–475 BC)

Chapter 1 Problems of Chronology

Han Material Culture is intended as a guide to the dating of Han dynasty (206 BC–AD 220) Chinese artefacts and tomb structures, an analysis of the material utilized in the course of establishing this guide, and a framework for future research. Both guide and analysis are focused on the three categories of vessel forms – *hu* (壺), *guan* (罐), and *ding* (鼎) – and on the tomb structures, which constitute the basis of the chronology presented here. This chronology depends on positively dated sites, whose dates are then applied to objects from the site (unless another date becomes apparent), and on date-inscribed objects. Dates for objects that are not positively dated are produced by comparison to the positively dated, on the principle that (essentially) identical objects, in the absence of information to the contrary, must be contemporaneous. Questions deriving from the material I have used, but not physically incorporated in it, such as vessel function, object assemblages, interpretation of inscriptions, development of burial rituals, and so forth, as well as artefacts that presently appear either unique or unreliable for narrow dating, are deferred for future investigation. This approach tends to emphasize commonality across geographic China and across social classes. For vessels, this translates into an emphasis on the utilitarian – most often relatively unadorned ceramic ware, although some forms, whose chronological and geographic distribution indicates widespread use and presumably popularity, are carefully decorated. It is nonetheless apparent that, over the course of the Han dynasties, clay became the medium of formal and decorative experimentation, as the preceding Bronze Age was replaced by the beginning of what might be called the Age of Ceramics. Within this context, I am particularly interested in three overriding questions, viewed from the material under investigation: What can we conclude about regional interaction within Han China, about the interaction of the Han with the Chinese past, and about the interaction of Han China with the foreign?

The guide itself is a chronological typology of those Han vessels whose forms appear to be narrowly datable. Vessels not included in this typology may be dated through comparison to it, again on the principle that, within certain constraints, identical pieces may be termed contemporaneous and, in a closed context, the objects found with such pieces may be considered to share the same date. Positively

dated vessels of forms not included here may of course be directly incorporated. The typology is thus infinitely expandable. As with any archaeological research, it also remains subject to modification in the light of future discoveries or differing interpretations. The methodology used to create this typology has been made as simple as possible, in an effort to reduce the number of assumptions needed to proceed. A variety of assumptions are nonetheless made, each of which introduces subjective elements that need to be understood, even if they are provisionally accepted.

Methodological Problems

Archaeological excavations have yielded a number of self-dated objects of various kinds, including administrative records, deeds of land purchase, vessels and similar objects, molds for casting coins, memorials to the dead, and tombs. Theoretically, beginning with these positively dated sites and objects, a chronological typology of Han dynasty material could be developed. To incorporate a broad range of data, further comparisons need to be established to include undated material. Starting with the archaeological theorem that, in the absence of other information, identical objects are considered contemporaneous is both natural and problematic. Stated as such, the theorem is simplistic. It is possible to find essentially identical vessel forms at different times or in different cultures. For example, a Late Shang (ca. thirteenth through eleventh centuries BC) earthenware *fu* (釜, cooking pot) from Gaoshaji (Wangcheng, Hunan) is virtually identical in form with *guan* 105 in my typologies. Similarly, a *guan* pot excavated at Dashi (Songyang, Zhejiang), dated to the Springs and Autumns period (ca. 771–475 BC), could be classified as my *guan* 210.¹ In another case, a Machang (Pingba, Guizhou) tomb dated to the Six Dynasties (ca. AD 221–557) yielded a pot identifiable as Han because it is inscribed with an AD 104 date of production (here, *guan* 246).² Presumably, in the absence of this inscription, the form would have been dated with the tomb to the post-Han era. In some cases, such coincidence may lead to reevaluation of the date assigned to the non-Han-era comparative piece. Chronological classification of isolated objects obviously carries additional risk, particularly when there is continuity of form over an extended period of time. In any case, context becomes essential. At the same time, context is generally determined by the objects themselves, creating a circular argument and self-justification. This problem is acute in the non-Chinese context, where otherwise identifiable data is rare and analysis relies to a large extent on the subjective criteria of the analyst (see [Chapter 2](#)). For sites that are apparently Chinese, such problems of context are

perhaps most visible in the early Western Han, when differentiation with the brief period of dynastic Qin (221–206 BC) is difficult.

A further problem with the theorem that identical objects are assumed to be contemporaneous is that of defining what is identical. Inevitably, this determination will be subjective. When molds or other instruments allowing repeated, identical production have not been used, how much of the natural variation of hand production falls within the definition of “identical”? In practice, as new positively dated information becomes available, the eye learns to distinguish slight differences of form in objects that were previously accepted as falling within the same “identical” type. Are these new distinctions necessarily significant?

Finally, the determination of the “identical” begs the question of how we define contemporaneity. I have adopted the practice of designating chronological categories according to the positive dates from which they are extrapolated. Except in the case of *hu* 25, for which two positively dated examples produce a range of dates (ca. 119–103 BC), this manner of designating date gives the impression of a punctuality that may initially be misleading. Because the date assigned to an object is not necessarily the date assigned to the context in which it is found, we may make some conjectures about the possible duration of production or circulation for some object forms.

Can we assume that all objects change form at the same chronological rate? Clearly not, since we would not anticipate styles of architecture, for instance, to change as quickly as the form of a lamp. A narrow chronology is desirable not only for greater precision, but also to provide cultural context to changes that take place over greater lengths of time. Accordingly, the problem centers on discovering which dated material changes the most rapidly in the most consistent fashion. This is largely a matter of repeated trial and error, attempting classification and discarding material that proves, in the light of positively dated data, to change at a different speed. I have concluded that vessel forms are more reliable for chronological purposes than are weapons, tools, or ornaments. Within the broad category of vessels, however, many types do not change rapidly or consistently enough for my purposes: for instance, bowls, ladles, cups, and platters all exist in a number of variations, but cannot be used for narrow dating. Ultimately, I have relied on three formal classes: *hu* and other recipients for liquid, generally characterized by a relatively narrow body with a pronounced neck; *guan* and other pots used for food presentation or storage, whether liquid or solid, generally with a broad body and no neck; and *ding* and other three-legged pots used for serving or preparing food. Because the use of any vessel class does not

appear to have been strictly defined during the Han, each category includes forms that may not be strictly classified as such. As an example, *guan* 105 is a *fu* (cooking pot), but because of its overall form, I have included it with *guan*. These three broad categories, therefore, constitute the basis of my chronological guide and of the accompanying analysis.

The positive dates assigned to vessel forms in the present typologies depend on dated inscriptions on the vessels themselves and on the dated tombs in which vessels without such inscriptions are found. If the date of death or burial is known, that date can be applied for practical purposes to the objects within the tomb (as always, in the absence of information to the contrary). Since we have no reason to assume that only relatively new objects were buried with the dead, dating from entombment may well lead to objects being dated too late. This is particularly obvious in wealthy tombs, when burial goods may represent the accumulated wealth of years, as is demonstrable, for instance, at Mancheng (Hebei), where several objects are date inscribed, and the tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]), as well as more modest tombs containing pre-Han objects (see [Table 4.7](#)). Conversely, dating burial on the basis of the objects within the grave may naturally lead to tombs being dated too early. Nonetheless, the tomb at first appears the perfect context in establishing an object chronology because it is presumably a closed context. At the same time, double or multiple burials are common in the Han, yet for the most part, we have no basis for assuming the sacrifice or second inhumation of one or more of the dead.³ Obviously, then, the tomb was reopened for the deposit of additional bodies.⁴ A memorial inscribed on a *guan* from Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan), M1037:11, positively dated to 170 AD, attests to the creation of a new tomb for the deceased.⁵ It is unclear whether this implies reburial or simply stresses the idea that burial is taking place in a tomb created specially for the deceased. Unless the deceased was long-lived, identification of the donor-memorialist as the great-grandson of the deceased suggests reburial. There may perhaps have been other occasions for legitimately reentering a tomb. At the highest levels of Han society, if the emperor did indeed begin construction of his tomb shortly after accession to the throne, we may imagine that he also spent a number of years collecting the objects to be interred with him.⁶ If so, it follows that the context of the tomb spans time, rather than representing a punctual moment. In all of these cases, it thus becomes clear that the tomb does not, in fact, necessarily offer a closed chronological context. In the case of multiple burials, can we tell which burial we are dating? If vessels within the tomb seem to date to more than one period within

the Han, we may suppose that the different chronological groups correspond to the interment of different individuals. On the other hand, the burial of heirlooms, both Han and pre-Han, is not uncommon and does not seem to be reserved for the highest social classes.

Positive Dates

Positive dates themselves can be uncertain, primarily in two cases. The first of these occurs when a date is provided by the object or tomb, with or without an accompanying name for the owner or the deceased, but this date cannot be interpreted unambiguously. The second occurs when derivation of a date depends on the correct identification of the owner or the deceased. In this case, either this person is unnamed and identity is assumed from the supposed status and geographic location, generally of the tomb, or, alternatively, the individual in question is indeed named, but may or may not also figure in the dynastic histories. This last point is key to establishing a positive date when the tomb yields no date-inscribed material; this in itself presents difficulties on many levels. Because each class in my chronology depends on a positive date (with the exception of those classes whose date is made later by the presence of coinage⁷), the problems surrounding many positive dates potentially affect much of the analysis. For each such date used in the construction of my typologies, I have provided a summary of the nature of the date and any related problems of interpretation in the Chronological Listing of Sites. Without repeating that information here, a number of problems bear additional discussion. These issues are usually widely recognized but need to be borne in mind, particularly since they must be resolved at least provisionally to allow any analysis, even though any resolution must be subjective.

Objects of any kind inscribed with the date of production or construction provide at least a clear *terminus post quem*, assuming that the date itself is clearly understood. In general, dates that include an era name are unequivocal. As is well known, era names were instituted by Wudi (r. 140–87 BC). Preceding emperors used either a continuous numbering of years from the time of their accession (Gaozu, Huidi, and the Empress Dowager Lü) or interrupted this counting to begin a second or third series of consecutive numbers, referred to as “Middle” or “Late” periods (Wendi, accession 179 BC, initial year of Late Period in 163 BC; Jingdi, accession 156 BC, initial year of Middle Period in 149 BC, initial year of Late Period in 143 BC). Initial periods had no special designation. Ambiguity is increased in inscriptions, as the current emperor cannot be named. Obviously, it

becomes difficult to interpret any inscribed date from this period, which does not include a Celestial Stems year, unless the year is 13 through 16. Of pre-Wudi emperors, only Wendi's initial period extended so long. However, although Wudi adopted the practice of era names, he did so retroactively, well into his reign.

The precise year in which the era name was first adopted is itself unclear. Following the *Shiji* annals of Wudi, I note the submission of a memorial to the emperor suggesting that division of reign years into generically numbered series should be replaced by the designation of era names. The memorial recommends retroactive use of *jianyuan* (建元) and *yuanguang* (元光), with *yuanshou* (元狩) to be the current era.⁸ The difficulty with the record of the memorial (whose text is summarized, rather than quoted) is its omission of the *yuanshuo* era, which occurs between *yuanguang* and *yuanshou*. An attempt to reconstruct the date of this memorial by tallying the year of Wudi's reign under which it is recorded is undoubtedly misleading. Although the memorial seems to be noted in Wudi's thirteenth year (i.e., 128 BC, the initial year of the *yuanshuo* [元朔] era), which could imply that the term *yuanshou* should be *yuanshuo*, Sima Qian's indication of dates in the first part of Wudi's reign is vague. In terms of the sequence of events, the capture (*shou* [狩]) of a horned animal, commemorated in the *yuanshou* era name, is documented prior to the record of the era-name memorial.⁹ It therefore appears most likely that the memorial was submitted in what became the initial year of the *yuanshou* era (122 BC, the nineteenth year of Wudi's reign); the *Shiji* thus erroneously omits to mention the *yuanshuo* era. Accordingly, the first nineteen years of Wudi's reign would have been designated contemporaneously only by number. Reference to years 13 through 16 could therefore apply to Wendi or Wudi, while years 17 through 19 naturally could fall only under Wudi.¹⁰

Once the era name is in use, even though it subsequently could be changed retroactively, it provides a reasonably secure identification of the year. Exceptions to this may be found in those era names repeated in the immediately post-Han period. For instance, the *yuanjia* (元嘉) era occurs in both the Eastern Han and the (Liu) Song. The tomb at Cangshan (Shandong), constructed in the initial year of that era, may therefore date either to AD 151 or to AD 424. Had the tomb's inscription included the day in terms of its Celestial Stem number (*wushen* [戊申] for the former, *renzi* [壬子] for the latter), this ambiguity would have been resolved without subjective analysis of the tomb and its contents.

Dates given as numbered years with no other designation may also be counted in terms of a local, rather than national, calendar. Which

calendar was used is generally a matter of speculation, unless the numbered year exceeds the length of the pre-era-named imperial reigns. The Mancheng (Hebei) excavation report persuasively suggests that enfeoffed lords could refer to time in terms of their years in office, as the dynastic histories do when noting events relative to a given king or marquis.¹¹ In the case of the Mancheng tombs, a number of objects from both M1 and M2 are inscribed according to the formula “Privy Treasury of Zhongshan, object type, volume, weight, year of production or of acquisition,” with years extending from 32–39. The inscription on one of a pair of *fanghu* (方壺), M1:4326, serves as a typical example:

Privy Treasury of Zhongshan, one bronze *fang[hu]*; volume four *dou*; weight fifteen *jin*, eight *liang*; first [of series]; year 34; purchased in Luoyang by Gentleman-of-the-Household Liu (*Zhongshan neifu tongfang yi, rong si dou, zhong shiwu jin ba liang, di yi, sasi nian, zhonglang Liu shi Luoyang* [中山內府銅鈐一，容四斗，重十五斤八兩，第一，卅四年，中郎柳市雒陽]).¹²

Because no pre-era name period extends to thirty-odd years, circumstances confirm that the Mancheng dates of this type must be given relative to the local calendar. In addition, since no other local king reigned at least thirty-nine years, we may safely assume that the inscriptions refer to the reign of Liu Sheng, King Jing of Zhongshan (r. 154–113 BC); years 32–39 would thus be the equivalent of 123–116 BC. The language of the inscription itself, specifying that the object in question was made or acquired for the private treasury of the kingdom, suggests that the date given will be in local terms, although this need not be the case. As a working hypothesis, however, it seems reasonable to interpret inscriptions constructed in this manner as following a local calendar.

Shuanggudui (Fuyang, Anhui) M1 and M2 yielded several objects inscribed in this manner, extending from “the initial year” to “year 11.” For instance, one of the lacquered eared cups (*erbei* [耳杯]) from M1 notes: “Year 11, Marquis of Ruyin, cup, volume one and a half *sheng*, made for the treasury by Sixth Artisan Yi (*Shiyi nian Ruyin hou bei rong yi sheng ban ku ji gong Yi zao* [十一年女陰侯杯容一升半庫己工意造]).”¹³ Unfortunately, because three of the four marquis of Ruyin remained in office more than eleven years, association of the inscription with a local calendar does not help identify the date in question. The initial year could be 201, 164, or 133 BC, with year 11 falling in 191, 154, or 123 BC. (The authors of the excavation report interpret these inscriptions in terms of a national calendar.)

The same problem occurs with objects inscribed as belonging to the household of Yangxin, excavated from Mancheng (Hebei) M2 and from the burial goods pit associated with an unnamed tomb near Maoling (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi). The form of these inscriptions suggests that a local calendar relating to the fief of Yangxin was used; as with Shuanggudui, however, no external confirmation is available, and more than one fief-holder fits the information provided by the inscriptions themselves.

Mancheng M2:4035, the often-reproduced gilded bronze lamp in the form of a kneeling woman, carries a number of inscriptions beginning with “Yangxin,” including one noting the year as 7; other inscriptions on the lamp note transfer to the Changxin Palace, no year noted. The excavation report identifies Yangxin as either of two marquises of this name, Liu Jie, enfeoffed by Wendi in the initial year of his reign (179 BC), or Liu Zhongyi, the son and heir of Jie, who succeeded to the marquissate in 165 BC. Accordingly, year 7 would refer either to 173 BC or to 159 BC.¹⁴ Year 7, according to the national calendar during the time of the Yangxin marquissate, would fall either in 173 BC (Wendi's initial period) or 157 BC (year 7 of Wendi's later period). The fief was dissolved in 151 BC, thus excluding year 7 of Jingdi's initial period (150 BC).

The Mancheng excavation report does not consider the potential ownership of the lamp by a later holder of the Yangxin title, Wudi's (older) sister. In virtually every reference to this princess, both the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu* name her by the title of her first husband's fief, Pingyang. Only an introductory comment in the *Hanshu* biography of her second husband, the general Wei Qing, enfeoffed as the Marquis of Changping, and annotations citing Ru Chun (fl. AD 221–265) identify her by the title Yangxin.¹⁵ Although we may assume that the princess may have been given the title sometime during Jingdi's reign or perhaps the initial years of Wudi, there is in fact no indication of when she received this title or, indeed, of when precisely she married the Marquis of Pingyang.¹⁶ It is therefore impossible to extrapolate dates based on her investiture. For the Mancheng M2:4035 lamp, therefore, possible attribution to Princess Yangxin extends the year 7 date on the lamp from 173 BC into the reign of Wudi. Further precision is impossible.

In the case of the burial goods pit near the unnamed tomb at Maoling, attribution of the Yangxin-inscribed articles is similarly difficult. The problem of identification of the Yangxin in question on the basis of the inscriptions alone is the same as that encountered with the Mancheng lamp; inscribed years (as currently published) range from 3 to 6, which does not distinguish one generation of marquis (or

princess) from another, as both the first and second marquis held the post for fourteen years and the princess' tenure cannot be determined. As currently published, the burial goods pit provides little more contextual information. Yuan Anzhi suggests that one phrase in the inscription on a double-boiler K1:006, in particular, adds credence to an attribution of these objects to Princess Yangxin.¹⁷ He reads the phrase *feng zhu* in the line “*wu nian feng zhu mai Handan*” (五年奉主買邯鄲) as an official title referring to the princess (*gongzhu* [公主] abbreviated as *zhu* [主]). Following Yuan's suggestion, this line could be rendered more clearly as “in year 5, purchased at Handan and presented to the princess.” However, this phrase could also be read as a standard record: “in year 5, Feng managed [this] purchase at Handan,” with *zhu* as a verb following the name (*Feng*) of the official in question. Because this phraseology is indeed standard, I see no reason to interpret the inscription as referring to a princess.¹⁸ The location of the pit in itself lends some credence to a Wudi-era attribution, if we assume that burials near Wudi's tomb at Maoling would belong to individuals favored by him. Such an assumption implies that, in choosing this area for his tomb, Wudi selected terrain on which no earlier tombs had been constructed or, at least, on which no earlier tombs remained,¹⁹ as well as on which no tomb could subsequently be built without his authorization. Such exclusive rights to the land surrounding an imperial tomb may well have been established, but are difficult to demonstrate objectively. If we extrapolate from information provided in the deeds of purchase of burial plots for more modest graves,²⁰ we may safely assume that selection of land for Maoling included specifications for the area of the land parcel involved; the size of this parcel is open to question. Beyond this, until all tombs in the area have been excavated and attributed, we can only speculate. Until the objects from the burial goods pit are fully published and the associated tomb excavated, any conclusion regarding the identity of the deceased remains indeterminate.

In many cases, as with Yangxin, when we suspect the use of a local calendar in a given inscription, identifying the owner of the object in question obviously becomes central. Further complicating matters, the owner of objects found in the context of a tomb may or may not be the deceased. While Mancheng M2 provides a firm context for the M2:4035 lamp, which demonstrably passed through at least two other households (Yangxin and the Changxin Palace) before arriving in Zhongshan, other tombs do not offer such clarity. For instance, a fragmented lacquered box (M1:281) from Dabaotai (Beijing Municipality) bears an inscribed date of “*bingchen* (丙辰) day in the fifth month of year 24.”²¹ No pre-era named imperial reign extended

to twenty-four years, thereby implying that the M1:281 date cannot have been recorded according to the national calendar. Because excavators assume that this tomb belongs to a local king with a *terminus post quem*, determined by the presence in the tomb of *wushu* coins that they date to ca. 118 BC, “year 24” is interpreted as referring either to the reign of Liu Dan, King La of Yan (r. 117–80 BC) or Liu Jian, King Qing of Guangling (r. 73–45 BC). Accordingly, “year 24” would correspond either to 94 BC or to 50 BC. The excavators of Dabaotai exclude Liu Dan from consideration, citing the *Shuijing zhu* as locating his tomb at Liangshan. Liangshan is associated with the modern Shijingshan, just west of the southwestern corner of Beijing, while Dabaotai falls within the area of Fengtai, south of the southwestern corner of Beijing.²² Whether or not the text of the *Shuijing* may be taken as evidence, I have provisionally adopted the excavators' attribution of Dabaotai M1 to Liu Jian because the coins from this tomb appear to me to date not only to ca. 118 BC but also as late as ca. 73 BC.²³ Nonetheless, there is nothing in the M1:281 inscription itself to indicate that this box belonged to a local king. Indeed, the dedication of the box to a “deserving official”²⁴ suggests a gift to a (non-royal) civil servant. Further, the contextual evidence provided by the tomb itself and cited by the excavation report in support of a royal attribution (burial structure, use of a jade burial suit) is, to my mind, open to other interpretations.²⁵

At the same time, if we admit the possibility that tombs that provide no identification or date of death for the deceased, like Dabaotai, may not have belonged to the nobility or at least to officials, we lose the text-based positive date that depends on identification of the deceased with the men whose lives are recorded, to some extent, in the Han dynastic histories. The tendency among Chinese archaeologists to associate archaeological data with textual history,²⁶ and particularly to equate luxury with nobility rather than simply with wealth, independent of any government association, becomes necessary in order to achieve a positive date for the tomb. Surviving Han texts focus almost exclusively on men in government, particularly a small number of men of note, usually meaning of influence. Wealth certainly is textually documented, especially for the early regional kings, the later Eastern Han eunuchs and imperial favorites, or maternal relatives. However, even limiting ourselves to textual documentation, the *Shiji* and *Hanshu* also include a chapter of biographies of wealthy men who were not part of these government circles²⁷ (although some were subsequently recognized by the government, as in the case of Wang Sun[da]qing, named Chief Director of Markets in the Capital by Wang Mang²⁸). Importantly, a number of the nongovernmental wealthy lived in the capital region,

including in the vicinity of imperial tombs: the Du family at Anling (tomb of Huidi) and, later in the Western Han, Fan Jia at Duling (tomb of Xuandi), Zhi Gang at Maoling (tomb of Wudi), and the Ru and Ju families at Pingling (tomb of Zhaodi).²⁹ With wealth reputedly in the range of 50 million coins for Fan Jia³⁰ as an example, we may expect that these men built proportionately wealthy tombs; if their tombs were constructed in the area where these men lived, then these wealthy tombs would have been in the vicinity of imperial tombs. For this reason, we cannot take for granted either that wealth was displayed only by government-recognized individuals or that wealthy burials in the neighborhood of imperial burials belonged only to imperial relatives or favorites. The same situation undoubtedly existed in the provinces, in areas where the population and resources could produce and support such wealth.

A number of passages from Han texts relating to burial rituals are often cited as evidence of sumptuary law which, if enforced, would have restricted conspicuous consumption and regulated it according to officially sanctioned status. Accordingly, those who gained wealth through commercial activity of various kinds but who did not hold office (including a kingship or marquise) would be excluded from display. If this interpretation of the texts were valid, then at least certain prescribed marks of status found in tombs would preclude ownership by those outside the governmental hierarchy (or by lower orders within that hierarchy). Nonetheless, we have no reason *a priori* to assume that narrow interpretation or extensive enforcement of prescription was followed. The texts in question touch on four areas, all of which are attested in the archaeological data: the *huangchang ticou* (黃腸題湊) tomb, lacquered coffins, jade burial suits, and official seals.

The third part of the *Hou Hanshu* treatise on ritual refers to using stone to create a *huangchang ticou* “chamber of ease” (*bianfang* [便房], i.e., tomb), but does not stipulate those entitled to such a construction.³¹ The precise meaning of the term *huangchang ticou* has been unclear at least since Su Lin glossed *huangchang* as referring to the heart of the wood and *ti* as *tou* (“head”) and *cou* as “to face inward.”³² However, in the light of recent excavations, Chinese archaeologists have come to interpret the terms as a reinforcing wall (*ticou*) made of beams cut from the inner core of the tree (*huangchang*). The term is usually applied to a specific structure, typified by Dabaotai (Beijing Municipality) M1: a central burial chamber, surrounded by layers of corridors which may be divided into chambers, but which all fall within a square floor plan. At least the inner chambers are surrounded by a reinforcing wall through which

the entrance ramp passes.³³ When this structure is made of wood, the reinforcing wall is built of lengths of wood stacked transversely around the tomb, which is essentially a box structure. The *huangchang ticou* also occurs in stone, as at Beizhuang (Dingxian, Hebei) M1, where a stone protective wall surrounds a brick and stone architectonic tomb.³⁴ Within my corpus of dated tombs, the *huangchang ticou* occurs only six times, including Dabaotai M1.³⁵ The Dabaotai excavation report, as well as that of Xiangbizui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan), maintain that the structure was the prerogative of royalty.³⁶ Four of my dated *huangchang ticou* tombs include jade burial suits, opening the possibility of correlation between structure and rank.³⁷ However, one *huangchang ticou* tomb without a burial suit, the tomb of Lord Feng, Grand Administrator of Yuping (Tanghe, Nanyang Municipality, Henan),³⁸ identifies the deceased by name and rank, and provides the date of burial. Although Feng was not a member of the aristocracy, he was salaried at 2,000 *shi* (石),³⁹ placing him in the upper ranks of government officials. Such an identification of a man buried in a *huangchang ticou* suggests that this structure, at least, was not restricted to the aristocracy. The *huangchang ticou* as we understand it thus cannot be used to determine class affiliation.

“According to previous practice,” as noted in the third part of the *Hou Hanshu* treatise on ritual, camphor-wood coffins lacquered red⁴⁰ with cloud décor were used for regional kings, princesses, and Honorable Ladies; black-lacquered camphor-wood coffins, for dukes and Specially Advanced (*te jin*, 特通); officials with salaries under 2,000 *shi* per year and marquis used lacquered coffins.⁴¹ Further, the same treatise recognizes tradition allotting to the emperor a jade suit threaded with gold, made by the Artisans of the Eastern Garden (*dong yuan jiang* [東園匠]).⁴² Newly-enfeoffed regional kings and marquis, Senior Princesses, and Senior Honorable Ladies were allowed jade suits with silver threading, while other levels of princesses and Honorable Ladies, and already-enfeoffed regional kings and marquis were accorded jade suits with copper threading.⁴³

Although we cannot address the question of the type of wood used for coffins, we may readily dismiss the *Hou Hanshu* remarks on the use of lacquered coffins, since coffins throughout the Han were often lacquered red on the inside and black on the outside, demonstrating that there was no ritual requirement to use one or the other of these colors; a single grave might also include both black and red coffins in a nested series. The use of the colored lacquer coffin is indeed so common that we cannot reasonably suppose it was regulated, other than by wealth (affordability). In contrast, the use of burial suits, whether of jade or (unmentioned by the texts) stone or glass, is a more

difficult matter; here, the text of the *Hou Hanshu* is today generally taken literally. Of the nineteen dated tombs in my study that yielded a burial suit (jade, stone, glass),⁴⁴ eight offer no direct evidence linking the deceased in some way to the aristocracy, whether as a regional king, marquis, wife/concubine thereof, or in some other capacity (as at Baonüdü [Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu]).⁴⁵ The evidence of a ninth, Beiguan (Huaiyang, Henan) M1, is ambiguous: excavators have taken the Lord An of “Lord An’s eternal home” (*Anjun shou bi* [安君壽壁]) as a shortened form of Marquis Anshouting (Liu Chong, subsequently King Qing of Chen), on the grounds that this is the only Eastern Han nobleman whose title includes the word “An.”⁴⁶ This identification, while possible, seems to me forced. We have no reason, except the burial of the deceased in a jade suit, to assume that *jun* (君, lord) refers to an enfeoffment, rather than being a courtesy title.

The eight cases with no direct evidence of an aristocratic burial are not without their ambiguity, as well. The tomb of Mo Shu (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), with a glass burial suit, may be that of an aristocrat’s wife or concubine if the term *qie* (妾, wife/concubine) was employed only by these classes as, for example, at Mawangdui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1, the tomb of the *qie* Xin Zhui, rather than being shared by the unenfeoffed wealthy.⁴⁷ Further, little remains in either Dongquanhe (Laiwu, Shandong) or Songzhuang (Mengjin Municipality, Henan) to support any analysis. Nonetheless, in virtually every case, excavators assume the suit itself to imply some degree of aristocratic lineage.⁴⁸ From the dynastic histories, we know that jade suits and other burial goods could be given as a token of special favor by the emperor, as in the examples of Huo Guang, one of a triumvirate regency named by Wudi for his successor who continued to exercise singular power in central government until his death in 68 BC during the reign of Xuandi,⁴⁹ and Dong Xian, beloved of Aidi, who committed suicide in 1 BC.⁵⁰ However, because both of these men had been enfeoffed – although the entitlement from their respective marquises differed widely⁵¹ – presentation of a jade burial suit does not violate the stipulations of the *Hou Hanshu*. In an archaeological context, the stone suit of Jingshan (Yishui, Shandong) presents us with reasonable evidence that, in practical terms, interment in a jade, stone, or glass burial suit was restricted by wealth, not by class. Jingshan is attributable to Xu Shu, named on a bronze seal with loop top (*Xu Shu zhi yin* [徐術之印]).⁵² Both the seal and the structure of the tomb are modest (meaning that in themselves they give no indication of particular rank or degree of wealth); on the basis of excavated data, therefore, we have no reason to suppose that Xu belonged to the aristocracy or held

a high administrative position. His name does not occur in the dynastic histories.⁵³ No evidence supports the notion that his burial suit may have been an imperial gift (although this is possible). We must therefore acknowledge that, apart from the presumed cost of such a suit,⁵⁴ the burial suit in itself does not allow class attribution of the deceased.

Details of the *Hou Hanshu* text are readily refuted: the suit in Dingxian (Hebei) M40 is bound with gold, as are those of Mancheng (Hebei) M1 and M2. Rather than being reserved for the emperor, gold threading was therefore employed at least by some regional kings and their wives. Was this in defiance of sumptuary law or custom, or perhaps by special imperial decree? Or does the *Hou Hanshu* reflect customs of a different time? In support of this last notion, the early-middle first century AD *Han jiuyi* allows gold threading for the jade suits of regional kings, as well as for the emperor.⁵⁵ Whatever may have been the case, we have evidence only that the description of the *Hou Hanshu* cannot be taken literally as a guide to interpreting archaeological finds.⁵⁶

It is likely that some form of sumptuary law must have existed during the Han and would accordingly have regulated burial; any such laws would presumably have been difficult, if not impossible, to enforce. Mu-chou Poo refers to the case of Wei Buhai, the Marquis of Wuyuan,⁵⁷ dismissed from his marquisate in 142 BC for violating burial laws. The episode is presented only as a note in the *Hanshu* table of meritorious officials originally enfeoffed during the first years of the dynasty; the nature of the laws violated is unclear. It is conceivable that sumptuary laws were not, in fact, involved. It is further possible that the charges were brought for political reasons and do not represent routine enforcement of law. A more detailed example is provided by the case of the eunuch Zhao Zhong, who, in or around AD 153, was investigated by Zhu Mu, the Inspector of Jizhou, for having a jade burial suit, fine jades, and models of servants made for his father's burial.⁵⁸ Although the *Hou Hanshu* claims that these items were made improperly (*jian* [僭], "to usurp"), Zhu Mu had already made clear his opposition to eunuchs as a class.⁵⁹ Given the rivalry between eunuchs and literati for power in government and the bias of the *Hou Hanshu* against eunuchs in general, Zhu Mu's investigation appears politically, and not legally, motivated. Again, we do not know to what extent, if any, Zhao's provisions for his father's burial violated law.⁶⁰

The same discrepancies between received texts and archaeological data exist with official seals. Again, according to the *Hou Hanshu* Treatise on Ritual, the seals of newly-enfeoffed regional kings and

marquis, Senior Princesses, and Senior Honorable Ladies are to be identified by the term *xi* (璽).⁶¹ While the *Shiji* and *Hanshu* are silent on the matter of protocol for jade suits and lacquered coffins, the *Hanshu* provides a description of the seal and seal cords of many of the government officials whose positions are catalogued (*juan* 19A⁶²). The highest ranks were given gold seals with purple cords; officials paid at rates equivalent to 2,000 *shi* or more, with some exceptions, had silver seals with blue-green cords; officials salaried at above the equivalent to 600 *shi* generally had bronze seals with black cords, while those above the equivalent of 200 *shi* had bronze seals usually with yellow cords.⁶³ In addition, the second part of the *Han jiuyi* states that “the emperor has six seals (*xi*), all of white jade with a dragon-tiger top”⁶⁴; “The empress’ jade seal is called a *xi*, like the emperor’s; the empress has a jade seal with a gold dragon-tiger top”⁶⁵; and “Chancellors, marquis, and generals use gold seals with purple cords. Officials salaried at fully 2,000 *shi* and 2,000 *shi* use silver seals with green-blue cords. All of these [seals] have a tortoise top.”⁶⁶ Further, we learn from the same source that “the Crown Prince has a gold seal with a tortoise top; this seal is referred to in its inscription as a *zhang* [章]. For lower ranks down to officials of 200 *shi*, [the *zhang*] is the ordinary official seal.”⁶⁷ The *Han jiuyi buyi* (A) adds that “The seals of regional kings are gold with a camel top; in inscription, they are referred to as *xi*.”⁶⁸

With regard to chancellors’ seals, we may assume that the *Han jiuyi*, like *Hanshu* *juan* 19A,⁶⁹ applies to chancellors in the central administration (*chengxiang* [丞相] or *xiangguo* [相國]⁷⁰). Although chancellors in regional kingdoms (*chengxiang*) were always appointed by the emperor, the *Shiji* notes a modification of title from *chengxiang* to *xiang* (相) and the concomitant reduction of status demonstrated by use of a silver seal, instead of gold.⁷¹ Part of a centralized restriction of the authority of regional kings after their rebellion in 154 BC, these changes apparently were not enacted until 144 BC, when a number of official titles within the central government were also altered.⁷² Similarly, archaeological data allows us readily to refute the *Han jiuyi* description of the seals of regional kings as bearing a camel top. Numerous examples of camel-topped seals have been found, in bronze, with inscriptions identifying the bearers as foreign officials belonging to the northern non-Chinese polities of the Xiongnu, Wuhuan, or Xianbei,⁷³ but not with the names of Chinese regional kings. Indeed, another passage of the *Han jiuyi* notes that “the seal of the Xiongnu Chanyu is gold with a camel top and is called a *zhang*.”⁷⁴ This is not to say that all seals given to the northern non-Chinese bore a camel top,⁷⁵ but that the camel top does indeed appear to be associated with seals given to the northern non-Chinese. Apart from these

discrepancies, we might expect textual evidence to be accurate in the matter of official seals since these would have been distributed with the office and hence would have been centrally controlled. Notably, compilation of the *Hanshu* and the *Han jiuyi* was essentially contemporaneous, with Ban Gu, as primary author of the former, living AD 32–92 and Wei Hong active circa AD 25–57.

Accordingly, we would expect the seal of a Grand Commandant (*taiwei* [太尉]) to be gold, according to the *Hanshu*; since the Grand Commandant was one of the Three Excellencies, we would expect him to be entitled to a tortoise top, according to the *Han jiuyi*. Seals belonging to this office have been found in silver and in bronze, with a tortoise top, and in bronze with a loop top.⁷⁶ Similarly, the *Hanshu* lists generals as receiving gold seals with purple cords, even when their salaries were only 1,000 *shi*, which should have placed them in the ranks of those with silver seals and blue-green cords.⁷⁷ The *Han jiuyi* likewise notes gold seals with purple ribbons and indicates the use of a tortoise top on the seal. Examples have been found of gold, silver, and bronze seals with tortoise tops and a gilded bronze seal whose top is not described, all inscribed with a general's title.⁷⁸ A bronze, loop-top seal has also been found.⁷⁹ As with the official seals of Grand Commandants cited here, archaeological data demonstrates variety of form and material, rather than uniformity. These examples, however, do not disprove the notion of textual descriptions as sumptuary law, since no such law would have been broken if an official had used a seal more modest than that to which he was entitled. It is therefore significant that the seals of low-level officials salaried at about 200 to 600 *shi* have been found, in bronze, with a tortoise top. Examples include a butcher, a company captain, a captain of guards, and a prefecture chief.⁸⁰ Again, this is not to say that all seals belonging to these offices had a tortoise top. The fact that some did means that we cannot read the surviving textual descriptions of seals too literally. As with jade burial suits and lacquered coffins, surviving texts seem to provide general descriptions and perhaps a simplified, idealized guide to custom, but not a record of sumptuary law.

Theoretically, officially issued seals of office could have been centrally controlled, although burial of these seals indicates that they were not necessarily returned when a man left office and, hence, that in some ways they escaped centralized control.⁸¹ In addition, such seals were at times reproduced for burial or other private use. With seals made for personal use, we cannot expect greater conformity to textual descriptions than is attested among official seals. It would presumably have been virtually impossible to enforce any sumptuary

law in the area of private seals. Within archaeological documentation, distinction between seals prepared for use in government and imitations made for private use depends in general on the inscription itself or, in some cases, on quality. For instance, seals bearing an official title and a given name are generally assumed to have been produced for private use: examples include a bronze tortoise-top seal inscribed “Li Feng, cognomen (*zi*) Jun You, Chief of the Private Palace Storehouse” (*zhongsifu zhang Li Feng zi Jun You* [中私府長李封字君游])⁸² and a bronze loop-top seal, “Zhang Sai, Deputy General” (*pi jiangjun Zhang Sai* [裨將軍張賽]).⁸³ The Li Feng seal, viewed as a hybrid of the official (imitated) and the private, provides further evidence that the historical texts cannot be taken literally. Assuming that the Chief of the Private Palace Storehouse received a salary similar to that of the Chief of the Private Storehouse (*sifu zhang* [私府長]) at 600 *shi*,⁸⁴ the *Han jiuyi* would not allow for such a low-level official having a tortoise-top seal. Clearly, such a top cannot be taken as evidence of a high government-recognized rank. Particularly regarding privately produced seals, the choice of metal and of seal top is more likely to be dictated by the finances of the individual than by rank.

In terms of quality as a mark of private seals, we find seals with no inscription, those whose inscription has not been completed, and those bearing purely propitious inscriptions. An example of incomplete inscription is provided by Taolou (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1:29, a silver seal with tortoise top bearing an official title, “seal of the lord marquis” (*junhou zhi yin* [君侯之印]).⁸⁵ According to the excavation report, the upper portion of the final character had not been finished and would not print clearly. Excavators therefore concluded that the seal was produced for burial.⁸⁶ Uninscribed seals found in tombs likewise would seem to indicate that production was not finished before burial. Examples are found in Ganquan (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2 (carnelian, tiger top), Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1010 and M1097 (jade), M1066 and M3029 (both bronze, loop-top), Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M1 and M2 (jade), Mancheng (Hebei) M1 (two, both jade, dragon-tiger top), Wafenyuan (Jingsha Municipality, Hubei) M1 (bronze, tiger top), and Yaozhuang (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M101 (gilded bronze, deer-like top; bronze, tortoise top).⁸⁷ The jade seal with tortoise top from Sekiganri ([originally Taedonggangmyôn,] Pangyori, P'yôngyang, Democratic People's Republic of Korea) M9, inscribed “Long life and health” (*yongshou kangning* [永壽康寧]),⁸⁸ illustrates private seals inscribed only with propitious expressions, rather than name or rank.

These private seals further illustrate the need for caution with

reference to descriptions provided by historical texts. Specifically, apart from imperial gift, as Wudi's creation in or around 122–121 BC of the ceremonial position of General of the Way of Heaven (*tiandao jiangjun* [天道將軍]) with a jade seal,⁸⁹ textual sources mention jade seals as the prerogative of the emperor and empress. This perception is reinforced by the use of a jade seal by the rebels Ma Mian, who declared himself the Yellow Emperor in AD 146,⁹⁰ and Gai Deng, who termed himself Supreme Emperor (*taishang huangdi* [太上皇帝]) in AD 165,⁹¹ although self-proclaimed emperors did not require jade seals to reinforce their claims.⁹² Clearly, jade was used by others as well, including those who, as far as can be ascertained, were of little or no rank (i.e., Guangzhou M1010). The same applies to the tiger (or dragon-tiger) top. Although found in Mancheng M1, belonging to Liu Sheng, King Jing of Zhongshan, and Ganquan M2, attributed to Liu Jing, King Si of Guangling, the presence of the tiger on an uninscribed seal from Wafenyuan M1 indicates that the tiger or dragon-tiger top was not in practice reserved for the aristocracy.

These observations on seals and burial suits undermine one of the major criteria for assigning Ganquan (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2 to royalty. We likewise lose the basis for the positive dates attributed to Dabaotai (Beijing Municipality), Beiguan (Huaiyang, Henan) M1, and Dingxian (Hebei) M43. I have provisionally accepted the excavators' attributions for these sites because, on balance, these identifications seem possible; I cannot ignore the fact that, without them, I would not be able to assign a date to objects now classified accordingly (i.e., ca. 45 BC, ca. AD 67, ca. AD 174, hinging on Dabaotai M1, Ganquan M2, and Dingxian M43, respectively). These classes, obviously, are therefore particularly subject to revision. Because no vessels are published for Beiguan, a change of date for the tomb has no further effect on my chronologies.

However, I have not accepted all such attributions. For instance, the excavators of Bao'anshan (Yongcheng Municipality, Henan) M1 and M2 identify these as the tombs of King Xiao of Liang (M1) and his consort (M2).⁹³ Evidence for this is based on a seal reading “[Burial] park of the Queen of Liang (*Liang hou yuan* [梁后園])” and an earthenware roof tile with the legend “Xiao [burial] park (*Xiao yuan* [孝園]),”⁹⁴ both found in a burial goods pit dug into the top of Bao'anshan M2 and thus associated by archaeologists with that tomb. Additional earthenware roof tiles bearing the same inscription and/or “[Burial] park of Xiao of Liang (*Liang Xiao yuan* [梁孝園])” have also been found in the remains of a memorial hall above the site.⁹⁵ For the excavators, the royal association of the tombs is further underscored by fragments of a jade burial suit in Bao'anshan M2, robbed in

antiquity.⁹⁶ Although the roof tiles would seem connected to King Xiao, and despite the ambiguity of the seal – which provides only the rank of the queen, not her name – I find it difficult to associate these items with Bao'anshan M2. The latter is a cave tomb with internal structures finished in stone blocks and consists of more than thirty rooms.⁹⁷ Why would there be need for an external burial goods pit? In contrast, Bao'anshan M3, slightly north of M2, is a pit grave⁹⁸ and could well be associated with a separate burial goods pit. In this case, the association of the evidence with a specific individual appears unconvincing to me. In addition, I find no reason to assume that Bao'anshan M1 is a king's tomb. The Bao'anshan burials illustrate a further problem with positive attribution when no name or date is inscribed on the tomb or on objects within the tomb: unless the deceased was not only male, but in the case of royal families, the primary male (i.e., the king), the dynastic histories are unlikely to provide documentation of any kind. Although female consorts may be mentioned, their date of death is rarely given.⁹⁹

The problem of identification by association is made more complex when we come to individuals identified by name, but not date, in burial inscriptions or seals when these names do in fact occur in the dynastic histories. The occupants of Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M114 and Yuemiao (Huayin, Shaanxi) M1 are each identified by seals found in the tomb.¹⁰⁰ In each case, the name on the seal corresponds to a name in the dynastic histories. The Shaogou excavation report identifies the Guo Gong of M114 with the man whose biography appears in the *Hou Hanshu*; from a long line of officials, he, like his father, was recognized as specializing in the interpretation of law, and as such at one time served as Commandant of Justice.¹⁰¹ The *Hou Hanshu* notes that he died in office in AD 94.¹⁰² There is nothing beyond the bronze loop-top seal in Shaogou M114 to aid attribution. Although I have provisionally accepted the view that the Guo Gong of the seal and the *Hou Hanshu* are the same, the latter is said to be from Yangdi (or Yangzhe) in Yingchuan prefecture.¹⁰³ In today's terms, this would be located approximately at Yuxian (Henan), at some distance to the southeast of Luoyang. If the body of the *Hou Hanshu* Guo Gong had been returned home for burial, then he would not in fact be the man in Shaogou M114. From this standpoint, the identification of the latter remains tenuous. In the case of Yuemiao M1, we have both a private seal (“Seal of Liu Qi [Liu Qi zhi yin 劉崎之印]”) and an official one (“Seal of the Minister over the Masses [situ zhi yin zhang 司徒之印章]”).¹⁰⁴ Together with the location of the tomb in Huayin (Shaanxi), of which the corresponding figure in the *Hou Hanshu* is said to have been a native,¹⁰⁵ we have a reasonably secure identification. Unfortunately, however, the *Hou Hanshu* does not

provide a date of death for the minister. Archaeologists assume that he died shortly after his retirement in AD 135;¹⁰⁶ I have adopted this as the date for his burial, although it is clearly only a *terminus post quem*.

In contrast, the excavators of the Qin and Han cemetery of Pingshuo (Shuoxian, Shanxi) identify the Wang Long named on a private seal in gilded bronze with a top in the form of a winged tiger (GM51:7) with the Wang Long related to Wang Mang, who died in AD 22 in battle in Shandong with the Red Eyebrows.¹⁰⁷ Apart from coincidence of name, the reasons for such an association are unclear. Geographically, there seems to be no connection between Wang Mang's family home and the location of the Pingshuo cemetery or, indeed, territory associated with the rise of the Red Eyebrows rebellion. Wang Mang's family is said to have originated in Dongpingling in Ji'nan, in present-day northern Shandong; a generation later during Wudi, at least part of the family moved to Suli, Yuancheng in Wei commandery, corresponding to modern southern Hebei and part of northern Henan.¹⁰⁸ Coincidentally, the *Hou Hanshu* documents another Wang Long (written with the same characters), a native of Yunyang county in what is now southeastern Shaanxi, known for his literary work, who also lived during the reign of Wang Mang.¹⁰⁹ Given that the name is demonstrably not unique, and in the absence of any supporting evidence, we must assume that the Wang Long of Pingshuo GM51 is otherwise unknown. Other Pingshuo tombs have likewise yielded seals of individuals with the surname Wang, including some of whom have first names documented among Wang Mang's relations: Wang Zhu (5M1) and Wang Guang (3M1). In these two cases, the site excavators have not associated the deceased with the textually documented men of the same name.¹¹⁰ At present, there seems to be no reason to interpret any of these names as anything more than coincidence. Therefore, I have not accepted the attributions or the attendant positive dates.

There are cases where the seals found in a tomb are known not to name the master of the tomb. A loop-top bronze seal in Taolou (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1, reading “Father Song of ? Dancheng” (?*Dancheng Song fu* [*? character unreproducible, pronunciation uncertain*, 城宋父]), is recognized as Warring States in date (ca. 475-221 BC).¹¹¹ More ambiguous is the silver tortoise-top seal inscribed Liu Zhu, reportedly found in Guishan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2.¹¹² Attribution of the tomb to Liu Zhu (劉注), King Xiang of Chu (楚王襄), who died 117 BC,¹¹³ is obviated by the tomb's *wushu* (五銖) coins, circa 87-74 BC. In this case, the seal does not identify the deceased. It remains possible that either the coins or the seal, or both, are intrusive, although neither

has been identified as such. Conversely, the tomb could conceivably have held multiple burials, one of whom could have been Liu Zhu, with other individuals buried later. However, this is purely speculation. Within current evidence, there is no reason to assume that the tomb belonged to any king and no way to clarify the significance of the seal. The *wushu* determine the date (*terminus post quem*).

There are other cases where seals do not identify the deceased. Seal impressions appear as marks of inspection or other functions related to burial, as in the Seal of the Bailiff of the Household (*jia sefu yin* [家嗇夫印]) in Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M2 and the (Prefect) Invocator of Zhongshan (*cisi [ling]* 祠祀[令]) of Mancheng (Hebei) M2.¹¹⁴ Such inspection may also be represented by the seal itself, as in the case of the loop-top bronze seal of the Grand Provisioner (*taiguan zhi yin* [太官之印]) found in annex pit 16 of the tomb of Jingdi (Yangling [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) and of the [Prefect] Invocator of Chu (*Chu cisi [ling]* 楚祠祀[令]) on a seal from Shizishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu).¹¹⁵ Under these circumstances, we may well be wrong to assume that the Seal of the Inspector of the Office of Offerings (*siguan jian yin* [食官監印]) found in the burial off the entrance ramp of Shizishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu)¹¹⁶ identifies the individual with whom it was buried.

The multiplicity of seals and seal imprints belonging to different offices that was found in Shizishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), as well as in the currently undatable tomb of Beidongshan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu),¹¹⁷ leads me to accept a royal attribution for these tombs. In neither case is a king's seal reported. Although these seals give an initial impression of vassal or official fealty, the relationships to which the seals attest seem to be more complex than that of direct authority. Most of the counties named in the seals as part of official titles originally (i.e., pre-154 BC) did fall under the suzerainty of the Han king of Chu; however, some belonged under the jurisdiction of Pei, adjacent to but not under the control of Chu.¹¹⁸ This suggests that officials from a wide area either attended the funeral or sent seals or other tokens simply as marks of respect, with no implication of fealty. From this perspective, counties once part of Chu could be represented in these burials even if these areas were no longer under the authority of the kingdom. The reduction of Chu territory in 154 BC thus need not inform our interpretation of the seals.

There may well be other tombs whose seals similarly reflect something other than identification of the deceased that have not yet been identified. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, however,

we must assume a direct relationship between the seal and the deceased. The situation with regard to memorial inscriptions is similar, although less complex. The incorporation of Han stones, including memorials, into later tombs is well documented at sites such as Songshan (Jiaxiang, Shandong),¹¹⁹ a tomb in Nanyang (Henan) that utilizes stones from the AD 170 tomb of Xu Aqu,¹²⁰ and at Feicheng (Shandong), which includes stone from the AD 83 burial of the father of Zhang Wensi.¹²¹ More problematic is the appearance in some tombs of freestanding stone memorial inscriptions. In Nancaizhuang (Yanshi, Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M3, an inscribed stone memorializes the teacher Fei Zhi, who died AD 169, also mentioning five of his disciples. This stone was placed inside the tomb on a stone stand, the top of which was carved to represent three eared cups (*erbei*) on round saucers.¹²² The treatment of the stand suggests an altar honoring those named in the memorial. Its placement in the tomb seems in keeping with a primary burial. Nonetheless, Nancaizhuang M3 contained a number of bodies (skeletons fragmented and bones scattered throughout the tomb). Which, if any, of these individuals was Fei Zhi and whether or not the burial included his disciples, as the site excavators speculate,¹²³ is open to question. I have assumed that Fei Zhi was among those buried here and that, therefore, the date of AD 169 given in the memorial does apply. If, on the other hand, the memorial was placed in someone else's tomb, out of sentiment or as a curiosity, the date assigned to my *guan* 260 will no longer be valid. In the tomb attributed to Yao Xiaojing (Yanshi [Luoyang Municipality, Henan], 90YCBDM1), a brick inscribed with a name and presumed date of death (AD 73) was found among the burial goods.¹²⁴ In this case, no altar-like treatment of the memorial brick has been identified. In addition, the tomb contained three coffins, further complicating the relationship between the memorial and the burials. Since the brick does not appear to have been structurally part of this tomb, it is possible it may not in fact pertain to one of the people buried here. If it does not, the date assigned to *hu* 97 will need to be reset. However, in the absence of other data, we will assume that the brick does indeed belong.

Coinage

Coins provide a positive *terminus post quem* date if the coins can be identified. During the Han, with the exception of Wang Mang issues, the two main types of money – the *banliang* (半兩) and the *wushu* – are both important and problematic indicators. From textual references, we know that *banliang* coins, originally minted by Qin in 336 BC,¹²⁵ were produced during the Qin and the early Han, with issues noted for

186 BC (known as *bashu banliang* [八銖半兩]), 182 BC (termed *wufen* [五分] coins), and 175 BC (termed *sishu* [四銖]). In 140 BC, the new *sanshu* (三銖) briefly replaced the *banliang*, which was reinstated in 136 BC.¹²⁶ In 118 BC, Wudi created the *wushu* coin, which thereafter remained in force throughout both the Western and the Eastern Han, with mintings textually documented for AD 40, AD 186 (the *sichu wushu* [四出五銖]), and AD 190 (see [Figure 1.1](#)).¹²⁷

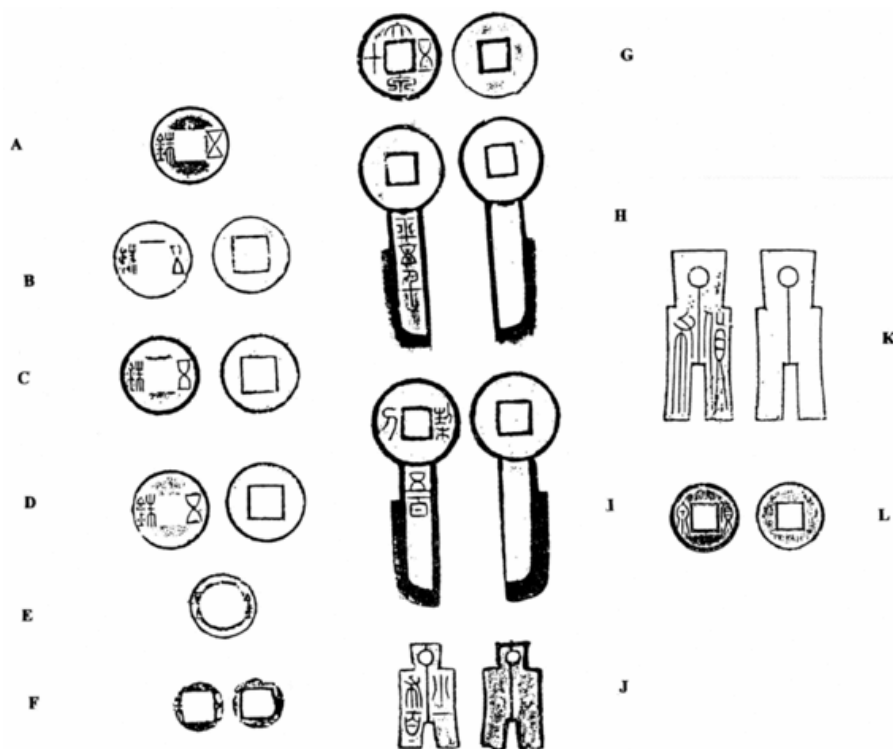


Figure 1.1: Han coinage. A) 118 BC initial minting Wudi issue *wushu*; B) 87–74 BC initial minting Zhaodi issue *wushu*; C) 73 BC initial minting Xuandi issue *wushu*; D) AD 40 *post quem* Eastern Han issue *wushu*; E) *yanhuan wushu*; F) *jianlun wushu*; G) AD 7 initial minting *daquan wushi*; H) AD 9 initial minting *daoping wuqian*; I) AD 9 initial minting *qidao wubai*; J) AD 10 initial minting *xiaobu yibai*; K) AD 14 initial minting *huobu*; L) AD 14 initial minting *huoquan*. (Guojia wenwuju, ed., *Zhongguo guqian pu*, 126, fig. 9:4 [A]; 127, fig. 10:1 [B]; 127, fig. 11:1 [C]; 137, fig. 1:1 [D]; 138, fig. 2:3 [E]; 139, fig. 3:3 [F]; 129, fig. 3:1 [G]; 128, fig. 1 [H]; 129, fig. 2 [I]; 131, fig. 6:1 [J]; 134, fig. 7 [K]; 135, fig. 8:1 [L].)

Because the transmitted texts do not provide information beyond the face value (a unit of weight, which may not be the actual weight of the coin) and since the coins themselves are inscribed only with

their face value, it is impossible to assign with absolute certainty any given *banliang* or *wushu* to a specific year of production. Calligraphic distinctions are readily visible in both *banliang* and *wushu*; these generally form the basis of attempts at periodization.¹²⁸ However, agreement as to which graphic style matches another – and is, therefore, presumably contemporaneous – cannot be taken as universal. The assumption that a graphic style would be nationally standardized and would remain in use only during a given span of time, corresponding to known dates of issue, is likewise questionable. Similarly, it is obvious that coins must have been minted continuously, not only in the years noted by the dynastic histories (presumed to be the year of initial minting); it is therefore possible that, even assuming intensive standardization, different graphic styles may have appeared (and disappeared) at times that correspond to nothing in the written record. Additionally, variation due to the conditions under which coins were minted (central government, local governments, private individuals minting legally, illegal issues) may also be expected.¹²⁹ The discovery of date-inscribed coin molds may eventually provide greater clarity into the question of calligraphic uniformity. Nonetheless, at least for *wushu* coins to be meaningful in terms of archaeological analysis, we accept the dubious proposition that graphic style indicates date; particularly when dealing with archaeological reports, graphic style remains the only potential criterion for periodization. Dated molds, as well as coins found in positively dated tombs, provide a key to assigning styles to dates. Dated molds, for instance, are the only basis for identifying coins from the reigns of Zhaodi (issues are typically dated broadly to the entire reign, 87-74 BC, rather than to a specific date) and Xuandi (issues are generally dated to ca. 73 BC, although molds have been found from 70 BC as well).¹³⁰

For *banliang*, although a number of graphic styles are visible,¹³¹ the periodizations I have seen do not uniformly differentiate between calligraphic styles.¹³² In the case of the *banliang*, one might expect the weight of the coin to aid identification since all the early Western Han issues, although bearing the face value of *banliang*, are identified textually as corresponding to other weights (as indicated above). François Thierry has pointed out, however, that attempts to identify the 186 BC *bashu banliang* by weight (i.e., about 5.12 gr for eight *shu*, as opposed to about 7.68 gr for half a *liang*)¹³³ result in a preponderance of coins from this date; he instead attributes such coins to the Warring States period, circa fourth century BC.¹³⁴ Further, a wide range of weights is attested by *banliang*, which Thierry classifies as Late Wendi.¹³⁵ Weight would not seem to provide clear guidance for identification. In other words, the face value of the *banliang* (and

of the *wushu*¹³⁶) seems to have been independent of its weight, even though face value is declared in terms of weight. From a practical standpoint, archaeological reports rarely provide the weight of individual coins, obviating its use for classification. Because of these difficulties, I have not used *banliang* as a guide to date.

For *wushu*, stylistic distinctions may be made fairly consistently. I have adopted the classifications of Guojia wenwuju “Zhongguo guqian pu,” *Zhongguo guqian pu*: Western Han *wushu* are identified by the squared edges of the upper right-hand portion of the *shu* (銖); in Eastern Han examples, this edge is curved. In Wudi issues, the *wu* (五) character may be drawn with straight intersecting lines or with well-balanced curves; generally, the character is fairly broad. The Zhaodi-era *wu* is thin, elongated, and often off-balance; during Xuandi, it becomes rounder and more symmetrical, but remains generally narrower. The Yuandi-era *wushu* proposed by the Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) excavation report (Shaogou *wushu* type II:2) appears to me indistinguishable from Xuandi-era examples offered by *Zhongguo guqian pu*;¹³⁷ the latter does not include a Yuandi classification. For these reasons, I have not tried to isolate a Yuandi coin. The style of the characters on Eastern Han *wushu* commonly resemble those of *wushu*, circa 118 BC, except for the curved upper right-hand component of the *shu* already noted. A *wushu* from AD 24, sharing the curved component considered diagnostic of the Eastern Han *wushu*, is identified both by *Zhongguo guqian pu* and by the Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) excavation report.¹³⁸ Thus, the Eastern Han-type *wushu* appears at least slightly earlier than the accepted initial date of the Eastern Han in political terms (AD 25). Other calligraphic details of the coins shown by these two sources do not match: the Shaogou example features a short horizontal bar in the center of the *jin* (金; left-hand) portion of the *shu* character, while in *Zhongguo guqian pu*, this bar extends to the approximate width of the curves above and below. Indeed, the short bar also occurs in circa AD 40 *wushu* catalogued in *Zhongguo guqian pu*. Because I cannot distinguish between circa AD 24 circa AD 40 issues, I have assigned all coins of this style to the earlier date. The *sichu* feature of the *wushu* minted in AD 186 is believed to be four lines on the obverse of the coin, radiating from the four corners of the central square. Not all coins assigned to AD 186 carry these lines, however;¹³⁹ it is therefore not entirely clear that such lines need be considered as belonging exclusively to this minting. Given the difficulty of consistent differentiation, I have made no distinctions within Eastern Han *wushu*.

Other forms of *wushu*, such as small coins and coins cut to divide the outer rim from the inner square (*jianlun* [剪輪] or *moguo* [磨郭]

designates the cut-down inner portion; *yanhuan* [緹環], the excised outer portion), are usually identified as Western or Eastern Han according to calligraphic style; further dating is generally based on the date of tombs in which they have been found.¹⁴⁰ Even in cases where the tombs in question carry positive dates, the resulting date cannot be applied too rigidly to the coins. For instance, the Dingxian (Hebei) M43 report assumes a date circa AD 170 for Eastern Han *jianlun wushu* because of the coin's occurrence in Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1037, positively dated to AD 170.¹⁴¹ Such a conclusion would appear logical, except that, with coins, an extended period of circulation appears to be likely. In the case of Dingxian M43, the attribution on which the site's positive date depends is made in light of the excavators' assumptions about the dating of the *jianlun wushu* and is therefore subject to revision. Such revision would naturally affect those forms from my typologies whose date derives from this tomb. The Shaogou report itself makes no claim of a circa AD 170 production date for *jianlun wushu*, indicating only that such coins were in circulation, at least as of these dates.¹⁴² To avoid circular logic, dating coins by tombs that are then dated by coins, I have not used *jianlun*, *yanhuan*, or small *wushu* for dating.

In contrast, coins introduced by Wang Mang from his regency through his reign are readily identified and, with the exception of the *buquan* (布泉), clearly associated with specific dates because of their unique nomenclature. The issues are: in AD 7, the *yidao pingwuqian* (一刀平五千) and the *qidao wubai* (契刀五百; both key shaped), as well as the *daqian wushi* (大泉五十); in AD 9, the *xiaoqian wushi* (小泉五十) and *xiaoqian zhiyi* (小泉直一); in AD 10, the *yaoqian yishi* (幺泉一十) series (variously denominated *yaoqian yishi*, *youqian ershi* [幼泉二十], *zhongqian sanshi* [中泉三十], *zhuangqian sishi* [壯泉四十]) and the spade-shaped *xiaobu yibai* (小布一百) series (*xiaobu yibai*, *yaobu erbai* [幺布二百], *youbu sanbai* [幼布三百], *xubu sibai* [序布四百], *chabu wubai* [差布五百], *zhongbu liubai* [中布六百], *zhuangbu qibai* [壯布七百], *dibu babai* [第布八百], *cibu jiubai* [次布九百], *dabu huangqian* [大布黃千]); and in AD 14, the *huobu* (貨布) and *huoqian* (貨泉). The *buquan* is not specifically dated, but is assumed to be a late-Wang Mang issue.¹⁴³

Of the numismatic studies available, the periodization presented in the Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) report remains the most frequently quoted in Chinese archaeological reports. Such references can be problematic because of the way types are grouped in *Shaogou* and because of modifications made to the periodization in the light of more recent excavations. For instance, the Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) report classifies its style AIV *wushu* as Shaogou type II

coins.¹⁴⁴ Since Shaogou types I, II, and III each include two calligraphic styles, assigned to two different dates, the subtype must be specified if they are used for reference. The Guishan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2 report recognizes this tomb's *wushu* as belonging to Shaogou type I (i.e., type I:2¹⁴⁵), originally dated to Zhaodi, which the report notes must be redated to circa 118 BC following its discovery in the Mancheng (Hebei) tombs (i.e., Mancheng type II *wushu*).¹⁴⁶ However, in Mancheng type II, the shape of the *wu* is broader than on the Guishan M2 pieces and, indeed, broader than on some of the Shaogou type I:2 examples.¹⁴⁷ The narrower version remains dated to 75 BC or, more usually, to Zhaodi through comparison to the date-inscribed mold noted in *Shaogou*.¹⁴⁸ Similarly, Mancheng type III *wushu* correspond to Shaogou type II:1. However, the *wu* in some examples of the latter is narrower than on Mancheng coins of this type; the narrow version thus remains dated to Xuandi (or circa 73 BC), rather than being reassigned to circa 118 BC.¹⁴⁹

There is a tendency among many Chinese archaeologists to use not only the presence, but equally the absence of coins to deduce a range of dates for a tomb. The latest type of coin found yields a *terminus post quem*, while the absence of the next minting is believed to provide a *terminus a quo*.¹⁵⁰ Such an approach implicitly assumes that when coins were placed in tombs, the newest minting was always used, as if only the newest minting was then legal tender and, further, as if legal tender for the living were also required for the dead. We have reason to dismiss both of these assumptions. From caches, where money and other goods were hidden to be used by the living at a future date, it is clear that older coins must have remained legal tender for the living even after newer mintings and the introduction of different types of coins. For instance, a cache of 691 coins found at Chitou (Le'an, Jiangxi) included *banliang*, various types of *wushu*, *daquan wushi*, *huoquan*, *buquan*, and post-Han Wei-Jin (ca. AD 220-420) coins.¹⁵¹ A larger cache, estimated at more than ten thousand coins weighing over fifty kilograms, at Huixian (Gansu), yielded circa 118 BC, circa 73 BC, and circa AD 24 *wushu*, as well as *daquan wushi*, *huobu*, *buquan*, and *jianlun huoquan*.¹⁵² In the context of the tomb, in contrast, any representation of currency was apparently acceptable in the afterlife as legal tender. Surrogate currency thus occurs in burials across a wide socioeconomic spectrum. Clay (unbaked) or earthenware imitations of gold ingots are used both in modest tombs, such as Northwest Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M2, 3, 49, 58, 120, and in aristocratic burials like Mancheng (Hebei) M2, which yielded twenty-nine gold ingots, but also two stone and two earthenware imitations of ingots.¹⁵³ The same holds true for

clay or earthenware imitation coins, attested, for example, in burials ranging from Mawangdui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M2 (2,500–3,000 imitation *banliang*, more than 300 imitation *yingcheng* Chu coins) to Huchang (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M5 (unspecified number of clay coins, together with fifty-three bronze *wushu*).¹⁵⁴ This use of surrogate currency parallels the apparently transmuted value of other burial goods: wood imitations of bronze mirrors,¹⁵⁵ wood or earthenware imitations of jade *bi* (璧) discs,¹⁵⁶ the unending supply of foodstuffs attested by inscriptions on several containers from Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M632 and Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1.¹⁵⁷ The specific quality of goods buried therefore reflects the economic status of the living; use of surrogates does not appear to short-change the dead. Since the legal status in terms of the living of the currency buried is therefore meaningless, nothing demands use of the latest minting of coin. For archaeological purposes, coins provide only a *terminus post quem*; negative evidence cannot be admitted.

Chapter 2 The Tombs

The distribution of all dated material considered in this study – listed in the Chronological Listing of Sites in combination with Non-Chinese Sites – covers much of the territory of modern China, notably excluding Xinjiang and Tibet, and extends sporadically into Korea, Tuva, Mongolia, and south Siberia (Russia; Map 1). Data from Tuva, Mongolia, Siberia, and the modern Chinese province of Heilongjiang, to which the Han government did not lay claim, is readily identifiable as coming from non-Chinese sites. In contrast, the political and cultural status during the Han of much of present-day China apart from the central core of historical, pre-Han China (Map 2) is complex. The Han laid claim to portions of modern Liaoning (connected to expansion into what is now Korea); Inner Mongolia (territory claimed against the nomadic Xiongnu Empire¹); Beijing (partially within the sphere of the nomadic Yuhuangmiao culture²); Gansu, Ningxia, Qinghai (associated with expansion against the Xiongnu and into the Western Regions, largely modern Xinjiang); Guangdong, Guangxi, Fujian (areas generally associated with the Yue, but which had been in contact with central China since the Late Shang/Early Zhou, ca. 13-10 c. BC³); Yunnan (the Kingdom of Dian⁴), Guizhou (various non-Chinese cultures); and parts of Sichuan beyond those cultures previously known to the Chinese as Ba and Shu.⁵ Regardless of political claims, these peripheral territories remained partially or mostly non-Chinese during the Han. Contact with China of varying types – trade, diplomatic exchange, military conflict, relocation of population – results in an archaeological record in which Han and non-Chinese artefacts and structures often exist in close geographic proximity or are intermingled on a given site. Such contact allows some degree of cross-dating, from which series of datable non-Chinese objects may sometimes be derived. In these regions, however, it can be difficult or, to my mind, impossible to distinguish a Han Chinese tomb from a non-Chinese tomb. Where the distinction can be made, I have identified non-Chinese sites (principally tombs) with an asterisk and have excluded them from both the tables and discussion of Han tombs. This non-Chinese data encompasses twenty-five sites and fifty-one tombs. In contrast, tombs which may be non-Chinese, but which are materially indistinguishable from the Chinese, such as Shangsunjiashai (Datong, Qinghai) MB-1*, are also indicated by an asterisk but are included with Han Chinese data.

While I have handled visibly non-Chinese tombs separately, Han vessels found in a non-Chinese context are listed in the main typologies. Indeed, *guan* 280 and 281 are non-Chinese forms, not found in the present sampling of Han Chinese sites but included in the typologies as regionally well-known. The occurrence of Han vessels in a non-Chinese context or of non-Chinese objects in Han tombs, while indicating lines of international contact, has a greater immediate impact on the study of the non-Chinese than that of the Han as it provides the basis for cross-dating non-Chinese cultures. The implications of such dating, however, go beyond the present study and will therefore be discussed elsewhere.⁶ Because of the distortions of chance, the statistics to be gleaned from the one thousand tombs in this study must be approached cautiously and not taken as necessarily representative of the Han population as a whole. Many tombs which could be dated have not been included; many more cannot currently be dated. The final selection presented here therefore reflects both the chance of archaeological excavation and publication and chance due to the author. Shaanxi and Henan are among the modern provinces best documented; as the location of the imperial capitals, this is unsurprising (see [Table 2.2](#)). Hubei, in the sphere of the preimperial state of Chu, has likewise been the subject of extensive excavation. More surprisingly, the peripheral areas of Guangdong and Qinghai are well represented. This is almost entirely due to two large cemeteries, Guangzhou (Guangdong) and Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai), both of which I have treated as ethnically Han, despite evidence of contact with non-Chinese populations. Again by chance, the largest number of dated tombs falls within the middle years of the combined Western and Eastern Han (i.e., ca. 73 BC–AD 105), with by far the greatest concentration in the Early Eastern Han (ca. AD 25–105). This chronological distribution lends itself naturally to distortion of the data, if taken too literally.

[Tables 2.1](#) through [2.4](#) show the geographic distribution of my data in broad chronological terms. [Table 2.1](#): Distribution of dated Han tombs and other items includes all Han items featured in the Chronological Listing of Sites; [Table 2.2](#): Distribution of dated Han tombs records only tombs, regardless of structure; [Table 2.3](#): Distribution of dated grave types, and [Table 2.4](#): Distribution of dated tomb structures represent only those tombs whose structure is described in published excavation reports. In the case of grave types, this excludes not only fifty-eight burials – which are not described at all, sometimes because the tomb has been destroyed – but also 205 architectonic tombs whose setting in a (vertical) pit or catacomb (burial chamber lateral to the entrance shaft) grave is not specified. For the statistics on tomb structures, the fifty-eight undescribed

burials, as well as 293 with no inner-grave structure, are excluded.

Table 2.1: *Distribution of dated Han tombs and other items (including shrines, isolated memorials, habitation sites, positively dated isolated objects).*

	Early W. Han (206– 157 BC)	Middl W. Han (156– 74 BC)	Late W. Han (73 BC– AD5)	<i>de</i> <i>facto</i> Wang Mang (AD 6–24)	Early E. Han (AD 25– 105)	Middl E. Han (AD 106– 167)	Late E. Han (AD 168– 220)	<i>Totals</i>
Anhui	2	4	14	1	6	1	2	30
Beijing-		-	2	-	1	-	1	4
Fujian -		-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Gansu	4	1	-	-	3	-	-	8
Guangdong		36	7	3	92	1	1	141
Guangxi		8	5	1	31	-	-	45
Guizhou		-	-	-	10	-	-	10
Hebei -		5	5	4	7	1	7	29
Henan	1	2	3	42	26	14	19	107
Hubei	51	21	6	4	23	7	7	119
Hunan	9	3	9	14	35	2	3	75
Inner Mongolia	-	-	3	4	7	-	2	16
Jiangsu		4	38	2	15	2	2	64
Jiangxi-		1	3	3	5	-	-	12
Liaoning		5	3	-	13	1	4	26
Ningxia		-	-	-	5	-	-	5
Qinghai		-	1	3	15	-	12	31
Shaanxi	2	5	20	5	76	4	13	125
Shandong		5	43	3	11	10	3	75
Shanxi	2	-	10	12	17	2	8	55
Sichuan	1	1	1	1	29	1	11	45
Tianjin-		-	-	1	-	1	-	2
Yunnan		-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Zhejiang		-	5	2	3	2	2	14
Korea -		-	1	-	2	2	-	5
Totals	74	101	179	105	435	51	97	1,046

Table 2.2: *Distribution of dated Han tombs.*

Early W.	Middl W.	Late W.	<i>de</i> <i>facto</i>	Early E.	Middl E.	Late E.	<i>Totals</i>
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	Han (206– 157 BC)	Han (156– 74 BC)	Han (73 BC– AD 5)	Wang Mang (AD 6–24)	Han (AD 25– 105)	Han (AD 106– 167)	Han (AD 168– 220)	
Anhui	2	4	14	1	6	1	2	30
Beijing-		-	2	-	-	-	1	3
Fujian	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gansu	4	1	-	-	3	-	-	8
Guangdong		36	7	3	92	1	1	141
Guangxi		8	5	1	31	-	-	45
Guizhou		-	-	-	10	-	-	10
Hebei	-	5	5	4	7	1	7	29
Henan	-	2	3	42	25	14	18	104
Hubei	51	21	6	4	23	6	6	117
Hunan	9	3	9	14	34	2	3	74
Inner Mongolia	-	-	2	4	5	-	2	13
Jiangsu		4	37	1	15	2	1	61
Jiangxi-		1	3	3	5	-	-	12
Liaoning		5	3	-	13	1	4	26
Ningxia		-	-	-	5	-	-	5
Qinghai		-	1	3	15	-	12	31
Shaanxi		1	19	5	75	4	12	117
Shandong		4	42	3	9	3	3	64
Shanxi	1	-	9	12	16	2	8	48
Sichuan		1	1	1	28	1	11	44
Tianjin-		-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Yunnan		-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Zhejiang		-	5	2	2	1	1	11
Korea	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	4
Totals	71	96	173	104	423	41	92	1000

Huangchang ticou structures executed in stone are classified as architectonic.

Table 2.3: Distribution of dated Han grave types (Pit:Catacomb [Total]).

	Early W. Han (206– 157 BC)	Middl W. Han (156– 74 BC)	Late W. Han (73 BC– AD 5)	de facto Wang Mang (AD 6–24)	Early E. Han (AD 25– 105)	Middl E. Han (AD 106– 167)	Late E. Han (AD 168– 220)	Totals

Anhui	2:0	4:0	8:0	1:0	2:0	-	1:0	18:0 (18)
Beijing-	-	-	2:0	-	-	-	0:1	2:1 (3)
Fujian	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gansu	4:0	1:0	-	-	-	-	-	5:0 (5)
Guangdong	36:0	7:0	2:0	60:0	1:0	-	-	107:0 (107)
Guangxi	-	8:0	5:0	1:0	29:0	-	-	43:0 (43)
Guizhou	-	-	-	5:0	-	-	-	5:0 (5)
Hebei	-	1:2	4:0	1:3	0:3	-	-	6:8 (14)
Henan	-	0:2	1:2	1:33	4:15	1:4	1:12	8:68 (76)
Hubei	51:0	21:0	4:0	1:0	13:0	1:0	2:0	93:0 (93)
Hunan	9:0	3:0	6:0	9:0	22:0	2:0	2:0	53:0 (53)
Inner -	-	-	1:0	1:3	1:4	-	0:1	3:8 (11)
Mongolia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jiangsu	1:0	2:3*	30:4	1:1*	9:0	-	1:0	44:8 (52)
Jiangxi-	1:0	3:0	3:0	2:0	-	-	-	9:0 (9)
Liaoning	5:0	2:0	-	8:0	1:0	1:0	1:0	17:0 (17)
Ningxia	-	-	-	2:0	-	-	-	2:0 (2)
Qinghai	-	1:1	2:0	3:4	-	0:1	0:1	6:6 (12)
Shaanxi	1:0	1:0	11:7	1:3	15:51	1:3	0:2	30:66 (96)
Shandong	-	3:1	37:0	3:0	6:1	1:0	-	50:2 (52)
Shanxi	1:0	-	9:0	11:0	1:1	-	0:1	22:2 (24)
Sichuan	1:0	1:0	0:1	0:1	6:18	1:0	4:5	13:25 (38)
Tianjin-	-	-	1:0	-	-	-	-	1:0 (1)
Yunnan	-	-	-	1:0	-	-	-	1:0 (1)
Zhejiang	-	1:0	2:0	1:1	-	-	-	4:1 (5)
Korea	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	71:0 (71)	87:8 (95)	132:154 (147)	41:44 (85)	190:98 (288)	9:7 (16)	12:23 (35)	542:195 (737)

* One burial includes both a pit and a catacomb grave (Jiangshan [Tongshan,

Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu], Jiulishan [Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu] M1). In this table, these burials are counted twice, once per category.

Table 2.4: Distribution of dated Han tomb structures (Box:Architectonic [Total]).

	Early W. Han (206– 157 BC)	Middl W. Han (156– 74 BC)	Late W. Han (73 BC– AD 5)	<i>de facto</i> Wang Mang (AD 6–24)	Early E. Han (AD 25– 105)	Middl E. Han (AD 106– 167)	Late E. Han (AD 168– 220)	Totals
Anhui	2:0	4:0	8:1	-	3:3	0:1	0:2	17:7 (24)
Beijing-		-	2:0	-	-	-	0:1	2:1 (3)
Fujian -		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gansu	4:0	1:0	-	-	-	-	-	5:0 (5)
Guangdong	40:0	33:1	7:0	1:0	43:30	1:0	0:1	86:32 (118)
Guangxi		3:0	-	-	10:2	-	-	13:2 (15)
Guizhou		-	-	-	0:4	-	-	0:4 (4)
Hebei	-	1:2	1:0	3:0	1:2	-	0:6	6:10 (16)
Henan	-	-	2:0	7:30	2:16	0:14	1:14	12:74 (86)
Hubei	28:0	16:0	3:0	0:1	4:9	0:6	1:5	52:21 (73)
Hunan	5:0	-	0:2	0:3	1:9	-	0:1	6:15 (21)
Inner Mongolia	-	-	1:0	-	1:0	-	0:1	2:1 (3)
Jiangsu		1:0	26:2	1:0	6:5	0:2	-	34:9 (43)
Jiangxi-	-	-	-	0:1	0:3	-	-	0:4 (4)
Liaoning		3:0	2:1	-	2:4	1:1*	1:3	9:9 (18)
Ningxia		-	-	-	2:3	-	-	2:3 (5)
Qinghai		-	-	2:1	6:8	-	1:11	9:20 (29)
Shaanxi	1:0	-	5:1	0:3	23:26*	1:1	0:12	30:43 (73)
Shandong		2:0	35:1	1:0	4:2	0:3	0:3	42:9

Shanxi 1:0	-	3:1	2:1	1:1	-	0:4	(51) 7:7
Sichuan 1:0	1:0	0:1	0:1	0:22	-	4:7	(14) 6:31
Tianjin-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(37)
Yunnan	-	-	-	0:1	-	-	0:1 (1)
Zhejiang	-	1:0	-	0:1	0:1	0:1	1:3 (4)
Korea -	-	-	-	0:2	0:2	-	0:4 (4)
Totals	43:0	65:3	96:10	17:41	109:153	3:31	8:72
	(43)	(68)	(105)	(58)	(262)	(34)	(80) 341:310 (651)

* One grave includes both an architectonic and a box structure (Maquan [Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi] M1, Jiulongdi [Gaixian, Liaoning] M1). In this table, these burials are counted twice, once per category.

With or without inner-grave structure, the pit grave is by far the more common form within the group of dated tombs considered here, outnumbering catacomb graves by more than two to one. This number may, of course, be skewed significantly by the large number of architectonic tombs whose grave type is not identified. With the current data, however, only Henan and Shaanxi have significant numbers of catacomb burials; those found in Sichuan, Shandong, and Guangxi are primarily caves or cliffs into which a burial chamber was dug horizontally (laterally), thus creating in essence a catacomb structure. The pit and catacomb are sometimes combined, as at Shangjiao (Lintong, Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M18, the tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]; [Figure 2.1](#)), Qilihe (Jianxi, Luoyang Municipality, Henan), and the tomb of Yao Xiaojing (Yanshi [Luoyang Municipality, Henan]) 90YCBDM1, each of which has one or more lateral chambers attached to a pit grave. At both Jiangshan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) and Jiulishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1, each body of a double burial was placed in its own grave: one pit, one catacomb, built adjacently, presumably at different times. Jiulishan included a box tomb for each of the interred. Both pits and catacombs with no inner-grave structures are occasionally floored with wood, brick, or stone. In contrast to larger stones used as paving, pits lined with small stones to make a cist grave are occasionally documented, at Sanlidun (Lianshui, Jiangsu), Fengqing (Zhaoping, Guangxi) M7, 9, and Anzhangzi (Lingyuan, Liaoning) M3, and may reflect non-Chinese influence.⁷

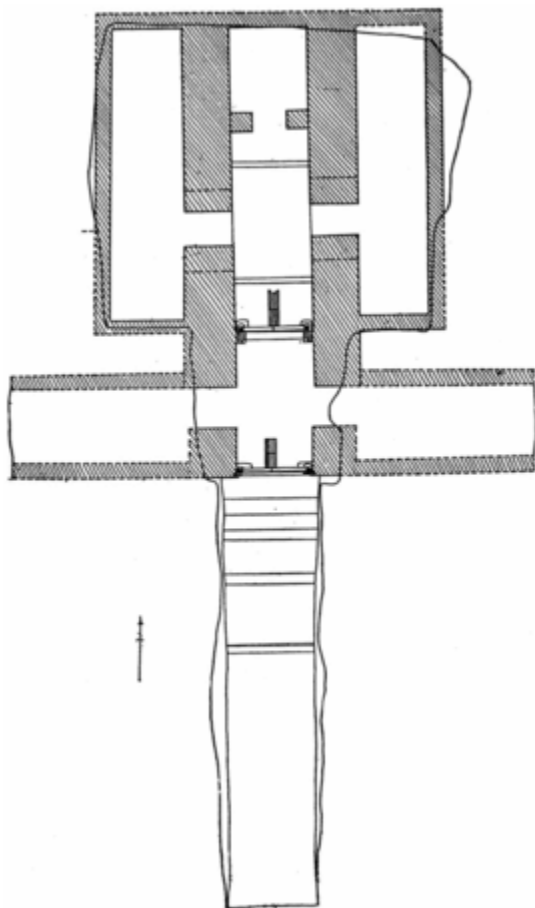


Figure 2.1: Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan, Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong). (*Nanyue*, vol. 1, fig. 5.)

Both pits and catacombs are used to house tomb structures. Although burials with no inner-grave structure may include significant burial goods, we assume that the additional work, and implicitly the time and cost required for construction, of an inner-grave structure implies a higher degree of economic status. I have used the terms “box” and “architectonic” to describe the two forms of inner-grave structure found during the Han, regardless of the medium used in construction.⁸ Both types of structure may be simple (unicameral) or divided: the compartmented box or the multicameral architectonic tomb. The “box” is square or rectangular, enclosed by a flat roof or lid; the “architectonic” structure, at a minimum, imitates living architecture to the extent that it has a distinguishable roof (i.e., the roof is not flat like a lid) or doors. The two forms, however, exhibit some overlap. Several box tombs, for instance, include architectonic features such as doors and latticed windows, as at Fenghuangshan

(Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M8;⁹ the second level of boxes like those in Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2050 and 3023 may be thought of as approximating a second story.¹⁰ On the other hand, the unicameral architectonic tomb may sometimes be distinguished from a box only by virtue of a barrel-vaulted roof, for example. Indeed, in terms of floor plan, the distinction can be minimal, particularly in the *huangchang ticou*. Regardless of medium, this structure follows a floor plan closely related to a compartmented box tomb: a central (burial) chamber surrounded by secondary chambers, usually of narrow, elongated form. When the roof is treated as a flat enclosure, I have classified the tomb as a box; when, as at Beizhuang (Dingxian, Hebei; [Figure 2.2](#)) the roof is barrel vaulted,¹¹ I consider the tomb architectonic. In each case, however, the floor plan remains the same. In addition, box and architectonic structures may be combined, as at Maquan (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M1 and Jiulongdi (Gaixian, Liaoning) M1.

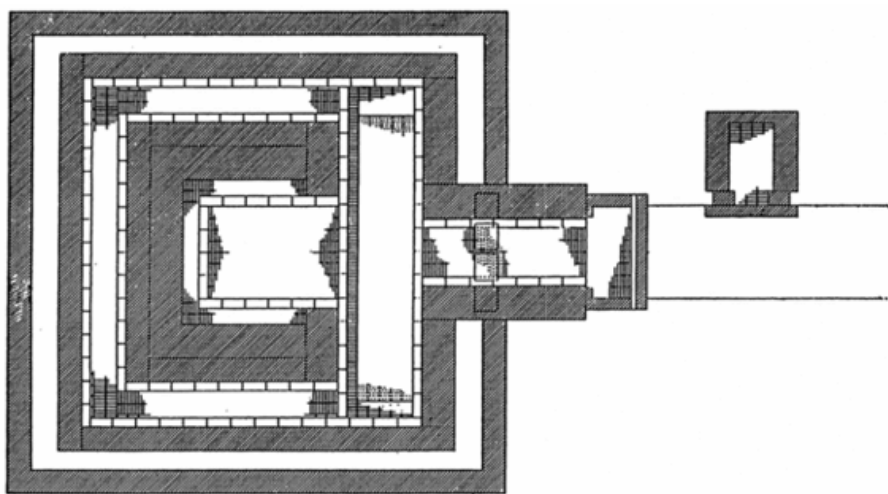


Figure 2.2: Beizhuang (Dingxian, Hebei), *KGXB* 1964.2, 129, fig. 2.

With the exception of the architectonic tomb, which appears to have emerged fully only during the Han, the burial structures used by the Han were developed in the preimperial period. The use of stone foundations and walls in the construction of the burial chamber can be seen in the circa eighth century BC Beizhao (Quwo, Shanxi) M93;¹² use of stone to line the grave is attested, for example, in Middle-Late Warring States Qin¹³ (ca. fourth through third centuries BC), and both stone and brick were used in the construction of Late Warring States tombs M1 (King Cuo of Zhongshan, d. 309 BC) and M6 in the royal Zhongshan cemetery (Sanji, Pingshan, Hebei).¹⁴ The simple wood box housing a coffin came into use in China at least from the Late Shang

(ca. thirteenth through eleventh centuries BC), as in the Fu Hao tomb (Anyang Municipality, Henan),¹⁵ and remained unchanged throughout the Han. Within currently available data, the compartmented wood box first appears by the Early Springs–Autumns period (648 BC *ante quem*) as in the tomb of the Lord Meng of Huang (Guangshan, Henan).¹⁶ This compartmented form seems to occur more frequently in Chu and related states than in northern China, but is also known in the north, as attested by Luoyang (Henan) M4,¹⁷ broadly dated to the Warring States (ca. 475–221 BC). Significantly, the outer box of Luoyang M4 is finished with a pitched roof. The addition to the box of architectural elements such as windows and doors appears ascribable to Qin,¹⁸ but was common in Chu: Taihuiguan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M50, for instance, includes workable doors on either end of the compartment housing the coffin.¹⁹ Still within the Chu sphere of influence, Alain Thote identifies the divided squares that appear on lacquered coffins in the tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng (Leigudun [Suizhou Municipality, Hubei]; d. 433 BC) as representations of windows.²⁰ Han use of such architectural elements on the box tomb is not limited to areas formerly under Chu control, as demonstrated by Bicun (Hunyuan, Shanxi) M1.²¹

As part of the preimperial development of architectonic burial structures, Lothar von Falkenhausen has proposed that the catacomb structure of predynastic Qin tombs (from at least ca. fourth century BC onward) is itself a move toward conceptualization of the tomb as living architecture. Accordingly, the entry shaft parallels the entry hall in a dwelling, particularly a cave dwelling, still common in areas of China, with the lateral burial chamber representing the living quarters. Blocks placed between components of the tomb (chamber, annex chambers, shaft) are then viewed as doors.²² At the same time, the floor plan of burials such as the 309 BC tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan (Sanji [Pingshan, Hebei] M1), a pit grave where the main burial chamber lies on the axis of two external ramps and is surrounded within the same pit by secondary pits housing burial goods,²³ prefigures the layout of the Han architectonic tomb. Importantly, the walls of the main burial chamber of King Cuo were finished with a grass-and-mud paste covered with fine mud, and finally with a white powder pigment,²⁴ although no *décor* has been reported. That all of these developments, together with the construction of a pitched roof on Luoyang M4 and of workable doors on Taihuiguan M50, coincided chronologically (all ca. fourth century BC) is undoubtedly significant. That they occurred in various guises throughout China means that no one region may be credited for the move toward the tomb as a more literal imitation of a living space. When the first architectonic tombs in our sample appear (the tomb of

the King of Nanyue [Xianggangshan, Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]; Mancheng [Hebei] M1, 2), they represent an extension of established developments.

The definition of “architectonic” as an approximation of living architecture may be misleading. Vaulting and the dome do not appear to have been used in Han living architecture, nor do they appear to have any pre-Han precedent.²⁵ If we may judge from the dated tombs considered here, the barrel vault appears in China circa 70 BC; the groin vault, circa AD 9;²⁶ and the dome, in circa AD 76. In a nonfunerary context, I find barrel vaulting only in the Wangcheng (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) kilns, in use from the Late Warring States through the Late Western Han, as well as on the Wenxian (Henan) kiln,²⁷ dated generally to the Han, where it may have offered technical advantages, and on the earthenware model of a house from Dongmenli (Liaoyang Municipality, Liaoning) M1, circa AD 67.²⁸ At approximately 3.4 meters in width, the Wangcheng kiln vault is structurally no different from that employed contemporaneously in tombs. However, our understanding of living architecture, and particularly its roofing, is limited, relying primarily on representations rather than excavated evidence: models in bronze from the Early Warring States (ca. fifth century BC)²⁹ through the Han, including copper-inlaid décor on bronze vessels from the Late Springs–Autumns and Early Warring States (ca. late-sixth through fifth centuries BC) depicting scenes of ritual activity;³⁰ the circa 309 BC funerary shrine of King Cuo of Zhongshan (Pingshan, Hebei);³¹ the paintings and carvings on Han tomb walls, towers known through these same means of depiction;³² extant towers in areas such as Sichuan,³³ as well as reconstructions of habitation sites such as the Qin (221–206 BC) palaces in Xianyang (Shaanxi)³⁴ and the Han Weiyang Palace (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi).³⁵ From these, it would appear that above-ground temples and dwellings were square or rectangular in the overall plan, making use of columns, lattice-covered windows (as depicted on some box tombs³⁶), and flat or pitched (or double-pitched, pyramidal) roofs. Columns may be square and frequently terminate in the three spreading branches associated with Chinese architecture of later periods. In most cases, roofs are covered with tubular and flat tiles faced on the outer edge by round or triangular end tiles, a convention also followed in some Han architectonic tombs. Lack of precedent suggests that the Han adopted vaulting and the dome as the result of foreign influence.³⁷ In addition, they seem to have associated these structures with tomb (but not shrine) construction. More prosaically, it is also possible that the relatively small scale of Han vaulting and domes made it difficult to incorporate them into living architecture; larger spans would have presented

(Shahr-I Qumis, Iran), circa 250–50 BC, and at Ai Khanoum (Afghanistan), circa 150 BC.³⁸ The dome is likewise attested in funerary architecture with spans up to 5.5 meters.³⁹ Groin vaulting (the intersection of two barrel vaults), however, does not seem to have been used.⁴⁰ All of these roofing structures appear in Roman architecture, essentially contemporaneous with the Han.⁴¹ Similarly, in northern India, barrel vaulting and the dome appear in temples and residences from at least the second century BC, but groin vaulting appears unknown. Little remains of Indian architecture except representations on bas-reliefs of that time.⁴² Exceptions include the circular stupa shrine in brick and timber with a brick dome at Bairat (Jaipur District, Rajasthan)⁴³ and a brick-domed circular stupa dated broadly from circa third century BC to early first century AD, the lower horizon being the date of the stone gates added to the earlier structure.⁴⁴ Given its geographic proximity and extensive cultural influence on Han China, India seems the most likely direct source for the Han for barrel vaulting and the dome. It may be that the Han came upon groin vaulting independently, possibly in an attempt to simulate the dome.

Most barrel vaulting in Han tombs is made of a continuous series of bricks: rectangular, with the spaces between them adjusted and filled with mortar; rhombic, and therefore fitting one against another to make a curve; or interlocking, like brick mortise and tenons. In a few cases, as with the dome, a capstone or keystone is used to force the weight of the arch outward to the supporting walls, as seen at Sujiaiyituo (Suide, Shaanxi; AD 96; [Figure 2.3](#)).⁴⁵ Since the Han knew how to build the groin vault, the technique of raising a barrel vault above other barrel vaults to avoid intersection must be assumed a stylistic choice. This design was followed, for example, in Ganquan (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2⁴⁶ ([Figure 2.4](#)) and Laohudun (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu).⁴⁷ These Han examples of superposed, opposing barrel vaults recall in miniature the internal vaulting structure of the first century AD “palace” at Ashur (Qalaat Shergat, Iraq).⁴⁸ Given their contemporaneity and cumulative evidence of contact (direct or indirect) between the Near East and China, this similarity in design may not be coincidental. The dome itself occurs very rarely in Han tombs. In the corpus presented here, only Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5041 (AD 76; [Figure 2.5](#)), 5060 (AD 80), 5065 (AD 97), 5068 (AD 170),⁴⁹ as well as the circa AD 101 Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M8,⁵⁰ have true domes (capped with square bricks), each placed over a square chamber.

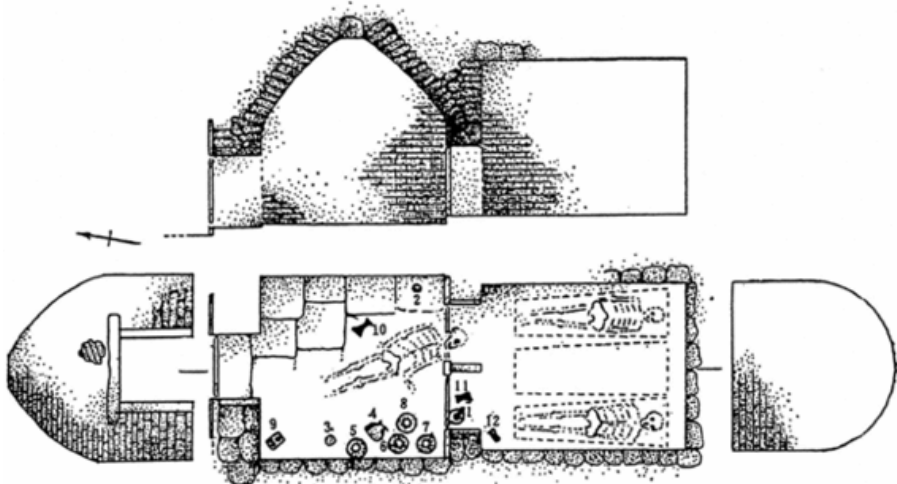


Figure 2.3: Sujiayituo (Suide, Shaanxi), WW 1983.5, 28, fig. 1.

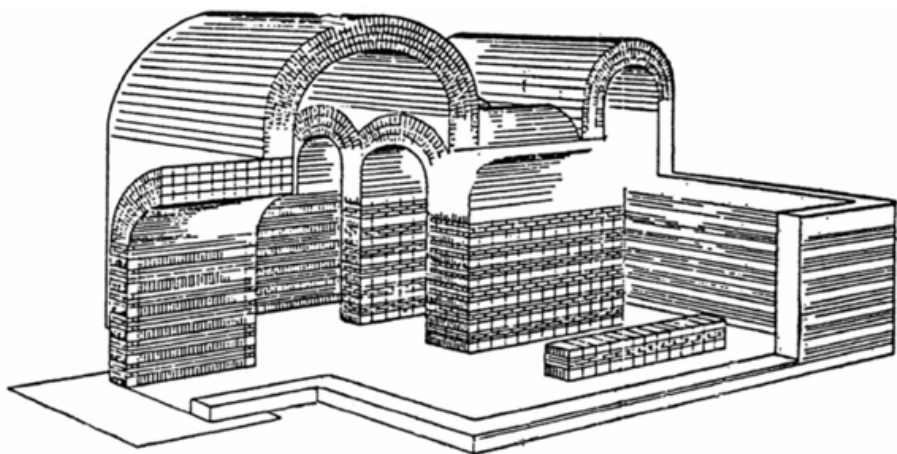


Figure 2.4: Ganquan (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2, WW 1981.11, 1, fig. 1.

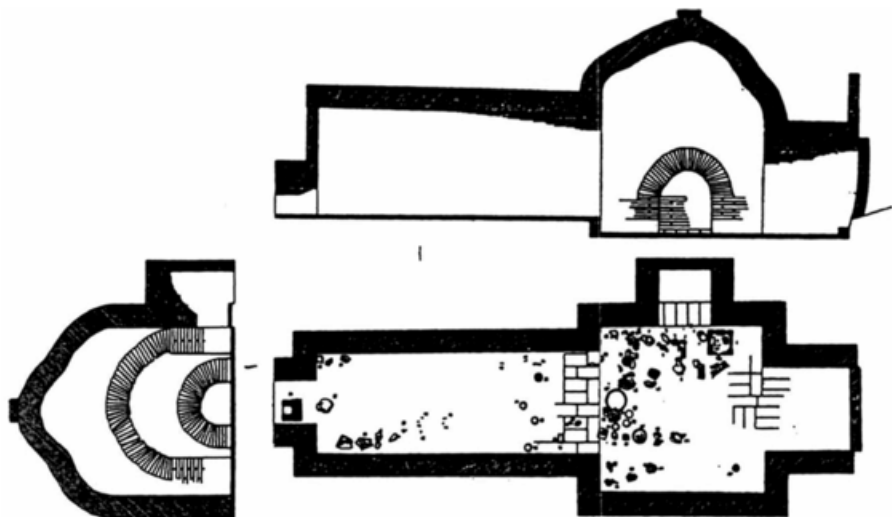


Figure 2.5: Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5041. (*Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 372, fig. 227.)

The coffered ceiling (*diese* [疊澀], *zaojing* [藻井], or *lu* [罍]) seems likewise to reflect foreign influence.⁵¹ Constructed of layers of stone framing the center of the ceiling in a usually concentric series of recessed squares of graduated size, the squares are either rotated by forty-five degrees relative to one another (usually designated as *diese* or *zaojing*) or placed in alignment without rotation (*lu*, “box”), in each case creating a central recess (the “well”). To judge by our sampling of dated tombs, this structure is known from the painted representation on the ceiling of Jingyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) unnumbered tomb, circa AD 14,⁵² as well as in physical structures beginning circa AD 135 at sites such as Jining (Shandong), Qinglongshan (Peixian, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), and the undatable Baiji (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu; [Figure 2.6](#)).⁵³ Western precedent utilizing nonrotated rectangles, rather than squares, may be found in the Greek-influenced Scythian tombs of the circa fourth through third centuries BC at Kul’-Oba (Kerč’, Crimea)⁵⁴ and subsequently in India, as represented on a fragment of bas relief from Amaravati (Deccan Province, South India; ca. first century BC)⁵⁵ and in the stupas on the upper register of a bas relief from Bharhut (Madhya Pradesh, North India; ca. 150 BC).⁵⁶ The structure further reappears in the Parthian “Square Hall” at old Nisa, circa 100 BC through AD 100, with squares set inside one another at alternating forty-five-degree angles.⁵⁷ More than one source of influence may have reached China. The role played by India in the Han derivation of the structure is further suggested by the eight-petaled lotus carved in the ceiling of the Baiji tomb's central chamber,⁵⁸ where not only the

lotus itself but also its eight petals may be signs of Buddhist influence (eight representing the eight-fold path to illumination).⁵⁹

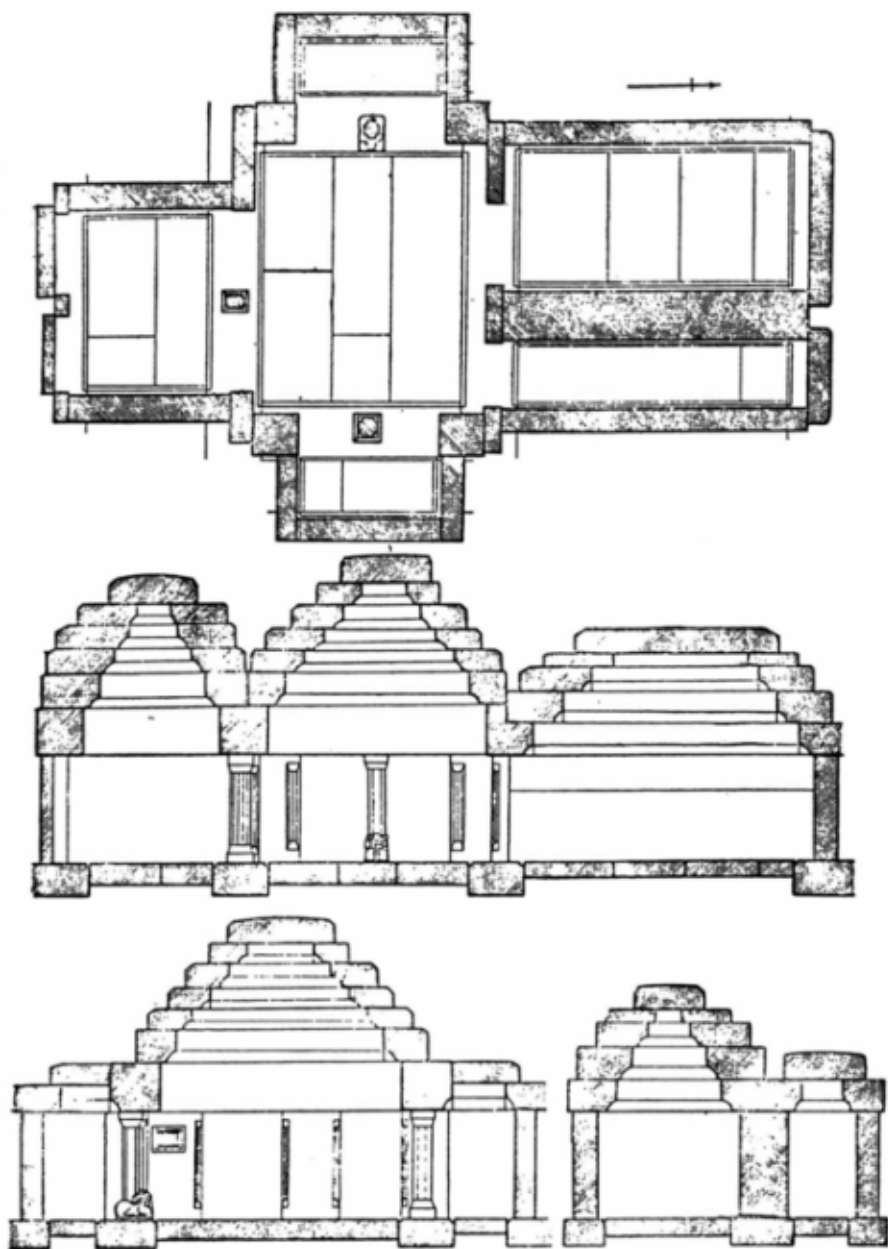


Figure 2.6: Baiji (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), stone. (Nanjing, “Xuzhou Qingshanquan Baiji,” KG 1981.2, 138, fig. 2.)

Foreign influence in the layout of Han tombs is harder to ascertain, given the paucity of both contemporaneous Chinese and foreign architecture for comparison. For example, Shimida Sadahiko and

Hamada Kosaku note similarities in the floor plans of Han architectonic tombs and post-Han Indian stupas, but no Han-era stupas can be cited.⁶⁰ In other cases, the difficulty lies in the ambiguity of the data. The floor plan of the Han *huangchang ticou* tombs, while recalling some temple plans in Parthia, for instance,⁶¹ could easily have developed independently as an offshoot of the Chinese box tomb structure. In parallel, similarities between the floor plan of Han civil architecture such as the column-lined buildings of the Weiyang Palace⁶² and Near Eastern temples of the “centralized square plan,” which occurred from early fifth century BC. Persepolis (Gate of Xerxes) through the Parthian era as late as the second century AD, with extension into northern India (Taxila, ca. first century BC),⁶³ may at this time be considered merely fortuitous. More convincingly, the floor plan of Liu Qi (Yuemiao [Huayin, Shaanxi]) M1 (Figure 2.7),⁶⁴ unusual in Han tombs, closely recalls the “indented” temples carried by Greek expansion in the late fourth century BC as far as the Hellenistic (pre-Kushan) Bactrian site of Aï Khanoum (ca. 300–250 BC),⁶⁵ later echoed by the branching L-form wings of Parthian tombs through the circa second century AD, as at Hatra and Assur (both, Iraq).⁶⁶ From the entrance door, the Liu Qi tomb branches to each side in an L-shaped wing, while the central chambers, separated by narrow corridors, are of square and rectangular shape, the latter placed once horizontally and once vertically, with respect to the tomb entrance. This design may constitute the formalization of simple architectonic tombs whose contiguous pits are of unlined earth, as at Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M74,⁶⁷ where a rectangular burial chamber is flanked symmetrically by brick and earth side chambers of L and ω form. Whereas at Shaogou this arrangement seems to result from chance, in the tomb of Liu Qi, the design must have been planned to be executed in brick. Whether the Greek “indented temples” had any bearing on the architecture of the Liu Qi tomb, the similarities are strong enough to warrant consideration.

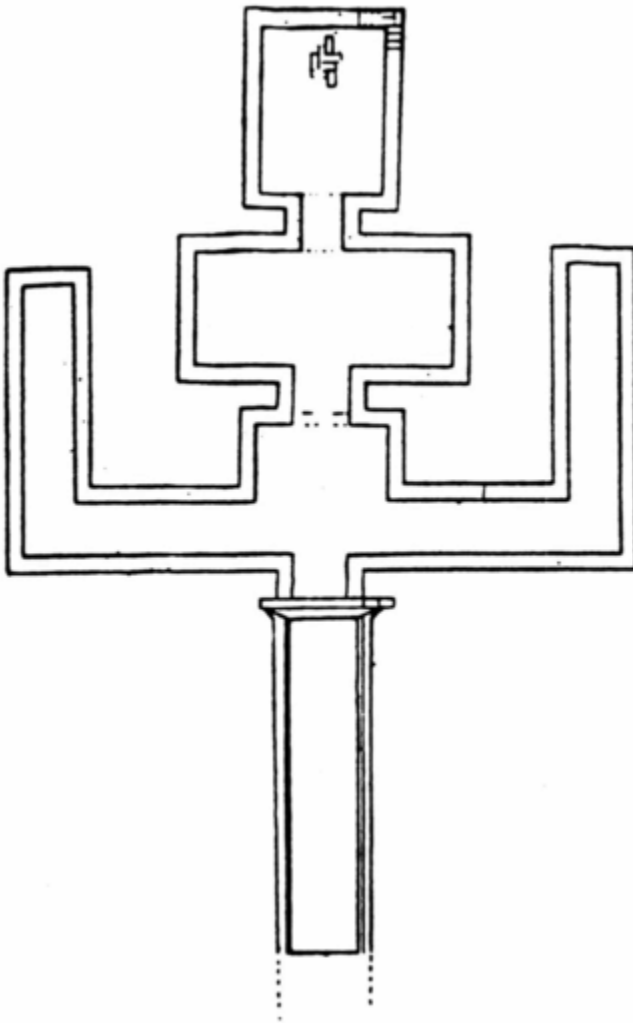


Figure 2.7: Tomb of Liu Qi (Huayin, Shaanxi) M1, *KGYWW* 1986.5, 46, fig. 1:1, upper right.

Some progression in the development of the Han architectonic tomb seems natural for technical reasons, such as the use of vaulting and the dome, and is supported by our sample of dated tombs. However, if we may judge from that same sample, there is no evidence of linear development in the number of tomb chambers or the type of building material.⁶⁸ The tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]; 122 BC), currently the earliest dated architectonic tomb, is multicameral, constructed of stone blocks. At much the same time, brick was used for a box tomb at Liangnanzhuang (Rongcheng Municipality, Shandong) M1, circa 119-103 BC,⁶⁹ and a little later for an architectonic tomb at Baimashi

(Ziyang, Shaanxi) IM5, circa 70 BC. Nearly contemporaneous to Baimashi IM5, the multicameral architectonic tomb of Shizishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu; 69 BC) incorporates décor-stamped hollow brick and stone blocks separate from the cave into which the tomb was built. More significantly, although architectonic tombs begin to outnumber box tombs in the Wang Mang era (ca. AD 6–24), the wood box tomb remained in use until the end of the Eastern Han, as at the circa AD 190 Shiyang (Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan). Accordingly, tomb structure cannot be used to indicate the date of a tomb. This conclusion is the direct result of my redating a number of Han tombs. In contrast, the dating of these same tombs by Chinese archaeologists suggests that structure is chronologically precise, even when it has not consciously been used to determine date. The Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) and Guangzhou (Guangdong) excavation reports illustrate the problem.

The authors of the Shaogou report base their dates primarily on ceramic typologies and comparison of tomb floor plans derived from the examination of the site's positively dated tombs, the presence of coinage, and the presence of mirrors.⁷⁰ Commendably, coin types are assumed to have remained in circulation for an extended period of time and are thus interpreted as indicating a *terminus post quem*.⁷¹ In contrast, the authors adopt the dates attributed to mirror types by other archaeologists of the time. This acceptance of *a priori* mirror dating hampers the authors' independent development of a site chronology. However, the chronology they propose for tomb layout appears to result from, rather than precede, their dating of the site.⁷² Similarly, the linear but chronologically overlapping development of tomb structure posited in the report seems to stem from, rather than precede, the dates assigned to the tombs. The authors' acknowledgment that different structures coexisted within the cemetery makes for a relatively nuanced presentation. Nonetheless, their conclusions suggest a correlation between date and structure that my object comparisons do not sustain.

Of the forty-four tombs included in my corpus (three with a positive date), the date I propose based on object comparison differs from that of the excavation report in eighteen cases: M2 (ca. AD 9 vs. the excavation report's Middle Western Han), M11 (ca. AD 5 vs. Middle Western Han), M16 (ca. AD 65 vs. Middle Western Han), M59A (ca. AD 90 vs. Late Western Han/Wang Mang), M113 (ca. AD 176 vs. Early Eastern Han), M144 (ca. AD 109 vs. Late Eastern Han), M146 (ca. AD 179 vs. Middle Eastern Han), M159B (ca. AD 9 vs. Middle Western Han), M183 (ca. AD 90 vs. Middle Western Han), M312 (ca. AD 9 vs.

Middle Western Han), M410 (ca. AD 9 vs. Middle Western Han), M413 (ca. AD 9 vs. Middle Western Han), M1004A (ca. AD 109 vs. Late Western Han/Wang Mang), M1008 (ca. AD 73 vs. Middle Eastern Han), M1009A (ca. AD 176 vs. Early Eastern Han), M1019 (ca. AD 176 vs. Early/Middle Eastern Han), and M1040 (ca. AD 132 vs. Late Eastern Han).⁷³ Structure is not specified for M1019 or 1040. Most of my redatings involve tombs originally considered Middle Western Han, a period for which I have not identified any Shaogou tombs. According to my analysis, use of the box tomb at Shaogou is in fact attested to the Early Eastern Han (M183, ca. AD 90), while the tomb with transverse front chamber occurs as early as the Early Eastern Han (M1008, ca. AD 73). Looking only at Shaogou, my findings have no impact on the dates proposed by the excavation report for barrel or groin vaulting or the dome.

The Guangzhou (Guangdong) excavation report is both vaguer and less nuanced than that of Shaogou. Dating appears to be determined primarily through ceramic typologies,⁷⁴ but the basis for these is unspecified. Coinage is generally used as a *terminus post quem*, with acknowledgment that Wang Mang coins occur in tombs as late as the Late Eastern Han.⁷⁵ Given the report's lack of clarity, its rationale for dating becomes circular. Because the date assigned to the tombs by the excavators correlates closely with tomb structure, I assume that, consciously or not, tomb structure at least influenced, if not determined, tomb dating in the excavation report. It is significant that the wood box tomb is said to have remained in use throughout Western and Eastern Han.

Because of the mixed ethnicity of the Far South (as I term Guangdong, Guangxi, Fujian, and Guizhou), the dating of Han-era sites in Guangdong and Guangxi is particularly important for its effect on our view of that region's political and cultural history. In both of these spheres, the chronology proposed by the Guangzhou (Guangdong) excavation report poses a number of problems. The excavation report divides its chronology into five uneven periods based partially on political events: period I (219–111 BC) depends on the political situation in the Guangdong region, while periods II through V (ca. 110–30 BC, ca. 29 BC–AD 24, AD 25–75, and AD 76–220) depend on national Han events. Apart from period I, only one of the years cited for each chronological division corresponds to an event dated by the Han dynastic histories. Period I begins, not with the circa 206 BC founding of the kingdom of Nanyue by a transplanted Chinese official as his own fief, but with the Qin claim to the area in 219 BC. It ends with the conquest of Nanyue by Han Wudi in 111 BC.⁷⁶ The excavation report does not explain why 219 BC is more significant as

a starting point than the establishment of Nanyue: that is, how Qin was significant for material from the Guangzhou cemetery or how that brief period prior to the founding of Nanyue constitutes part of the “Early Nanyue culture.”⁷⁷ Period II begins immediately after the collapse of Nanyue as an independent state. The remaining divisions are defined by the end of the Wang Mang era and the subsequent Chinese civil war in AD 24,⁷⁸ the AD 25 advent, and the AD 220 end of the Eastern Han. The second of the two defining dates for periods II through V is, in each case, largely arbitrary. AD 76 is the date inscribed on M5041. M5060 (AD 80), M5065 (AD 97), and M5068 (AD 170) likewise provide positive dates. It is unclear why M5041 is considered more significant than the others.

This chronology depends largely on vessel forms; the basis for their dating is usually unclear.⁷⁹ Qin or Han coinage and Han mirrors are mentioned almost incidentally,⁸⁰ and the excavation report's chronological divisions do not seem closely tied to the *terminus post quem* dates these objects provide. The exceptions to this are the inscribed vessels assigned, according to the official terminology used in their inscriptions, to the second part of period I (ca. 160–111 BC).⁸¹ Analysis of the inscriptions assumes that Han official titles in use – for instance, from 144 to 104 BC⁸² – were likewise used in independent Nanyue or that the vessels on which they appear were imported. In either case, dating by epigraphy becomes part of a larger problem centered on ethnic identity.

Table 2.6: Chronological distribution of tomb structures at Guangzhou (Guangdong).¹

- Distribution according to the excavation report
- + + + Distribution extended by my redating of the site
- I (1): Pit grave with inward-sloping sides
- I (2): Pit grave with straight sides
- II (1): Pit grave with waist pit, traces of wood box tomb
- II (2): Pit grave with gravel floor, traces of wood box tomb
- II (3): Pit grave with wood box tomb
- II (4): Pit grave with gravel floor and entrance ramp, traces of wood box tomb
- II (5): Pit grave with entrance ramp and wood box tomb
- III (1): Pit grave with gravel floor, entrance ramp, compartmented wood box tomb
- III (2): Pit grave with entrance ramp, compartmented wood box tomb
- III (3): Pit grave with entrance ramp, two story compartmented wood box tomb

III (4): Pit grave with entrance ramp, two story compartmented wood box tomb with transverse front chamber

III (5): Pit grave with entrance ramp, “imitation” (*jia* 假), i.e. partially, two story compartmented wood box tomb

IV (1): Barrel vaulted, brick, unicameral architectonic tomb

IV (2): Barrel vaulted, brick, multicameral architectonic tomb

IV (3): Barrel vaulted, brick, multicameral architectonic tomb with entrance ramp and entrance hall

V (1): Barrel vaulted, brick architectonic tomb with transverse front chamber

V (2): Barrel vaulted, brick, multicameral architectonic tomb with transverse front chamber and longitudinal rear chamber(s)

VI (1): Barrel and groin vaulted/domed, brick architectonic tomb with single burial (coffin) chamber

VI (2): Barrel and groin vaulted/domed, brick, multicameral architectonic tomb with two burial (coffin) chambers

VI (3): Barrel and groin vaulted/domed, brick, multicameral architectonic tomb with three burial (coffin) chambers

VII (1): Brick, multicameral architectonic tomb with groin vaulting/dome over two chambers, chambers aligned longitudinally

VII (2): Brick, multicameral architectonic tomb with groin vaulting/dome over two chambers, chambers aligned transversely

1: Early Western Han (219 – ca. 111 BC)

2: Middle Western Han (ca. 110 – ca. 30 BC)

3: Late Western Han (ca. 29 BC – AD 24)

4: Early Eastern Han (AD 25-75)

5: Late Eastern Han (AD 76-220)

	1	2	3	4	5
I(1)				+++ +
					+++ +
I(2)				
II(1)				
II(2)				
II(3)			+++ +	
				+++ +	
II(4)				
II(5)				+++ +
					+++ +
III(1)				
III(2)				
III(3)				

III(4)
III(5)
IV(1)
IV(2)
IV(3)
V(1)
V(2)	+ + + +
	+ + + +
VI(1)
VI(2)

¹ *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 456–67; 528–9; 23; 25–6; 66–79, table 3; 185–7; 201–5, table 4; 253–5; 260–2, table 5; 295–310; 311–15, table 6; 359–71; 384–93, table 7. Cf., 468–9, fig. 284.

The *Guangzhou Han mu* description of period I as representing “Nanyue culture” from beginning to end assumes that we are now in a position to define that culture over its political lifetime. The excavation report seems to have produced its definition as a result of expectations, which the data is made to fit, rather than the reverse. The subdivision of period I into two eras – 219 through circa 160 BC and circa 159 through 111 BC – is tied to two types of ceramic assemblages: “Yue” (i.e., southern coastal non-Chinese) and “Chinese.”⁸³ The former includes shapes associated with the Han-era Far South, such as the joined groups of pots and broad-shouldered *fou* (缶; originally, a container for liquid,⁸⁴ which I include with *guan* in my typology);⁸⁵ the latter, ritual vessels including *ding* and *hu*, viewed as typically Chinese. It needs to be noted that the origin of the supposedly “Yue” *weng* (甕) may in fact be Chinese (see [Chapter 4](#)). The presumed “Yue” ware could thus be a regional variation of the Chinese. The authors of the *Guangzhou* excavation report do not consider this aspect of the problem. By dating “Yue” ware to the first part of period I and “Chinese” pieces to the later part, they maintain that Yue culture disappeared as Chinese culture became dominant. Apart from the difficulty of defining Yue culture in archaeological terms (to which I shall return), this viewpoint ignores the implications of the documented presence of the “Yue” assemblage in tombs that also yield the supposedly Chinese assemblage. Since the “Yue” forms in both “Yue” and “Chinese” tombs are the same, we must assume that they date to the same time. If the “Chinese” assemblage is correctly dated by virtue of inscriptions, then the “Yue” assemblage must be assumed to share its date. Thus, a chronological subdivision of period I is untenable. Further, the fact that “Chinese” tombs include “Yue”

pieces would seem more likely to suggest a blending of cultural elements rather than Chinese dominance. This could be due not to the ethnic identity of the deceased but to his social or economic status.

While *Guangzhou* does not appear to use burial structure as a means of dating, the narrow chronological distribution of structure lends itself to such use. There are, however, significant exceptions: the wood box tomb (II:5) remains in use until the “Late” Eastern Han, and the compartmented wood box tomb (III:3) remains in use throughout the entire Han era. Conventions associated with the coastal non-Chinese, such as gravel covering the floor of the burial pit (II:2, II:4, III:1) or the presence of a waist pit in the pit floor (II:1),⁸⁶ are claimed only for the earliest period. I remain unconvinced that either gravel flooring or a waist pit indicates more than a regional characteristic, particularly since both are paired with traces of wood box tombs (III:1, compartmented). The level of detail provided in the excavation report's structural classification allows these features to be isolated from the general category in which they participate. This could lend itself to use of such structures as a means of dating.

Of the 104 tombs from the Guangzhou cemetery included in my corpus (4 with a positive date), the date I propose for 51 of the tombs differs from that of the excavation report. Most affected are burials from periods III and IV of the excavation report, with the redating of virtually every tomb from the timeframe that is included in the corpus. For period I, I redate M1014, 1068, and 1175 to circa AD 65; M1067, 1077, 1100, and 1125 to circa 70 BC; and M1076 and 1174, to circa AD 90; and M1113 and 1116, to circa AD 5. For period II: M2001 and 2050, to circa AD 67; M2003, 2010, 2011, 2017, 2022, 2030, 2038, 2042, 2046, 2055, and 2060, all to circa AD 90; M2009, to circa AD 9; M2058, to circa 122 BC; M2062, to circa AD 65. For period III: M3009 and 3023, both to circa AD 67; M3019, 3020, 3021, and 3024, all to circa AD 90; M3029, to circa AD 109; and M3031, to circa AD 80. For period IV: M4001, 4004, 4006, 4007, 4009, 4013, 4017, 4018, 4019, 4024, and 4028, all to circa AD 90 and M4021, 4026, and 4036, all to circa AD 80. Finally, for period V: both M5030 and 5031 are redated to circa AD 65.⁸⁷ These changes have only a modest effect on the chronological distribution of structures proposed by the excavation report: I:2 (straight-sided pit) and II:5 (pit grave with entrance ramp and wood box tomb) are extended forward until circa AD 90 (period V), while IV:1, 2 (barrel vaulted architectonic, unicameral and multicameral) are extended backward, also to circa AD 90. II:3 (pit grave with wood box) is extended forward to circa AD 65 (period IV); V:2 (barrel vaulted, multicameral architectonic tomb with transverse front chamber, longitudinal rear chamber[s]),

backward to the same date. III:4 (pit grave with entrance ramp and two-story compartmented wood box with transverse front chamber) and III:5 (pit grave with entrance ramp and partially two-story compartmented wood box) are not attested among those Guangzhou cemetery tombs in my corpus until circa AD 80.

For both box and architectonic tombs, additions or alterations to the structure may have been made after initial construction. For instance, the entrance ramp of some double burial, non-architectonic tombs in the Guangzhou (Guangdong) cemetery show signs of having been dug out more than once, indicating to the excavators that the tomb was reopened to admit the second burial.⁸⁸ Similarly, differences in the kind of brick used in the construction seem to indicate work executed at different times. For example, the multicameral architectonic Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5039 is made of grey-green brick, but the left side chamber was closed off with a wall of reddish-yellow brick, presumably at some time after the original construction of the tomb.⁸⁹ Excavators believe that the reddish-yellow brick wall is likely to have been added when the tomb was reopened to bury the second member of the couple interred there. From this evidence, they extrapolate that double or multiple burials, whether in box or architectonic tombs, entailed the reopening of the tomb.⁹⁰ This hypothesis appears true, since the simultaneous burial of multiple individuals would otherwise imply either human sacrifice or second inhumation (reburial). Both sacrifice and reburial are difficult to ascertain from skeletal evidence and are rarely suggested by archaeological reports for the Han era. In terms of anthropological data, Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) provides the only examples of second inhumation in our sample,⁹¹ while the inscription on the Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) *guan* M1037:11, dedicating a new tomb to the donor's great-grandfather, appears to provide nonphysiological evidence of reburial.⁹² At the same time, double burials are frequently attested in both box and architectonic structures.⁹³ Such reopening of the tomb, more than the relocation of a body to a different tomb, creates the possibility of multiple chronologies for a single burial. We may reasonably assume that additional burial goods would have been placed within the tomb together with the additional bodies interred, and perhaps even on other occasions, complicating attempts at dating the burial according to funerary objects as well as attempts to differentiate between new and older items among burial goods.

For the present study, I have concentrated on objects and structures to the exclusion of burial ritual. There are, however, cases when ritual is central to ethnic attribution. Particularly in the peripheral regions of Han China, differentiation between Chinese and non-Chinese can be

tenuous. Tombs whose structure is unequivocally Han Chinese (i.e., brick or stone architectonic tombs) or whose structure is common both to Chinese and non-Chinese (such as the pit or catacomb grave, with no inner structure or with some forms of the wood box tomb) may yield burial goods which, like the tomb structure, are also consistent with Han Chinese forms and practices. In these cases, it is primarily geographic location and the proximity of known non-Chinese archaeological material that raise the question of ethnicity. Sites of this nature include Guangzhou (Guangdong), Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi), Shixing (Guangdong), and Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai). In terms of the strictly material, these sites may be considered, for practical purposes, Han Chinese. Are we justified in leaving the matter there?

Guangzhou (Guangdong), Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi), Shixing (Guangdong)

The historical texts refer in general terms to southern coastal (Guangdong, Guangxi) non-Chinese peoples as the “hundred Yue” (*bai Yue* [百越]) or, sometimes, the Yi. The matter is complicated by the existence of an Eastern Zhou-era (ca. 771–221 BC) state named Yue in the Lower Yangzi region of Jiangsu and Zhejiang. Although known from textual evidence as non-Chinese, at least by the later Springs and Autumns (ca. sixth through fifth centuries BC), the state of Yue participated closely in the Chinese politics of the time and made use of Chinese material culture. Relations with the state of Chu – occupying Hubei, Hunan, and parts of Henan before expanding through the Lower Yangzi and southward, conquering Yue in 334 BC⁹⁴ – were particularly close. In this context, it is not surprising to find evidence of Chu contact on “Yue” sites, with objects of Chu production or with pieces attesting to Chu influence.⁹⁵ Archaeologists attempting to define “Yue” rely primarily on the lack of recognizably Zhou burial ritual, as well as distinctions in burial structure (i.e., the *tudunmu* [土墩墓], above-ground burials, sometimes with dolmen burial chambers or a gravel flooring, surmounted by tumuli) and some vessel forms (particularly the “Yue” *ding*, often with flaring necks and outward-curving legs, as seen in my *ding* 22, 24–26). Note, however, that the Chinese wood box tomb (simple or compartmented) was used extensively in the state of Yue and that “Yue” vessel forms generally have Chinese formal antecedents.⁹⁶ Notably, a Late Shang period *ding* with flaring legs from Jiangxi, often considered essentially non-Chinese and subsequently associated with the states of Wu and Yue, has direct antecedents in Early Shang Chinese work from Zhengzhou (Henan).⁹⁷ *Ding*, such as a Middle Springs and Autumns piece from

Baohexu (Hengnan, Hunan) and a Late Springs and Autumns example in the collection of the Hunan Provincial Museum⁹⁸ are sometimes held to demonstrate non-Chinese influence in the form of the body, but both have Middle Western Zhou Chinese prototypes, as known from Rujiazhuang (Baoji Municipality, Shaanxi) M1.⁹⁹ These forms may have passed from Chinese to non-Chinese and back again. Even if the non-Chinese were subsequently the immediate source of the outward-splayed legs,¹⁰⁰ together with some vessel body forms, which appear on many Eastern Zhou-era Chu *ding*, these forms were widely used by Chu throughout the Warring States and do not constitute isolated cases of the adoption of foreign taste. Other Eastern Zhou *ding* forms presumed to constitute southern non-Chinese types that are rare or unknown in Chu but attested in Wu-Yue and the Far South have Western Zhou antecedents. For instance, a Middle Springs and Autumns example from Gutangqiao (Xiangtan, Hunan)¹⁰¹ has Late Western Zhou Chinese precedents¹⁰² in the “Maogong” (“Duke Mao”) *ding* from Qishan (Shaanxi),¹⁰³ whose body form is like that of the Gutangqiao *ding*, but whose legs are massive and vertical. The “Maogong” *ding* bears a Chinese décor. This form continued in production in Shanxi during the last part of the Early Springs and Autumns, as at Shangma (Houma Municipality, Shanxi) M1287:41, 7.¹⁰⁴ In addition, an Early Springs and Autumns *ding* from Jinjing (Changsha Municipality, Hunan)¹⁰⁵ has more highly decorated equivalents, such as a Middle Springs and Autumns example from Zixing (Hunan). Li Xueqin considers the latter to have been produced not in Chu but probably by the indigenous non-Chinese of the region.¹⁰⁶ The same form, with closely related décor common to Baoji (Shaanxi) vessels of this time, occurs in Zhuyuangou (Baoji Municipality, Shaanxi) BZM9:1, Early Middle Western Zhou.¹⁰⁷ The Baoji context suggests that the form itself is Chinese, although the Zixing example may have been influenced by local, possibly non-Chinese, décors.¹⁰⁸

We are, therefore, left with ritual as the mark of cultural distinction. Thus, ritual and the objects embodying it serve as the definition of “Chinese.” Departure from this norm is taken as revealing the non-Chinese, with little or no freedom between the two. Such a definition is an adequate guide for the upper classes in the Eastern Zhou period. Once beyond the Zhou sphere, geographically or chronologically, that ritual no longer applies. Any Chinese living outside of Zhou territory would presumably be as free as the non-Chinese to ignore Zhou ritual requirements. In a non-Chinese context where no corresponding non-Chinese ritual can be defined, attribution rests essentially on material forms. This is true as well within the Han-era Chinese context. By the time of the Han, Chinese society had changed to such an extent that

ritual rigidity had given way to personal taste, limited by economic means far more than by sumptuary law. Additionally, our sampling of Han tombs encompasses a fairly wide range of social classes, further reducing the archaeological significance of ritual, in its more conspicuous forms historically tied to wealth.

In the Far South, certain vessel forms and décors are immediately recognizable as non-Chinese. Undoubtedly, the most prominent examples of these are the bronze drum and bucket (*thap*), as well as the pictorial décor of scenes of boating, associated with the Dong-Son culture (Vietnam), and widely distributed across southern China and beyond.¹⁰⁹ Although non-Chinese, they clearly occur in Chinese contexts as well, such as the tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong])¹¹⁰ and Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M1,¹¹¹ as well as in the obviously non-Chinese kingdom of Dian.¹¹² Because of their broad distribution, these forms and décors indicate only participation of some sort in a cultural continuum, not the identity of the culture in which they are found. A similar problem surrounds the vessel forms, and to some extent the burial structures, generally said to typify the southern coastal non-Chinese (“Yue”), since they are shared by the Chinese.

The excavation report for Guangzhou (Guangdong) defines “Yue,” in structural terms, as a burial pit with a gravel floor and/or with a waist pit (burial structures II:1, 2, 4; III:1); in terms of vessel types, “Yue” is defined as *weng* (large jars) with two lugs, the *guan* with two lugs, small, shallow pots termed “boxes” (*he* [盒]), sometimes partitioned inside, often with lids and sometimes with three feet, joined *guan*, and an absence of Han ritual forms, including model courtyards.¹¹³ When “Yue” and Han forms occur together, the mix is taken to represent assimilation of the Yue by the Chinese. “Yue” structures and forms are believed to have disappeared by the Middle Western Han, which the excavation report defines as beginning with Wudi’s 111 BC conquest of the kingdom of Nanyue.

The excavation reports for Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) make a “highly probable” identification of the site with the Yue, emphasizing evidence of contact with Chu and raising the possibility of migration southward of people from the state of Wu.¹¹⁴ Understood as “Yue” are characteristics from the Jiangsu region, including the waist pit¹¹⁵ and gravel flooring in the grave.¹¹⁶ No specifically coastal south forms are identified. With the exception of a “boot-shaped” axe found scattered on the site,¹¹⁷ a form which extends into northern Vietnam,¹¹⁸ all objects appear consistent with Chinese norms. *Weng* of the kind identified as “Yue” by the Guangzhou excavation report occur, but are not discussed.¹¹⁹ The absence of ritual bronzes such as *hu*, *dou* (豆,

bowls set on a stem), or *dui* (敦, covered, ovoid bowls with small feet on the base and on the lid) is noted.¹²⁰ The Yinshanling tombs are modest, even when presumed luxury items such as jade (in small quantities)¹²¹ or remains of lacquered coffins (only in M22, 40)¹²² are found.

One group of Shixing (Guangdong) burials is recognized by the excavators as Han-era because of the brick architectonic tomb structure.¹²³ In this context, the question of the “Yue” is not raised. A separate report presents two burials, pit graves with a gravel floor, dated by the excavators to the Late Springs and Autumns era (ca. sixth to early fifth centuries BC).¹²⁴ I have redated M1§ to circa AD 90. This excavation report does not explicitly evoke the Yue but does establish comparisons of the grave floor and burial goods with the dolmen or ground-level tombs of Jiangsu and Zhejiang (attributed by the Shixing M1§ report to the Middle Western Zhou, circa late tenth to early ninth centuries BC).¹²⁵

In each of these cases, therefore, the same criteria are used to suggest Yue affiliation, defined as related to the state of Yue. It is nonetheless noteworthy that neither the dolmen nor ground-level burial is attested at the Far South sites under consideration here. Equally importantly, when a Han cultural presence is pronounced, the question of the Yue either recedes or disappears, according to the presence or absence of the gravel floor and waist pit or, as at Guangzhou, the objects associated with the structure. Despite the comparison of vessel forms to those of the state of Yue, burial structure is thus the primary key to attribution.

As I noted earlier in this chapter, my redating of Guangzhou does not change the circa 219–111 BC dates attributed to these structures by excavators. However, redating Shixing M1§ from the Late Springs and Autumns to circa AD 90 extends use of gravel flooring into the Early Eastern Han. This date coincides with that offered by the Yinshanling report, as for M112 (ca. AD 90 in my dating) and 116 (ca. AD 87 in my dating).¹²⁶ The Yinshanling report, in contrast, dates the waist pit only through the Late Western Han, as with M127 and 149.¹²⁷ My redating of M74, 94, and 115 to circa AD 90 again extends use of this feature through the Early Eastern Han.¹²⁸ A gravel floor occurs in only a relatively small number of graves at Guangzhou and Yinshanling: 15 of 409 tombs excavated at Guangzhou¹²⁹ and 19 of 155 tombs reported as Warring States- or Han-era at Yinshanling.¹³⁰ At Guangzhou, it is always found together with (traces of) a wood box tomb, simple or compartmented. Once, the structure includes a waist pit, as well (Guangzhou M1026).¹³¹ At Yinshanling, only one of the gravel-floored burials includes a wood box tomb (M115), although

other graves on the site also utilize the wood box.¹³² The rare occurrence of the wood box in combination with a gravel floor could be due to a number of socioeconomic factors (cost, availability) other than ethnicity. At Yinshanling, particularly, there is little, if any, difference in burial goods between tombs with gravel floors and those without. By way of comparison, Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M5 also has a gravel floor, water channels, and, it is assumed, a compartmented wood box tomb.¹³³ The excavation report makes no reference to the Yue. In the same way, the floors of eighteen burial pits at Lequn and Fengqing (all: Zhaoping, Guangxi)¹³⁴ are lined with gravel, sand, charcoal, or a combination of these, which excavators presume was used for drainage.¹³⁵ The pit of Lequn M8 includes a water channel.¹³⁶ Eight of these contained traces of a wood box tomb and coffin;¹³⁷ the Lequn M8 coffin was lacquered.¹³⁸ Some of Zhaoping's six stone (unicameral, architectonic) tombs are also floored with gravel.¹³⁹ The burial pit floors of Tangpai (Hepu, Guangxi) M1-2A, B, with wood box tombs, are covered with gravel and charcoal, likewise without mention of the Yue.¹⁴⁰ In addition, the burial pit of Pingshuo (Shanxi) 5M1 was lined with gravel, pottery tiles or shards, and charcoal.¹⁴¹ Use of gravel thus could be the Far Southern-equivalent of lining the grave with charcoal, common in areas farther north; for example, in Chengbei (Hexian, Anhui), Dabaotai (Beijing Municipality) M1-2, or Mawangdui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1-3. Particularly in the wet climate of the Far South, gravel could serve for drainage. This is also suggested in the Guangzhou excavation report,¹⁴² seemingly without affecting the association of gravel and the southern coastal non-Chinese in the minds of the report's authors. The use of gravel does not, in any case, occur in our sample without features consistent with Chinese practices. Thus, although it may have been used by the southern coastal non-Chinese, it does not in itself define a clearly non-Chinese presence.

In contrast, the waist pit serves no distinctive practical function. Common in China, at least during the Late Shang and Western Zhou (ca. thirteenth through eighth centuries BC),¹⁴³ the waist pit seems to have disappeared by the Han dynasty. It occurs only five times in the Guangzhou cemetery,¹⁴⁴ in 88 of 110 burials reported as Warring States-era at Yinshanling, together with twelve out of forty-five of that site's "Han-era" graves.¹⁴⁵ The Guangzhou examples may have contained a wood box tomb.¹⁴⁶ Eight of the nineteen wood box tombs at Yinshanling were found in burials with waist pits.¹⁴⁷ Grave goods in all cases are modest and, perhaps apart from the waist pit, I see no basis for attribution to the non-Chinese. Additional pits in the floor of a tomb are not unknown during the Han. In Luobowan (Guixian,

Guangxi) M1 and 2, burial pits for grave goods and for sacrificial victims were dug into the floor of the primary burial pit.¹⁴⁸ As with the Guangzhou and Yinshanling tombs with waist pits, burial goods were also placed within the coffins and the box tombs. As unusual as this structural arrangement is in a Han context, both Luobowan M1 and 2 are essentially Chinese burials: compartmented wood box tombs,¹⁴⁹ lacquered coffins (both including a double-nested coffin),¹⁵⁰ a wood slip inventory of burial goods in M1,¹⁵¹ one uninscribed jade seal in M1,¹⁵² two jade seals (one reading “lady/wife,” *furen* [夫人]),¹⁵³ and the imprint of the official seal of the household bailiff (*jia sefu yin*) in M2,¹⁵⁴ and Han goods such as jade *bi* discs,¹⁵⁵ a lacquered *lian* (奩) cosmetics box,¹⁵⁶ lacquered ear-cups (*erbei*),¹⁵⁷ a *liubo* (六博) game or divination board.¹⁵⁸ Despite the bronze drums and *thap* in M1, very little southern non-Chinese presence is visible among the grave goods. If the Luobowan pits below the grave floor represent non-Chinese custom, the use to which they were put does not correspond to that of the waist pit in this region.

All five waist pits at Guangzhou¹⁵⁹ and the majority of those at Yinshanling contain a pottery vessel;¹⁶⁰ however, burial goods are placed elsewhere within the grave as well. The waist pit, and the vessel it contains, thus appear to have fulfilled a ritual, rather than a practical, function. It is this ritual aspect that sets them apart from Han practice. In comparison, in the north side-chamber of the architectonic tomb at Wangcun (Xiexian, Shanxi), a portion of the floor was left unpaved to accommodate burial of a large jar filled with dirt. Entrance to the chamber was then blocked.¹⁶¹ The significance of the jar is unknown. Could both the Wangcun jar and the ceramics (usually “boxes,” that is, small vessels with lids or jars, and occasionally cups¹⁶²) in the waist pits be connected in some way with the broader Han practice of burial goods jars inscribed with exhortations to or wishes for the dead (*zhenmuping* [鎮篋瓶])?¹⁶³ If so, the waist pit could constitute the revival of an earlier practice to fit new ritual or religious needs. In this case, it would be unrelated to the non-Chinese. Although I remain unconvinced that it signifies a non-Chinese cultural marker, this possibility remains. Therefore, I have tentatively accepted a non-Chinese attribution within my corpus of tombs for Guangzhou M1026* and Yinshanling M15*, 21*, 26*, 48*, 51*, 71*, 74*, 94*, 108*, 115*, and 119*. Because these burials are otherwise indistinguishable from the Chinese, they remain classified with Chinese tombs in my analysis.

Curiously, the authors of the Guangzhou excavation report claim to base their identification of “Yue” vessel types on those found in tombs whose structure they believe to be Yue. Nonetheless, as with the

gravel floor and the waist pit, I see the predominant rationale for attributing certain vessel types to the Yue non-Chinese as dependent on the association of these forms with the state of Yue. In contrast, the report's authors distinguish what they view as Chinese vessel types, particularly (formerly) ritual vessels, such as *hu* and *ding*, as well as items such as incense burners and model houses, as the basis for a Chinese attribution of the burials in which they occur.¹⁶⁴ Nonetheless, three of the five tombs with waist pits yielded *hu* (M1141, 1160, 1167).¹⁶⁵ As a result, the excavators are at pains to differentiate between these particular *hu* and Chinese *hu*¹⁶⁶ without altering either their vessel classifications or their criteria for cultural identification.¹⁶⁷ Similarly, they are puzzled by the lack of *thap* in “Yue” burials on the site, while bronze and earthenware *thap* occur in “Chinese” burials.¹⁶⁸ They offer as a possible explanation a Yue ritual prohibition of the form, rather than status, wealth (particularly for bronzes), or the problem of the geographically and culturally very broad distribution of the form. The identification of the waist pit or gravel floor with the Yue is not questioned.

Those vessel forms that the Guangzhou excavation report claims as Yue in purely “Yue” burials are equally problematic. Fifty-four tombs attributed to the Yue are used to illustrate “Yue” vessels,¹⁶⁹ but each of these vessels also occurs in “Chinese” tombs.¹⁷⁰ Thus, unlike “Chinese” vessels, which are felt to establish the Chinese ethnicity of the deceased, “Yue” vessels do not establish cultural attribution. Purportedly Yue ware includes joined pots, basins, boxes (covered bowls¹⁷¹), and bowls,¹⁷² which I have generally excluded from analysis because of difficulty differentiating between specific forms. Of these types, nonetheless, the association of joined pots with the Far South is very strong. This form does occur at least sporadically in the north, as in a bronze example from Xianyang (Shaanxi)¹⁷³ and two joined *guan* from Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M8:4 (earthenware, undatable).¹⁷⁴ Apart from a small number of “Yue” tombs which yielded *guan* and *weng* not classified (or illustrated) by the excavation report,¹⁷⁵ specific vessel forms belonging to types considered in my typologies are provided only in the Guangzhou tomb inventories,¹⁷⁶ not in the data analysis.¹⁷⁷ These include *Guangzhou* three-legged *guan* I (my *guan* 62) and II (my *guan* 61);¹⁷⁸ *guan* A, BI (including my *guan* 46),¹⁷⁹ BII, BIII;¹⁸⁰ *fou* I (including my *guan* 49, 102, 211), II (including my *guan* 50);¹⁸¹ *weng* I (my *guan* 78), III;¹⁸² two-lugged *guan* I (not illustrated in the excavation report), III (including my *guan* 57), IV;¹⁸³ three-legged *guan* I (including my *guan* 48);¹⁸⁴ a *jiaozun* (鑑尊, vessel for heating and pouring alcohol; including my *guan* 58);¹⁸⁵ *fu* cooking pots I (my *guan* 109) and II.¹⁸⁶ Of these, I find state of Yue or Lower Yangzi precedent only for the *fou*

and the *jiaozun*.

Fou are plentiful in the region of the state of Yue, with *yu* (basin) antecedents possibly as early as the Western Zhou (ca. 1050–771 BC), although dating is problematic.¹⁸⁷ In the Eastern Zhou, the form known during the Han emerges in the region of Yue,¹⁸⁸ but is well-documented in bronze in Chu and culturally-related states from the Middle Springs and Autumns (ca. late seventh through sixth centuries BC), as at Xiasi (Xichuan, Henan; [Figure 4.2](#))¹⁸⁹ and the 433 BC burial of the Marquis Yi of Zeng at Leigudun (Suizhou Municipality, Hubei),¹⁹⁰ culturally dominated by Chu. It occurs in the north as well, as in Late Springs and Autumns/Early Warring States (ca. fifth century BC) examples from the state of Jin at Shangma (Houma Municipality, Shanxi).¹⁹¹ Therefore, there is no reason to associate the *fou* with the non-Chinese. In the Eastern Zhou, as in the Han Far South, both a compact version with rounded shoulders of moderate width curving to a moderately broad base and a broad, squat version with more angular shoulders are attested. Although the Han-era *fou* is common in the Lower Yangzi (Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Anhui, Jiangxi) and the Far South, the earliest example in my typologies is northern, in fact from Shandong (*guan* 36). The Han-era form encompasses a series of more or less closely related variants extending from circa 136 BC to circa AD 90 (*guan* 36, 49–52, 55, 100–3, 210, and 211). These dates extend far beyond the timeframe implicit in the Guangzhou report's Yue attribution, according to which “Yue” vessel forms disappeared soon after Wudi's 111 BC conquest of Nanyue.¹⁹²

The *jiaozun*, Guangzhou M1105:1, is so closely related to the Guangzhou three-legged *guan* II, M1177:33,¹⁹³ that both are classified as *guan* 58 in my typologies. Note, however, that the Guangzhou excavation report considers the *jiaozun*, but not the three-legged *guan* II, to be Yue. This form has precedent in bronze *you* (卣, container for liquids) from Yiqi (Tunxi, Anhui) M1, which Lothar von Falkenhausen dates to circa ninth to sixth centuries BC¹⁹⁴ and is, in turn, very close to Late Shang bronzes (ca. thirteenth to eleventh centuries BC) from Anyang (Henan).¹⁹⁵ The same form continues in Western Zhou (ca. eleventh to eighth centuries BC), as an in earthenware example from Tiexiao (Luoyang Municipality, Henan).¹⁹⁶ The Guangzhou *jiaozun* therefore must be assumed to come from Chinese tradition. During the Han, this variant can also be found in the north, in an example of uncertain date from Gaozhuang (Dilu, Hebei) in bronze, although with *taotie* (饕餮) and rings, rather than lugs, and with long, well-shaped legs.¹⁹⁷ The Gaozhuang example – incorporating as it does features common to Chinese vessels, particularly *ding* – suggests that this shape need not be associated with the Far South. A related form, with a

deeper belly and short, well-shaped legs, is attested in earthenware in Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M11:24, classified in my typologies as *hu* 60.¹⁹⁸ *Guangzhou* two-lugged *guan* III, *guan* 57 (in my typologies), a more flamboyant version, with a broad, shallow body and long, moderately wide neck (cf. also my *guan* 118), is more typical of the Han Far South. This form appears related to a three-legged *guan* with a large, round-bottomed body, flat shoulders, and a moderate neck, known in glazed stoneware from Warring States-era Tangjiacun (Shaoxing, Zhejiang),¹⁹⁹ which also appears, without legs, in Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M2, which I have not dated, but which excavators assign to the Early Western Han.²⁰⁰ Ultimately, antecedents may be found in Early and Middle Shang (ca. fifteenth and fourteenth centuries BC) bronze *lei* (罍); for water), where a relatively broad body rises outward to a sharply-defined, relatively flat shoulder.²⁰¹ Here again, this genealogy provides no basis for attribution to the non-Chinese. The same is true of my *guan* 48, *Guangzhou* three-legged *guan* I, which closely echoes Late Western Zhou (ca. late ninth to early eighth centuries BC) bronze *gui* (簋); for offering grain).²⁰² This form was revived in the Late Springs and Autumns-Early Warring States, as in an example from Huixian (Henan),²⁰³ providing a more immediate comparison. As with other forms, *guan* 48 belongs to a series of closely-related forms, such as my *guan* 119 and 143, extending into circa AD 65. For the remaining vessel forms identified as “Yue” by the *Guangzhou* excavation report, I have found no direct antecedents. Nonetheless, apart from *Guangzhou* *guan* A, BI, BII, BIII, *weng* I, and *fu* II, which are not distinctive, and *fu* I, which I do not find to be Far Southern,²⁰⁴ all of the *Guangzhou* excavation report’s “Yue” forms are characteristic of the Han-era Far South and have a geographically-limited distribution. I believe that these forms are regionally, not ethnically, distinctive. Chronologically, they extend through most of the Han dynasty, as in, among other examples, my *guan* 43, 56, 222, 224, 226, and 240, dating through circa AD 101, well beyond the end of the Nanyue kingdom; for these forms, the *Guangzhou* excavation report makes no suggestion of any connection with the Yue.

Characteristic of these pots is a low, wide, often flattened belly or downward-sloping shoulders, as if to create a relatively low visual center of gravity (Chapter 4, Table 4.5). During the Han, northern forms often have an upward lift, with bellies quite symmetrical across a horizontal line and shoulders rising to a level near-even with the vessel mouth, as in *guan* 29, 32, and 37. These distinctions remain visible in *hu* and often *ding*, as well as *guan*, throughout the Han. The Far South profile in fact has precedents in the state of Yue and related Lower Yangzi states,²⁰⁵ as well as in Guangdong,²⁰⁶ but in both

regions represents only one formal tendency. Several Lower Yangzi Warring States-era *guan* have an elongated, upright form, such as on pieces from Longshan (Anji, Zhejiang) M1Q,²⁰⁷ which compare to my *guan* 183 and 273. Similarly, the Tazaijinshan (Fubin) and Dingdapushan (Lianrao; both, Guangdong) cemeteries, dated broadly to the pre-Qin era, have yielded *hu* and pitchers with flaring necks and a body with a pronounced central ridge, which are unlike vessels now known elsewhere.²⁰⁸ These pieces could therefore be indigenous to the region. At the same time, the Han Far South profile may likewise be seen on some bronzes from the Early Shang through the Late Western Zhou (ca. fifteenth through eighth centuries BC).²⁰⁹ This formal tendency, therefore, constitutes a part of the repertoire of the Central Plains which, over time, came to characterize one region. Thus, there is no way to connect the origins of the “Far South profile” either with the non-Chinese or, indeed, with the Far South.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai)

With the exception of Guangzhou (Guangdong), there is currently more published data from Shangsunjiazhai than from the other peripheral sites named. The site is further complicated by the discovery, in the same cemetery,²¹⁰ of Han-era and Kayue culture burials. Kayue itself is problematic, not least because of uncertain dating; the culture, considered pastoral and agrarian,²¹¹ is presumed to extend from the Late Shang (ca. thirteenth through eleventh centuries BC) to the Han.²¹² During the Han, this area of Qinghai is broadly attributed on textual evidence to the Qiang nomadic herdsmen. According to the *Hou Hanshu*, it was also occupied by part of the pastoral nomadic Yuezhi tribe after their migration westward following defeat by the Xiongnu in the early second century BC. It was also home to the Lushui nomads, which the authors of the Shangsunjiazhai excavation report interpret as part of the nomadic Xiongnu Empire and thus politically, if not ethnically, a branch of the Xiongnu.²¹³ Although a Xiongnu culture can be defined in archaeological terms, both the Yuezhi and the Qiang remain elusive, whether in Qinghai or elsewhere. In the absence of sufficient data from Qinghai, I cannot at this time identify a specific Han-era non-Chinese culture for that region. At Shangsunjiazhai, therefore, we may suspect a non-Chinese presence, but are reduced to defining it more on the negative – things or customs which appear not to be Chinese – than on positive evidence. Such a procedure compounds the doubt with which such data must be viewed.

The non-Chinese comparisons advanced by the authors of the Shangsunjiazhai excavation report all refer to pre-Han cultures of the

region, such as Kayue. Chief among these points are the practice of deliberately disturbed secondary burials, in which parts of the reassembled skeleton are deliberately moved to a different position or even removed altogether, currently unknown in Chinese burials;²¹⁴ interment of the body in an extended prone position; and animal sacrifice represented by the skulls, hooves, teeth, or the entire body of the animal.²¹⁵ The extended prone position is attested only in Shangsunjiazhai M87 and 130.²¹⁶ Such a position may not be associated with Han ritual burial in general, but is attested in Han Chinese burials such as XYNIM24 in the second Qin Palace at Xianyang (Shaanxi).²¹⁷ Given its rarity both in the Han and at Shangsunjiazhai, it is difficult to associate the practice with any particular group, cultural or social. More significantly, deliberately disturbed secondary burials, difficult to identify when the burial has been disturbed particularly by robbers, have been identified in M105, 106, 127, 130, 132, and possibly in M22, 48, 55, 58, 68, 104, and B-11, the latter group in robbed tombs. In contrast, animal sacrifice is not exclusively non-Chinese and is therefore more likely to be culturally distinctive in its detail (i.e., which parts of the animal were used) than in broad lines (i.e., which types of animals were used). Data from Shangsunjiazhai is not published only in generalized terms, identifying when possible the species of animal, but rarely the body part represented or the position in the grave. As such, any distinctive details which might have been present at excavation are usually lost, making it often impossible, to my mind, to affirm non-Chinese influence or attribution.

Animals represented at Shangsunjiazhai include cattle, horse, goat/sheep, pig, chickens, and dogs, all of which can occur in both Kayue and in Chinese burials. Although in high-ranking Han tombs, we associate horse sacrifice with the placement of the entire horse in annex pits, such as at (*inter alia*) Shizishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) or Dabaotai (Beijing Municipality) M1, 2,²¹⁸ or in side chambers within the main tomb, as at Mancheng (Hebei) M1 and 2 and Dingxian (Hebei) M40;²¹⁹ in more modest tombs, horses were sometimes buried in the main chamber (Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory [Fannan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi] M28).²²⁰ In addition, Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M46 provides at least one example where the horse was represented by the skull and hooves, rather than the entire body.²²¹ The same holds true for dogs, with the animal again at times represented only by the skull, at Shuihudi M44 and 45.²²² Similarly, the use of sheep, goats, or other animals as food means that partial and sometimes full skeletons may be found in tombs: for instance, a sheep or goat in the entrance shaft of M27 and inside the grave itself in M54, both at the Northwestern Medical

Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]).²²³ In less readily visible form, animal bones as such were included in several food containers in the tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]).²²⁴ Therefore, I would approach the Shangsunjiazhai evidence cautiously. Because of the vagueness of its publication, I have rejected the presence in the tomb of dogs, fowl, pigs, or generalized animal bones with no further specification as identifying a non-Chinese burial. However, because the sacrifice of sheep or goats, possibly cattle, and the representation of the sacrificed animal by its teeth are often associated with the non-Chinese across what is now northern China,²²⁵ I have at least provisionally accepted these as linked to a non-Chinese presence at Shangsunjiazhai. Accordingly, Shangsunjiazhai M42, 78, 81, 105, 106, 127, B-6, and B-8 may be related to the non-Chinese.

In terms of material, the authors of the Shangsunjiazhai report also identify a series of sixteen siliceous earthenware vessels with the non-Chinese.²²⁶ These vessels include elongated jars,²²⁷ elongated jars with two handles attached to a low belly,²²⁸ a single-handled cup and pitcher,²²⁹ and a three-legged vessel with wide, hollow legs (*li* [鬲]), common in the Shang, as well as in western non-Chinese cultures such as Xindian and Shajing (both, Gansu).²³⁰ The double-handled *guan*, in particular, does not appear in Han China, but is related to a long line of western non-Chinese ceramic forms.²³¹ These sixteen pieces may have been produced by and for non-Chinese or may be simply of local production, made either by Chinese or non-Chinese craftsmen for an unspecified local market; either might occur in Chinese burials, as, for instance, in the tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) and Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M1.²³² A non-Chinese attribution of the eight Shangsunjiazhai tombs in which this ware was found is therefore possible, but not necessary.

Shangsunjiazhai MB-1*, Han Chinese in structure and content, has been attributed to the Xiongnu solely on the basis of a camel-topped bronze seal found inside the tomb, inscribed “The Chief of the Han Xiongnu who have returned to righteousness and embraced the Han” (*Han Xiongnu guiyi qin Han zhang* [漢匈奴歸義親漢長]).²³³ The excavation report authors prefer the term “Lushui nomad” to Xiongnu.²³⁴ On the strength of this seal, however, they extend the attribution to all Shangsunjiazhai tombs of the same structure that belong to the same period, in their classification (i.e., structure H-2, a Han brick architectonic tomb with two groin-vaulted chambers, belonging to period 6, Late Eastern Han/Early Three Kingdoms [ca. third century AD]).²³⁵ Clearly, Han burial structure and burial goods

cannot be used to create a non-Chinese attribution. Of this group of twenty-seven H-2, period 6 tombs, I find only three which may be non-Chinese: MB-1*, with its seal, and MB-6 and MB-8, both of which include animal sacrifice of sheep/goats (MB-6), and horses, cattle, sheep/goats, and dogs (MB-8), which could be consistent with non-Chinese practices.

In addition, Shangsunjiazhai M24 yielded a Xiongnu bronze belt plaque (rectangular, with an openwork décor of semi-spheres diagonally linked by thin rods).²³⁶ Since a number of Han tombs include non-Chinese products, the presence of the plaque alone may indicate contact without attribution.

Incorporation in a burial of elements of non-Chinese ritual, like non-Chinese products, could indicate a mixing of a putative Han Chinese population with a local culture without providing a non-Chinese attribution for the specific burial in question. I have assumed the presence of a Han Chinese population because of the density of Han structures and artefacts together and the concomitant absence in most Shangsunjiazhai tombs of anything not consistent with Chinese burial practices. Although it appears that significant features of the Han architectonic tomb are likely to have been adopted from India, and although a tomb may incorporate culturally foreign imported objects, the ritual context of burial seems to me generally less likely to be open to change than presumably faster-changing areas of everyday life (i.e., the production of pots, clothing, ornaments, etc.). I would assume that a tomb with no non-Chinese features belongs either to a Chinese individual or to a non-Chinese who has been culturally assimilated into China. A tomb with one non-Chinese feature, unless very striking, could represent cultural exchange rather than identity. Ambiguity of attribution is likely to remain. However, tombs where more than one non-Chinese feature occur, particularly in burial ritual, may reasonably be attributed to the non-Chinese, suggesting that, even in a Chinese tomb structure, parts of the burial rites of the original culture of the deceased remained intact. Accordingly, I have looked for areas of overlap of the criteria proposed by the authors of the Shangsunjiazhai excavation report, with the exceptions outlined above. Only three tombs display more than one criterion: M105, 106, and 127 are both deliberately disturbed secondary burials and contain evidence of animal sacrifice consistent with non-Chinese practices (in M127, the animals are represented by their teeth).

I would accept these three as non-Chinese without specific attribution. To them, I would add as quite possibly non-Chinese M130 and 132 (deliberately disturbed secondary burials) and M42, 78, 81*, MB-6, and MB-8 (with evidence of animal sacrifice that seems

consistent with non-Chinese rites). In the case of the tombs with siliceous earthenware pottery believed to be of non-Chinese form, M153*, 156, and 171 are pit graves with no inner-grave structure, with few burial goods except the siliceous pottery. They therefore appear to me more likely to be non-Chinese, although I see more ambiguity in such an attribution because it is based on objects and negative evidence (the absence or paucity of Han Chinese goods), rather than on positive evidence. Of these potentially non-Chinese burials, I have proposed dates only for M81*, M153*, and MB-1*; they are included with Han Chinese tombs because of tomb structure (MB-1*) and burial goods (MB-1*, M81*, and M153*).

Chapter 3 Tomb Décor

The Problem of Meaning

The study of décor raises problems not encountered in other areas of Han material culture. If décor were datable, it could provide an alternative to vessel-based dating, particularly for tombs in which no burial goods have been preserved. Since tomb walls and objects carry the same décors with the advantage of wall space providing greater opportunity for expression, the décor on dated objects could theoretically be used to date the same décor on tomb walls. Instead, décor is rarely datable even as a broad *terminus post quem*. In this context, décor is important for what it can reveal – not about chronology, meaning, or aesthetics, but about the creation and transmission of images as the result of intercultural contacts. The question of meaning nonetheless remains inescapable and tends to obscure other questions. In one sense, the meaning of décor is also the meaning of the tomb itself. Because little is known from habitation or commercial sites (as in kilns, foundries, depots, and the like), we are overwhelmingly indebted to tombs for our knowledge of both décor and objects, decorated or not. We assume that the tomb is inherently a sacred space and that whatever is placed within is sacralized to some degree. With the modern division of secular and sacred, we may be further tempted to suppose that objects buried with the deceased were largely made for burial and that murals made for the tomb must be ritual in nature. It appears, however, that the Han themselves did not observe such divisions between the living and the dead or the religious and the worldly.

We know from the *Hanshu* that imperial offices were in charge of producing certain types of goods for burial (*mingqi* [明器]), such as jade suits and “soul warmers” (*wenming* [温明]), which were lacquered boxes placed over the face of the deceased in some tombs.¹ Other items that presumably would not have been used in life include models of servants or, as in the case of Qin Shihuangdi, warriors, although such work could have had decorative or other function for the living. Most objects, however, did have practical function for the living: for instance, mirrors, cosmetics boxes, crossbows, manuscripts. For the period following the Han, Albert E. Dien has suggested that crossbow mechanisms may have been placed in burials for their

representative value: the mechanism *ji* (機) as good fortune *ji* (吉).² This may have been true during the Han as well, as an extended value for the weapon, literal and figural.³ Mancheng (Hebei) M1 included twenty-one miniature bronze crossbows (length of mechanism approximately 4.1 centimeters). At the same time, the tomb was substantially armed, including sixteen working crossbows.⁴ We do not know whether the living collected crossbow mechanisms as good luck charms or whether their placement in the tomb also protected the dead from otherworld assailants. It may also be argued that the mirror had magical properties. At the same time, mirrors, like crossbows, were primarily objects for the living. Chinese mirrors, in particular, have a wide geographic distribution outside of China.⁵ The auspicious phrases on many (such as, “May you rise to the rank of the Three Excellencies”⁶), extravagant or not, may thus be presumed applicable to the living.

It is obvious from the objects contained in tombs that the Han equipped the deceased for the afterlife, as far as economic means or social status allowed. Inscriptions on tombs such as those of Wang Deyuan and Guo Zhiwen (both, Suide, Shaanxi)⁷ and Wang Dang (Luoyang Municipality, Henan)⁸ refer to them as “eternal residences.” Wherever paradise might be located and whatever sorts of beings might populate it, the concerns and activities of the deceased would constitute a continuation of his life. Inscriptions furnish introductions to the “central ruler and scholars on both sides of the grave” (*mushang muxia zhongyang zhu shi* [簠上簠下中央主士]), applying government titles to functionaries in the other world (as in the Chief of the Check Point at the Gate; *mentingzhang* [門亭長]), both from the tomb of Wang Dang (Luoyang Municipality, Henan),⁹ and offer land deeds to justify occupancy.¹⁰ Immortals are pictured engaged in the same sorts of activities as the living: hunting, riding in carriages, playing games, and enjoying entertainment (Figure 3.9, bottom).¹¹ Clearly, no social or organizational differences were seen between this world and the next. Further, the depiction of the other world does not seem to have been limited to the tomb: scenes of paradise appear, for instance, on *lian* toiletries boxes from Yaozhuang (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M101¹² (Figure 3.1) and Mawangdui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M3.¹³

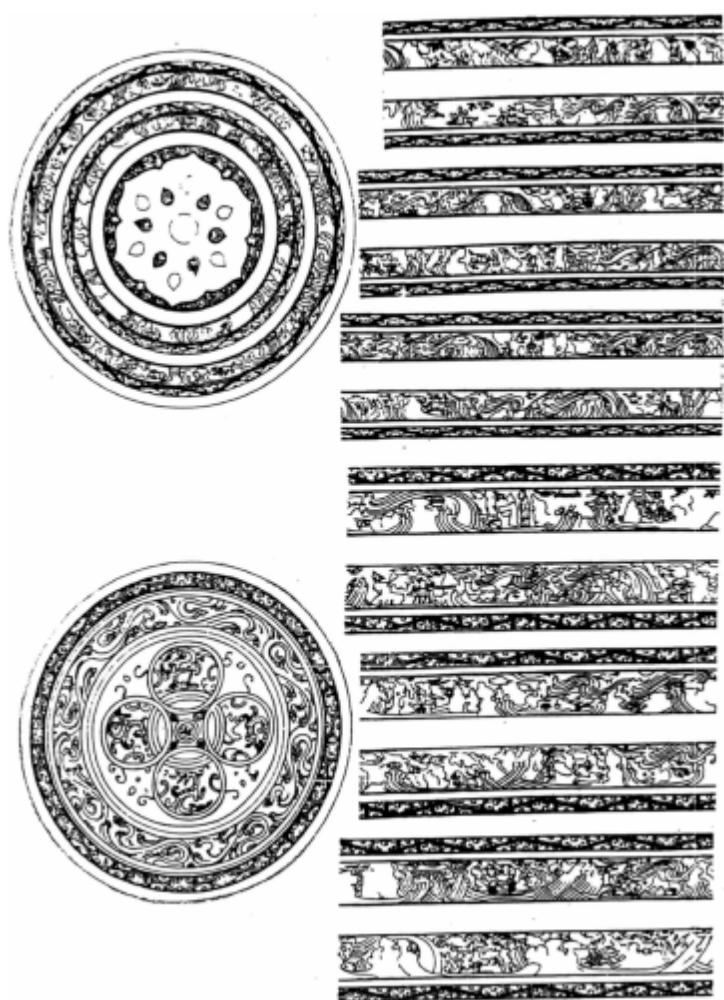


Figure 3.1: Yaozhuang (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M101:190, lacquer toiletries box (*lian*), WW 1988.2, 38, fig. 30.

In the same way, no distinction of audience, living or dead, seems to have been made with scenes understood today as historical in reference. Looking only within our limited corpus of dated tombs (see [Table 3.1](#)), these include Confucius meeting Laozi with Xiang Tuo, depicted as a child with a wheel toy; Jing Ke's attempted assassination of Qin Shihuangdi; disciples of Confucius; virtuous women; the legend of two peaches to kill three men, etc. The images are repeated in Balimiao (Yanggu, Shandong) and Nanchen (Sishui, Shandong) in carved stone and in paintings in Holingor (Inner Mongolia). They occur as well in such undated tombs as Junliujiagou (Suide, Shaanxi),¹⁴ Yi'nan (i.e., Beisai [Yi'nan, Shandong]), and finds from Nanyang (Henan).¹⁵ Content is identified by caption at Holingor and

to some extent at Yi'nan, as well as at the Wu Family shrines (Jiaxiang, Shandong). Like some at Yi'nan, the Balimiao cartouches meant to hold captions are unfilled. The depiction of filial sons occurs as well on a lacquered basket from the Han-era tomb of Namjôngni (P'yôngyang, Democratic People's Republic of Korea) M116, in what was the Han commandery of Lelang,¹⁶ which we have no reason to assume was made for burial. At the same time, both the Han dynastic histories¹⁷ and the “Rhapsody on the Hall of Numinous Brilliance” by Wang Wenkao (fl. AD 163)¹⁸ refer to painted murals in government buildings showing the Duke of Zhou and King Cheng and other historical personages, sages, tyrants, and deities such as Fuxi (伏羲) and Nüwa (女媧). Wang Wenkao's description, although specific to the Han-era kingdom of Lu, coincides with Ban Gu's far briefer comment regarding the dynastic capital. Recent excavations provide more direct evidence: Building 3 of Palace 1 at the habitation site associated with Qin Shihuangdi's tomb (Beiling [Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi]) reportedly featured wall paintings of figural décor, including seven scenes of horse-drawn carriages passing trees, guards beside pavilions or towers, and animals or fantastic beings.¹⁹ The Pelorus 2 area of Yangling (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi), the burial site of Jingdi, with attendant buildings and habitation site, also yielded stamped bricks with a décor of a dragon and the “dark warrior” (turtle plus snake).²⁰ Examples of stamped bricks likewise survive from dynastic Qin palaces in the capital at Xianyang (Shaanxi): a phoenix holding a ball in its beak, flanked by an immortal;²¹ a coiled, beaked dragon;²² feline-headed dragons, sometimes combined with the representation of jade *bi* discs.²³ In parallel, bricks stamped with geometric motifs are found in tombs, habitation sites, and palaces.²⁴ With some caution, we may assume that the paintings described in received texts were not unique in living architecture.

Table 3.1: *List of dated tomb décors.*

+ Anping (Hebei), AD 176

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb.

Each row of bricks on the walls and archway of the rear chamber on east side is inscribed: “[South] When Zhongni was living in Zeng, the master served at Court. The master said, ‘The first kings attained perfect virtue’” (attributed to the “Kai zong ming” [開宗明] section of the *Xiaojing* [孝經]).

The walls on the rear side of the north chamber are inscribed repeatedly: “[South] Among the marquis enfeoffed in their cities were servants of the land who accumulated knowledge that eschewed the spirits.” Note that the bricks of the archway

into the next chamber are numbered.

The rear of the central chamber is repeatedly inscribed: “[East] The master said, ‘At Xiaozhi’s funeral, for those close to him who weep but do not mourn, ritual provides no excuse.’” “With regard to Zhongni, there are no words for how his nature gave proof of cultivation and [two characters damaged] virtue.”

“When Zhongni was living in Zeng, the master served at Court. The master said, ‘The first kings attained perfect virtue and desired the *dao*.’”

The walls of the front chamber are repeatedly inscribed: “[West] The master said, ‘Those who love people close to them do not dare to hate others’” (attributed to the “Tianzi” [天子] section of the *Xiaojing*). Other walls in this chamber are inscribed: “In the evening, Zhong[ni] liked to be with those he had known a long time and respected” (attributed to the “Gongye Chang” [公冶長] section of the *Lunyu* [論語]). “[East] The Master said, ‘At Xiaozhi’s funeral, those close to him wept but did not grieve’” (attributed to the “Sang qin” [喪親] section of the *Xiaojing*).

The initial directional character in many of these inscriptions seems to indicate the side of the wall on which the inscription begins and suggests that the bricks were inscribed before being positioned in the tomb. The notation of “east” in the *Xiaojing* quotation on the wall of the central chamber is incorrect, in that the inscription begins on the west side. Note that the arch of the eastern doorway in the front chamber is inscribed “Entrance only,” with the legend “*zhao*” (趙, last name?) beside the door.

The central chamber and small chambers off the front and central chambers (the north front and central annexes) include wall paintings. The décor of the central chamber consists of carriage scenes with riders and armed out runners on all walls. The central north annex chamber bears scenes on the western section of the north wall of a tower and residential complex with several pavilions inside courtyard walls. This scene extends into the corridor connecting to the central rear chamber. On the eastern section of the north wall, a guard is represented. The west wall is decorated with musicians; the south wall, with a portrait (?) supposedly representing the master of the tomb. The south wall and a corridor connecting to the front north chamber are covered with images of guests or retainers and a servant offering a platter.

Balimiao (Yanggu, Shandong) M1, ca. AD 175

Brick and stone multicameral architectonic tomb. Décor in

stone bas relief.

The lintel of the entrance depicts a carriage procession passing a man bowing. The doors and posts carry geometric motifs. On the rear door of the tomb, the lintel also bears the décor of a carriage procession, with footmen, met by two men bowing. The double doors and outer posts are covered in geometric décors. All four sides of the central post are decorated. The facing (south) side of the post bears the image of a multistoried pavilion with people on the roof, people inside the pavilion, include an animal-master-type figure seen in full frontal view receiving homage, men with bows, and animals. One side (west?) of the central post includes images of intertwined birds and people, animals, winged tigers, vegetal motifs (terminating in bird heads), winged immortals with a ring or a fish in the mouth, and immortals kneeling to hold a ring. The reverse (north) side of the central post has a space for captions which was never filled. The accompanying scenes depict Confucius meeting Laozi with Xiang Tuo, depicted as a child with a wheel toy, between them; Jing Ke's attempted assassination of Qin Shihuangdi; a banquet (the excavation report identifies the scene as Confucius with Yan Hui, however the scene includes men on horseback carrying dead birds presumably for a banquet, drummers, dancing bears, musicians, a carriage with horses); a man beside a horse and carriage beneath a tree with entwined branches. The eastern (?) side of the central post also has a caption block that was never filled and panels depicting three men looking at a flame-like object (is this meant to be the story of "Killing Three Men with Two Peaches"?).

Banyue (Dangyang Municipality, Hubei) M1, ca. AD 101

Brick architectonic tomb. Stamped brick décor.

Bricks are all 38.5–39 cm square and 5 cm thick and are placed in the east, west, and north walls of the tomb. Images include two towers topped by phoenix and flanked by trees, two armed men facing each other between the towers; riders on horseback and carriage; dancers, musicians, games, and drummers; armed men on foot accompanying a man in a carriage met by two prostrate figures; a banquet with dancers; animals galloping and standing in mountains; an immortal on a galloping horse, a dancing man with a large belly, bucking horses.

+ Beiguan (Huaiyang, Henan) M1, AD 124

Multicameral brick architectonic tomb.

The tomb included a stone model house carved in low relief with animals and people; also, one broken piece of carved stone not structurally part of the tomb. The décor of this stone

depicts the interior of a home divided into rooms by screens and hung with rolled-up curtains. In one room, a kneeling man serves drink to another who extends his cup. Another, much larger, man kneels beside them on rugs. Other men are shown fanning, talking, and eating.

Buqianqiu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan), ca. AD 9

Multicameral brick architectonic tomb with stamped bricks (both hollow and small, solid bricks) and paintings.

Above the main door (facing west) is the painting of a human-headed phoenix. On the burial chamber ceiling, running west to east, is a painting of a woman holding a bird and riding a three-headed phoenix-like bird, the sun with a bird, winged dragons, a man riding a serpent, a tiger, other birds, the moon with a toad and the plant of immortality, and a seated (?) woman. On the wall of the rear chamber are painted a monster, a tiger, a dragon.

Stamped brick décor is geometric.

Chengguanzhen (Fangcheng, Henan), ca. AD 10

Multicameral brick and stone architectonic tomb. Carved stone panels and doors; stamped bricks carry geometric motifs.

The lintel of the entrance doors (facing north) bears a décor of an immortal chasing a dragon, two fish, and two cranes in an upper register, and a monkey chasing a tiger attacking an ox being held by the hind leg by an immortal and tigers wrestling with an armed immortal. The central post depicts a guard with a fan (or cutter?). The left set of doors (west side) are decorated with (on the left leaf) a winged dragon, a *taotie* with a ring, a dancing bear and (on the right leaf) a tiger, a *taotie* with a ring, and a dancing bull. The right (eastern) set include (on the left leaf) a phoenix, a *taotie* with a ring, an immortal (?) with a spear, and (on the right leaf) a phoenix, a *taotie* with a ring, and a tiger. The reverse side of these doors depicts, armed guards, one of whom bows to another.

+ Chulan (Suxian, Anhui) M2, AD 171

Multicameral architectonic stone tomb with a small stone box shrine on the surface of the ground, two stone enclosures, and the tomb below. Carved stone.

On the north wall of the shrine (from top to bottom) appear a geometric border; a procession with horses and a homage scene (?); several pavilions and towers surrounding a two-storied pavilion with birds and animals on the roof; servants (?); games being played inside the pavilion; a scene of homage inside the pavilion; a kitchen scene; banquet with groups

playing games, etc.; musicians, acrobats, drummers with a drum stand in the form of a bear; procession, homage scene. On the east wall of the shrine (from top to bottom) within a geometric border appear a procession; dancers or acrobats (?); a banquet with musicians; food preparation in a kitchen. On the west wall of the shrine (from top to bottom), the stone(s) are broken but include depictions of dragons, animals, a tree, a horse, standing figures, armed men, homage, carriages on a bridge, men poling a boat, bird hunting, and fishing. The foundations of the shrine include carvings of carriages on the north, west, and east side (the north side including footmen). The edge of the west and east wall foundations also shows a winged goat beneath a tree.

The associated tomb shares the same style of stone carving. On the west wall of the front chamber to the south of the entrance door appears a banquet scene with servants in attendance; men kneeling in homage, a horse behind them, other men standing. Also on the west wall of the chamber, but to the north of the entrance door, are shown a phoenix, a man bowing, a winged goat with a bird on its haunches.

On the south wall of the front chamber are depicted a phoenix, a guard bowing, a winged goat under a tree. On the north wall of the front chamber appears a guard bowing. All four walls of the front chamber bear scenes of carriage processions around the base

Dongmenli (Liaoyang Municipality, Liaoning), ca. AD 67

Stone compartmented box tomb with paintings on the walls and ceiling of the main chamber. The paintings consist of a black outline filled in with color.

The post of the entrance depicts a guard with a shield and a vine motif. The west wall includes images of a winged animal like a unicorn in a cloud motif; two men on horseback gesturing; an ox-drawn cart. The east wall includes illustrations of a ram-headed man in a cloud motif; two people. The ceiling of the main chamber bears depictions of constellations, the sun, and the moon.

Dongyang (Xuyi, Jiangsu) M6, ca. 70 BC

Wood compartmented box with architectural embellishments (windows, pillars).

On the side of the coffin panel facing upward are carved astronomical images including a bird with the sun disc, an immortal on or above the bird; a bird below the moon, where the creature in the moon cannot be identified. On the side of the panel facing the coffin are depicted another constellation;

two winged dragons; a carriage procession above a scene of raising a *ding* from a river; musicians and acrobats, including two acrobats on each of two unicorns/rhinoceros engaged in "combat."

Fanji (Xinye, Henan), both ca. AD 109

M37: multicameral brick architectonic tomb with stamped brick décor. The lintel on the eastern door depicts a tent with men outside at a table, three men kneeling in homage; a two-horse carriage leaves the scene, passing a bowing figure; two armed horsemen, a single-horse carriage, an armed man running, and two men running (in battle?) follow. The west door lintel depicts mountains, horses and horsemen with bows and nomad hats, the retreat of other mounted forces, (Han) men on foot and falling on the ground, a large Han (commander?) surveying the field, men gaining the field.

M42: multicameral brick architectonic tomb with stamped brick décor. The west post of the door depicts a two story tower with a phoenix on top; trees; two men kneeling before the tower carrying *zhu*: dancers and acrobats.

Ganzhou (Jiangxi), ca. AD 9

Brick architectonic tomb with small stamped bricks; two repeated patterns are used on the floor. These are: a figure shown in full frontal view seated at a table surrounded by servants (one with a fan, another with a lithophone) and a guard; two horsemen with two servants.

Gaochun (Jiangsu), ca. AD 90

Multicameral architectonic brick tomb with small stamped bricks (generally 6.5–7 cm x 17–18 cm; some 6.5 cm x 35 cm). Décor includes: a tiger, a dragon, a cat-headed man, a seated man, an immortal with a tiger, figures paying homage, a carriage procession with banners, a dancing bear (?), figures walking in a line (?), and scenes described in the excavation report as conversation. Many bricks are difficult to read as currently published.

Haining (Zhejiang), ca. AD 175

Multicameral brick and stone architectonic tomb. Bricks are stamped with abstract geometric and coin patterns, the character *tian* (heaven); stones are in bas relief.

The stone doorway to the tomb (facing north) bears a window and pillar pattern.

In the front chamber, the south wall bears scenes of men tending unhitched carriages, stables, horses being tended, unhitched carriages; a carriage with four horses, mounted outriders; animals including phoenix and unicorns surrounded

by a wave pattern; the image of a disc on a stem; three armed men fighting; three or four men in an animated group; men fighting (one half lying down, the other kneeling over him) surrounded by a vine pattern; men fighting; armed men; sheep heads, dancing men, scenes of homage, birds, abstract motifs. The post to the left of the door in the south wall bears the décor of a column positioned on the back of a turtle entwined with a snake or dragon, a dragon surmounting the column (the *xuanwu* sign of the north). Both leaves of the door carry a décor of phoenix flying over entwined snakes (?), or a floral/vegetal motif) above and a *taotie* with a ring below.

The *xuanwu* is repeated on the north wall and again on the south wall of the eastern chamber; the top of the column on the turtle's back is divided into three. The eastern chamber further includes the image of the disc on a stem, mountains, goats and other beasts, a pavilion on the mountain, a winged horse following an armed man, a winged tiger, a standing figure receiving the homage of three seated and one standing figure. Other images include a carriage procession without runners met by bowing men in front of a pavilion; other carriage processions; food preparation in what seems to be a kitchen scene; a courtyard (?); the assassination of a king (presumed to be a king of Qin). On the north wall of the eastern chamber, geometric and cloud patterns form a lower border to an upper register of dancers (?) and a lower register showing a man leading a cow. On the south wall of the eastern chamber, a man is shown carrying sacks (?), another man with a sword is shown carrying a shoulder pole with fish; other men carry jars, pour something into a bowl, carry a fan. There also appear to be scenes of jugglers and acrobats, dancers, fighting (?).

The northern chamber includes scenes of vegetal and floral motifs, winged animals, the moon (?), dragons, men fighting, homage and benediction, horsemen, immortals, men in combat, the *xuanwu* with three-branched pillar repeated twice, the three-branched pillar without the *xuanwu*.

On the west wall of the corridor leading to the northern chamber figure curtain-hung rooms with servants paying homage and holding a fan. On the east wall of this corridor appear curtain-hung rooms and servants, as well as a figure who appears to be the master, seen in three-quarters rear view. The western chamber twice includes the *xuanwu* with a column, as well as figures seated on and beneath a tree, fish, a phoenix-drawn carriage, various animals, a man on horseback

(?), dancers and musicians, a banquet (?), three figures approaching a kneeling or seated figure (?), and two scenes of a man seated on a carpet receiving homage from two other figures.

Haizhou (Lianyungang Municipality, Jiangsu), ca. 70 BC

Wood compartmented box tomb with lacquer décor of stars and clouds on the lid of the compartment. There may have been a figured silk banner below this lid.

The tomb contained a lacquered box with a cloud/vine décor as a frame for a scene of two men dueling, a third man kneeling nearby.

Holinger ([Helin'ge'er,] Inner Mongolia), ca. AD 176

Multicameral brick architectonic tomb with paintings. The bricks of the floor were inscribed “May your descendants be numerous and your good fortune unending.” The central chamber was inscribed “The seat of government of the Chief Clerk (*zhangshi* [長史]) of Xihe at Lishi City.” An inscription in the rear chamber was only partially legible but included the words “lord” and “wife.”

Paintings are captioned as “the residence of the Chief Clerk” (west wall of the front chamber, showing a procession with carriages), “the seat of the Chief Clerk” (west wall of the front chamber, showing carriages and guards), “[at] the time he was chosen as Filial and Incorrupt” (west wall of the front chamber, showing horsemen), “[as] Attendant” (south wall of the front chamber, showing a city), “[as] the Chief Clerk of Xihe,” “at the time he acted as *duwei* General of the Dependant States at Shangjun,” “Prefect of Fanyang,” “Lieutenant Colonel in Charge of the Wuhuan.”

All four walls of the front chamber bear scenes of armed riders and carriages, some riders turned for a Parthian shot. Multiple captions include “the meritorious official at work,” “at work riding,” “the colonel [goes to the capital? – characters difficult to read],” “the Chief Clerk of Yanmen,” “... the men and horses of Shang[jun] are all fed from the great granary.” Also illustrated in the front chamber are omens with identifying captions (“the three-footed bird,” “the jade horse,” “sweet dew,” etc.).

The east wall of the central chamber also bears the image of a manor, captioned as “the common gate”; a procession over a bridge, captioned as “[when] his lordship became Prefect of Fanyang,” “[when] ... (characters illegible) ... with the cavalry,” “[his] wife riding east in a carriage with the cavalry”; riders and carriages, captioned “Prefect of Fanyang,” etc. The

south wall of the front chamber bears scenes of a temple with officials, servants, and drums, captioned “The Chief Clerk of Xihe and the *duwei* General of the Dependent States at Shangjun feeds all the soldiers and horses [troops] from his great granary”; a homage scene within a pavilion; various residences or other buildings captioned as “the golden offices,” “the literary offices” (? , *cicao* [辭曹]), “the official temple of the Prefect of Fanyang County.” The buildings on the west wall of the front chamber are captioned “the granary of Fanyang County” and “the troops are all fed from the great granary of Fanyang.”

The west wall of the central chamber also includes a scene of carriages crossing a bridge, captioned “Prefect of Chang'an”; a boat on the river beneath is labeled “the ridge on the Si River,” while the procession is labeled “Seven women avenge their father.” The scenes on both east and west walls apparently are essentially the same but with different captions, those on the west wall referring to folklore.

The corridor between the front and central chambers depicts soldiers with spears and a drum around a small pavilion in which a man has his hands raised as if in blessing; a long line of men (Wuhuan?) are coming to the pavilion to pay homage. This scene is captioned “[the time] the Prefect of Fanyang County received his (official) seal.”

The south, north, and west walls of the central chamber depict Confucius meeting Laozi, the disciples of Confucius (all named in captions), and various legends (“Two peaches to kill three gentlemen,” virtuous women, etc., identified as representing more than eighty stories). The north wall also depicts a feast with acrobats and jugglers. A seated dignitary shown in full frontal view is served by bowing servants.

The south wall of the rear chamber includes farming scenes (plowing, harvesting) and mountains, as well as towers from which men shoot at birds. The animals of the four directions are depicted on the ceiling of the chamber.

Huchang (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1, ca. 70 BC

Compartmented wood box tomb. The box is carved to depict windows, doors, a pavilion, two towers each with a guard. The lower layer of the upper compartment of the box is painted to show a banquet scene and on another board armed men.

Jingyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) unnumbered tomb, ca. AD 14

Multicameral architectonic stone, brick, and hollow brick

tomb. The bricks are stamped with geometric décor; the walls and ceilings are painted on plaster.

Through the paintings, the walls of the tomb are divided into different stories with galleries, pilasters, and windows, some undecorated, some with the tendril/cloud décor. Painting *in situ* is likely, given that the scenes are not circumscribed brick by brick.

On the north wall of the rear chamber are shown an immortal with a galloping animal, the *xuanwu* symbol of the north, a human-headed tiger with wings, a winged tiger. On the east wall of the rear chamber appear a phoenix, a human-headed tiger, and a human-headed phoenix. On the west wall, a tiger and dragons are depicted.

The ceiling of the burial chamber is painted in panels within which appear entwined deities, ribbons, birds, *bi* discs, dragons, the moon with its toad, and the sun with its bird. The sun and moon are shown framed in a square which is in turn set at a 90 degree angle within another square.

Jinqueshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M9, ca. 70 BC

Compartmented wood box tomb. A painted silk banner was placed beneath the coffin lid, protruding at each end. For drawings of the banner, see Linyi diqu wenhuaju wenwuzu, Liu Jiaji, Gugong bowuyuan xiufuchang, Liu Binglin, “Jinqueshan Xi Han bohua linmo houxian,” *WW* 1977.11, 28–31.

This banner includes images of a pavilion with trees, the sun with its bird and the moon with its toad, a scene of homage before a seated man, musicians, four men meeting, and three adults with a child who holds a spinning wheel and a mallet (Confucius meeting Laozi with Xiang Tuo).

Mamaozhuang (Lishi, Shanxi)

M2, ca. AD 175: Multicameral architectonic stone and brick tomb. The stone panels lining the central chamber, the doorway from the entrance ramp to the entrance hall, and a semi-circular stone just before the entrance to the central chamber are carved in the same style. Several stones bear ink inscriptions indicating their placement within the tomb.

The lintel of the entrance to the tomb (facing the southwest) includes, from top to bottom and right to left, a cloud and mountain pattern (with animals?); a carriage procession passing a house, a horseman meeting a group of people (?), carriages and horsemen interspersed with one another. The posts of the entrance door are framed by a cloud/vine motif on the outer edges, with scenes of an immortal with a radiant halo and flame-like wings kneeling on a flower/mushroom-type

tree; a servant is shown below. The leaves of the entrance door bear a phoenix over a *taotie* with paws and large teeth, holding a ring.

The half-circular stone in front of the doorway to the central chamber depicts a winged tiger stalking (on one side) or recumbent (on the other side).

In the central chamber, the reverse side of the entrance lintel in the south wall bears a décor of infantry running through mountains, cavalry, a tree with a carriage, and the tendril/vine motif throughout. The door posts depict immortals on a mushroom/flower-tree with a tasseled umbrella suspended over them; the immortals have flame-like wings. Below appear images of mountains. The outer border of the lintels is again the vine/tendrill motif.

The west wall of the central chamber depicts a carriage procession and horsemen. The posts of the doorway bear a décor of tendrils, plants, and birds (one bird holding a bell), an immortal with flame-like wings seated on a flower/mushroom form over which an umbrella with dangles is suspended and underneath which hang more dangles. A cow-headed deity with a staff is also depicted.

The lintel of a door in the rear (north) wall of the central chamber depicts a walled compound with lawns, trees, waterways (?), and men walking. The posts of the door illustrate a walled compound with a pavilion, approached by four men.

The lintel of a door in the east wall of the central chamber depicts a carriage procession and armed men on foot. The posts of the door include the tendrill motif together with an immortal seated on a mushroom/flower form, sheltered by an umbrella with dangles, more dangles hanging from the mushroom/flower, as well as winged horses before a tree, two-headed horses, and a feline-headed turtle.

M4, ca. AD 176: Multicameral architectonic brick and stone tomb with carved stone panels.

The lintel of the door entering the tomb (facing north) bears a tendrill décor beneath which mounted men and a carriage are shown, along with a mounted archer aiming a Parthian shot at a deer. The posts of the door carry a tendrill décor as an outer frame to winged immortals on a mushroom form, winged immortals standing below a plant and a man leaning (bowing?) toward them. The panels of the door depict a phoenix above a *taotie* with teeth holding a ring. The *taotie* is surrounded by flames rising from implied shoulders.

+ M14, AD 175: Multicameral stone and brick architectonic tomb with carved stone panels.

The entrance to the tomb (on the south side) is decorated with the tendril motif on the lintel. The posts bear a male (on the right/east) and a female (on the left/west) deity with radiant haloes on a layered cloud throne. Below them appears a supplicant holding a plant (on the left side) or with hands covered (on the right side). The leaves of the door bear a phoenix above a *tao tie* with a ring.

Mawangdui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan)

M1, ca. 168 BC: Compartmented wood box tomb with a painted silk banner placed over the coffin. This banner includes scenes of (from bottom to top) a dwarf flanked by turtles holding a platform; a woman standing on one side of the platform, other people grouped nearby, *hu* and *ding*; ritual jade pieces, human-headed birds; leopard heads holding another platform on which a woman with three attendants receives the homage of two kneeling figures (holding trays?), a bird/bat; another platform with two people bowing to one another, a bell, leopards, immortals riding deer; a snake-woman or woman seated on a snake seen in three-quarters frontal view framed by the sun and a bird on the right, a crescent moon and toad on the left; phoenix, stars.

+ M3, 168 BC: Compartmented wood box tomb with a painted silk banner placed over the coffin and painted silk hangings over the box walls. The banner (read from bottom to top) largely repeats the Mawangdui M1 banner: a dwarf beneath a platform on which appear groups of people, ritual jade pieces, and *hu*; another platform on which is depicted a man with armed attendants; a bird below a curtain; a platform with men beneath a bell; a platform with a seated figure (illegible) seen in full frontal view; a sun with bird (right) and crescent moon with toad and rabbit (left); flowers and snakes or dragons. The painted silk hangings on the west wall (badly damaged) depict a procession of armed men on foot from the left and a procession of carriages from the right; in a lower register, drummers and bells led by one man approach from the left and footmen and horses approach from the right. A larger man depicted in full frontal view surrounded by servants (smaller and in profile) is shown in the lower right-hand corner. On the east wall, carriages and mounted warriors at gallop are shown in what appears to be a hunting scene; boats and animals appear below.

The tomb's furnishings included a black lacquered *lian*

cosmetics box with a sgraffito décor of immortals hunting, one immortal riding a tiger.

+ Nanchen (Sishui, Shandong), AD 142

Multicameral stone architectonic tomb including carved stone panels.

The lintel of the door in the north wall of the front chamber was decorated with a geometric border, entwined snakes, and an immortal's (?) head with bat-like wings.

A panel on the east wall of the central chamber bears a geometric border and birds. A panel on the west wall of the central chamber depicts tigers, together with a geometric décor.

The lintel of a door in the east wall of the rear chamber carries a geometric décor and fish facing one another.

The excavation report refers to a scene (*KG* 1995.5, 391, f. 1:2, illegible photo) of Confucius meeting Laozi with Xiang Tuo as a child.

Nanguan (Zhengzhou Municipality, Henan), ca. AD 65

Multicameral hollow brick architectonic tomb with stamped brick décor.

The entrance door to the tomb, facing east, is decorated with a geometric border. The left (south) leaf of the door bears the images of (from top to bottom) a two-storied pavilion, curtained with two men inside, situated inside a walled compound with a two-storied tower gate. A guard appears in the gateway. There are many trees. Mounted archers ride between compound walls surmounted by roof tiles. A phoenix is shown above more trees; other phoenix appear in the foreground. On the right (north) leaf of the door, horsemen ride in both directions over a ramp to an open gate; a multistoried tower is depicted above the gate. Horsemen are shown near a compound; several people appear in a pavilion within the compound. The door posts include a tendril and wheel pattern on the right-hand side and a repeated pattern of men and phoenix on the left-hand side.

Qianjingtou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) CM1231, ca. AD 24

Multicameral architectonic hollow and small brick tomb with stamped bricks with a pattern of birds and trees and a painted décor.

The hollow bricks on the ceiling of the main chamber are numbered, suggesting pre-fabrication, and painted with (from left to right) Fuxi, the sun disc with bird, a tiger, dragons, an immortal riding a dragon, phoenix, a toad leaping toward a

ribbon-threaded *bi* disc, a bird with the head of a man, the moon disc with a toad, Nüwa, tendril/cloud motifs. The composition corresponds closely to that of Buqianqiu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan).

Qianyang (Fanji Municipality, Shaanxi), ca. AD 7

Brick architectonic tomb with painted walls.

The east wall of the chamber depicts a bird in the sun disc, stars, and a dragon; the west wall depicts the moon (?), stars, a tiger, and the tendril/cloud motif.

+ Qinglongshan (Peixian, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), AD 150

Brick and stone multicameral architectonic tomb essentially in the *huangchang ticou* structure. Carved stone panels may have been colored with vermilion; stamped bricks include geometric décors. The rear chamber of the tomb was originally lined with lacquered wood.

The north wall of the front chamber is decorated near the ceiling with a curtain motif. The south wall (reading from the top down and from left to right) depicts a child seemingly trying to get the attention of a woman working with a roller or pestle at a low table in front of ovens; a rack hung with geese or ducks; men kneeling in homage toward two men at a table under an archway; jugglers, drummers, a drum on a stand in the form of a tiger, topped with birds, an acrobat, musicians; children (?) shooting arrows at a tree which they are beating with a rod; other children (?) sitting and pointing toward the tree.

On the west wall of the front chamber (reading from top to bottom and right to left) appears a large residential compound with courtyards, stables, stairways, balconies, birds on the roof, men seated indoors at a table playing a game, servants bringing drink; horses disappear through a doorway; a harnessed horse with hunting dogs is seen outside; men on horseback and in carriages, walking with dogs, nets, game-beaters, arrive at a mountainous area with trees and a pond with fish and ducks, rabbits, deer, and a tiger on a hill.

The rear chamber is decorated with four captioned panels: “the pavilion guard” (showing figures standing and seated or kneeling), “the good-luck ram” (ram and bird), “the unicorn,” “the vermilion bird” (a goose-like bird), “a captured tiger,” “the *xuamuni*.”

Qingyunshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M2, ca. 70 BC

Carved stone coffin. The lid has no décor. The interior bottom

of the coffin is carved like a *liubo* game board. The east wall depicts a pavilion with two people seated inside, trees, and a bird flying over the roof. The west wall depicts a pavilion flanked by spear-shaped trees; two men with spears wearing pants and hats fight inside the pavilion. The south wall depicts two armed men. The north wall is decorated with a *bi* disc design.

Shihuiyao (Tanghe, Nanyang Municipality, Henan), ca. AD 90

Multicameral stone architectonic tomb. The stone doors have the same décor, geometric on the lintel, an armed guard on the posts, and a two-storied pavilion with towers, and one or two people paying homage to a central seated figure on the leaves of the door. A *taotie* with ring also appears on each leaf of the door.

Shizhuan (Jining Municipality, Shandong)

M10, ca. 70 BC: Carved stone box tomb.

On the east side (reading from left to right) are depicted dancing and games, a dignitary under a pavilion, an armed guard, a supplicant, hunting near a stream and in a boat.

On the west side (reading from left to right) are shown drummers, musicians, a dignitary under a pavilion, homage, and supplicants.

On both the north and south sides appear two towers flanked by trees with two guards between the towers.

M16, ca. 70 BC: Carved stone box tomb.

The south wall of the box (reading from left to right) depicts dancers, drummers, and a star-like geometric motif.

On the north wall (from left to right), the star motif is repeated, together with three seated figures beneath a pavilion, flanked by one standing figure, and a geometric motif of two intersecting triangles and an oval.

+ Sujiayituo (Suide, Shaanxi), AD 96

Multicameral architectonic brick tomb with carved stone doors.

The lintel of the entrance to the tomb (facing north) carries a vine motif entwined with animals which continues on the posts of the door. Beneath, in a separate register, appear a horse and carriage, dancers, a kneeling figure with hands stretched toward a standing figure, two men driving another carriage, birds, a tiger. The door posts include (on both sides) a recumbent deer, a seated figure flanked by a kneeling and another standing supplicant; these supplicants are placed on a platform made from the branches of a tree-like plant in which felines also appear. An armed guard is shown below, together

with a *boshan* censer. The leaves of the door each carry the image of a phoenix standing on a skull-like mask with a ring; a rhinoceros charges below.

Inside the tomb, the central post of a doorway (with no door) facing north carries the date. The scenes shown on the exterior are repeated on the posts and lintel with the addition of a hunting scene on the lintel.

+ Tomb of (the Consort of) Lord Feng (Tanghe, Nanyang Municipality, Henan), AD 18

Multicameral architectonic stone and brick tomb essentially of the *huangchang ticou* structure with stone panels and doors carved in a single style.

The lintel of the entrance to the tomb (facing west) bears a décor of two dragons with their tails entwined about a *bi* disc. The posts depict a suppliant. The left (south) leaf of the door carries a tiger and a *taotie* with ring; the right (north) leaf, a phoenix above a *taotie* with ring.

The lintel of a door (facing north) to the south annex chamber shows dragons entwined in a knot, a winged immortal, and a kneeling figure. The north wall of the south chamber depicts a man-headed tiger whose tail terminates in three human heads. The leaves of another door (facing west) into the south chamber show a phoenix above a *taotie* with a ring. The west wall of the south chamber depicts a man with a crossbow. The south wall of the north chamber carries a décor of dragon and fish.

The south door (into a long side chamber) of the central chamber carries on one (west) leaf a phoenix and *taotie* with ring; on the other leaf (east), a tiger with *taotie* and ring. The door on the north side of the central chamber carries a tiger and *taotie* with ring on both leaves.

A wall panel on the north wall of the north long chamber (reading from left to right) depicts games, acrobats, a man with a sword receiving the homage of kneeling and bowing figures, a man beating a drum on a stand in the form of a tiger. More drummers, men catching a tiger, and an elephant are shown below.

The south wall of the south long chamber (from left to right) depicts a kneeling man receiving the homage of bowing, kneeling, and prostrate men; musicians, acrobats; a guard, men meeting, drummers, a dancing bear, a man with a crossbow, wild animals. The north wall of the south long chamber shows a guard, men bowing, a pavilion flanked by towers, people

seated at a table, servants or supplicants, an armed guard. The west wall of the west side chamber shows a man with a crossbow and another man with an axe.

Wangcun (Xiaxian, Shanxi) XWM5, ca. AD 90

Multicameral architectonic brick tomb with paintings on plaster.

The east side of the ceiling of the entry hall is painted with riders; the north and south walls, with a procession of armed men.

The south side of the ceiling of the front chamber bears the image of a winged human-headed figure; a human with flames rising from its shoulders, standing on a fish; and tigers. On the east wall appears a “portrait” of the deceased seated in full frontal view within a curtained alcove, ranks of homage-payers kneeling to the left; above is shown a procession of carriages, footmen, and riders. A man is also shown riding. The painting is captioned “General Pei, Grand Administrator of Anding.”

On the east wall of the north rear chamber, neighboring courtyards with pavilions are painted.

+ Tomb of Wang Deyuan (Suide, Shaanxi), AD 100

Multicameral brick architectonic tomb with stone doors and door frames carved in a single style.

The lintel of the outer face of the entrance door is decorated with the tendril motif and animals, a disc (moon and sun?) at either end of the panel. Below appear a rabbit with mortar and pestle and an immortal with a trefoil, a running feline, corn-like plants, birds, a unicorn, horned felines, one with wings.

The left side of the post has a vegetal motif with deer; the right side, a guard below a plant-like throne, and the *xuanwu* (the stone is broken). On both leaves of the door appear a phoenix over a *taotie* with teeth and a ring, and a charging unicorn.

The reverse of the entrance door lintel depicts a corn-like plant, the tendril motif, and animals above a pavilion flanked by birds, a unicorn, winged and horned felines, and corn-like plants. The posts show groups of two or three men, a winged feline, a tiger, a fox (?) hunting a deer, men shooting arrows at a tree, a heraldic winged tiger and dragon rampant, other dragons and tigers, vegetal motifs.

The lintel of a door on the left wall bears a décor of the vine or tendril motif beneath which appear a pavilion with seated men, mounted bowmen with dogs, various animals (including cows, birds, and horses). The right-hand post includes images of a deer, a throne-like tree, corn-like plants, a bird, a winged and horned tiger, a man ploughing with an ox, more corn-like

plants. An outer register (on a separate stone panel) of vine/tendrill motif may be missing. The left-hand post corresponds to the lower portion of right-hand side showing a man plouwing and corn-like plants. Other panels may therefore be missing or unillustrated.

The lintel of a door on the right wall bears the vine/tendrill motif above a procession of carriages and outriders, a pavilion with two men, and hunters with deer and dogs. The posts carry an outer register of the tendrill motif with immortals, fleur-de-lis, and bears (?) and an inner register including a winged and horned tiger, a rabbit with mortar and pestle, an immortal with a trefoil plant, birds, a horse beneath a tree, and an ox pulling a carriage.

The lintel of a door on the rear wall bears the tendrill motif with a disc on each end of the panel in the upper register and a central pavilion with two figures and processions on foot to each side of the pavilion in the lower register. The left-hand post carries the tendrill motif, two men in various scenes, and a horse tethered beneath a tree. The right-hand post depicts the tendrill motif, a throne-like tree, two men in various scenes, and a deer lying beneath corn-like plants. The central post of the door is inscribed with the name of the deceased and the date of death.

Wu Family Shrines (Jiaxiang, Shandong)

+ Wu Liang Shrine, AD 151: Carved stone shrine.

On the west wall, from top to bottom, appear scenes of the Queen Mother of the West and her court paying homage to her; a register of historic/mythic figures including Fuxi and Nüwa; two registers of scenes from folklore; a carriage procession.

On the east wall, from top to bottom, are depicted the King Father of the East (assumed identification) with his court paying homage to him; three registers of scenes from folklore; a carriage procession and a kitchen scene.

On the south wall, from top to bottom, figure two registers of scenes from folklore; a feast in a pavilion beside which a horse is tethered beneath a tree; the Queen Mother of the West appears in a scene of homage in the second story of the pavilion; the master, in a scene of homage in the first story; towers flank the pavilion and men shoot at birds in a tree; a carriage procession is depicted to each side of the pavilion.

+ "Rear" (Wu Kaiming) Shrine, AD 148: Carved stone shrine.

The construction of the shrine is not clear; the décor is therefore listed without indication of placement.

The Queen Mother of the West, carriage processions, scenes of

battle and/or folklore; homage to the Queen Mother of the West, a register of the “disciples of Confucius,” a carriage procession; procession of the Queen Mother of the West and her court, scenes of folklore, scenes of immortals.

Constellations and cosmological figures are also depicted.

+ “Left” (Wu Ban) Shrine, AD 145: Carved stone shrine.

On the west wall, from top to bottom, appear the Queen Mother of the West and her court paying homage to her; a register of the disciples of Confucius; carriage processions; a banquet with musicians and acrobats, beneath which is depicted another carriage procession and a kitchen with food preparations; beside the banquet scene appears a procession on foot and the narrative of raising a *ding* from the river.

On the east wall, from top to bottom, appear the King Father of the East (assumed identification) and his court in homage to him; a register of the disciples of Confucius; a carriage procession; a battle scene including a bridge.

On the south wall, from top to bottom, are depicted carriage processions; scenes from folklore; a pavilion in which the Queen Mother of the West appears in a homage scene on the second floor, the master in a homage scene on the first floor; a horse tethered beneath a tree; men shooting birds in a tree.

+ “Front” (Wu Rong) Shrine, AD 167: Carved stone shrine.

On the west wall, from top to bottom, appear the Queen Mother of the West and her court paying homage to her; a register of the disciples of Confucius; a carriage procession; four registers of scenes from folklore.

On the east wall, from top to bottom, are depicted the King Father of the East (assumed identification) and his court paying homage to him; a register of the disciples of Confucius; carriage processions; a battle scene including a bridge.

The south wall, from top to bottom, includes a register of the disciples of Confucius; carriage processions; scenes from folklore; a banquet in a pavilion with scenes of homage, acrobats, and the kitchen, a horse tethered beneath a tree; a pavilion in which the Queen Mother of the West appears receiving homage on the second story, the master receiving homage on the first story; men shooting birds in a tree; a procession of carriages and footmen.

+ Western Pillar, AD 147: Stone carved in a style different from that of the associated shrines.

Together with the inscription detailing the cost of the towers appear images of horsemen and carriages, Confucius and two other men together with a child with a wheel toy (Confucius

meeting Laozi with Xiang Tuo), a procession of men on foot, and a feline with eight human heads.

Xianyang (Shaanxi) M34, ca. AD 65; M36, ca. AD 67

Stamped bricks.

The motifs utilized on the bricks include two dragons with entwined tails framing a *bi* disc, geometric motifs, tigers framing a *bi* disc, peacocks with a ball in their beaks, tigers, phoenix framing a *bi* disc, tigers framing a flower, single tigers, dragons, phoenix (all M36); tigers (M34).

+ Xiaotangshan (Licheng, Shandong), AD 129

Carved stone shrine of the Guo family.

On the east wall appear a carriage procession to mountains in which figure Fuxi, Nüwa, and the Queen Mother of the West; a carriage procession with guards and men paying homage; the image of the Duke of Zhou and King Cheng; a kitchen, dancers, acrobats, musicians; a hunt; bringing a *dīng* up from the river.

On the west wall appear a carriage procession leading to mountains in which figure Fuxi, Nüwa, and the Queen Mother of the West; a carriage procession with guards and men paying homage; the Duke of Zhou and King Cheng; a battle between the Han and nomads leading to the surrender of the nomads; bringing a *dīng* up from the river; carriages.

On the north wall appear a carriage procession with guards and men paying homage; a scene of Han doing battle with nomads and the surrender of the nomads.

Constellations and the sun and moon are also depicted.

Yingzhuang (Nanyang Municipality, Henan), ca. AD 109

Multicameral brick and stone architectonic tomb with carved stone panels.

The lintel over entrance door to the tomb (facing south) carries a scene of procession to a seated figure (homage?), a figure leaning toward a plant (?), two guards with spears, one lunging (on the left half) and dancers, drummers, a figure bending over a pot, a seated figure holding a plant (?; on the right). Both posts depict a guard with a lance, a phoenix above him. The central post bears a phoenix on a multi-storied tower, a servant standing in the foreground extending a covered dish (?). The left (west) leaf of the door carries a décor of a phoenix above a *taotie* with a ring; the right (east) leaf, a tiger above a *taotie* with a ring.

The lintel of the door between a small apsidal to the front (south) of the front chamber (north) shows a guard with a spear, someone carrying a man (?), a man with a spear carrying a child (?), birds, and another guard. Both posts¹ bear

the image of a figure with one or two snake-like tails and legs in the form of claws (Fuxi on the east, Nüwa on the west). On the central post appears a man holding something in the shape of a disc. The doors carry a geometric décor and the image of a rhinoceros/unicorn.

The reverse of this door (in the south wall of the east rear chamber) shows an unarmed guard or supplicant holding a *boshanlu* censer on the post between the leaves of the door; mountains with animals, water, men in a boat fishing, a tiger chasing deer (both animals with wings?) on the lintel; a winged tiger on the eastern beam; an immortal playing with a dragon on the western beam; an immortal with snake tails and claws in the place of legs holding several discs (stars?) below the door.

On a lintel panel on the west wall of the east rear chamber (reading right to left) are shown screens, bows on stands, a mounted archer riding out, hunting deer near hills beyond which a small cart and a standing figure with outstretched hand appear (an animal master?). A series of three pilasters depict a guard (north post); a tower with food, vessels, cups, a tied guard dog (central post); a man bowing with clasped hands (south post).

On the east wall of the west rear chamber, a lintel panel (east wall) depicts mountains, animals, an immortal with a plant (?), shields and lances placed in stands. On the south (right-hand) post appears a supplicant with hands clasped; on the center post, a well (?) with men carrying a bowl; on the north (left-hand) post, a guard.

On the doorway between the front chamber and the west rear chamber are depicted a supplicant (on one post), two banquet scenes (on the other post), the moon and stars with a toad (on the lintel). On the doorway between the front chamber and the east rear chamber appear a sun disc with a bird (on the lintel) and guards (?) (on the posts). The reverse of these doorways depict a guard and a supplicant (east rear chamber), a carriage crossing a bridge over what appears to be a moon or star (east rear chamber lintel), an immortal (?) herding an ox (west rear chamber lintel).

Zengjiabao (Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan), both ca. AD 65

M1: Multicameral brick and stone architectonic tomb with carved stone panels.

The reverse of the west leaf of the entrance door depicts a phoenix above a woman with a mirror and a guard or servant

with a baton or spear. The reverse of the east leaf of the entrance door depicts a phoenix above a heavily armed man. The rear wall of the rear west chamber (from top to bottom) depicts mountains with a hunting scene, a stream with fish; an unharnessed carriage, the horse at a hitching post, a weapons rack, a man at what appears to be a machine; a man with another machine; large pots on cooking fires being tended by a figure; a man arriving with an oxcart loaded with supplies. The excavation report text identifies this scene as the production of alcohol. The lowest register is missing fragments but includes a person with pots; geese and felines (cats) or dogs; a crane and a dog.

On the rear wall of the east chamber appear (from top to bottom) horses; two large two-storied pavilions, in one of which people are visible; a stylized tree with circular leaves/fruit and a man kneeling beneath it (with a hoe?); divided fields and fish ponds, an orchard around a small pavilion on stilts, a man with a hoe or scythe (?) in a field.

M2: Multicameral brick and stone architectonic tomb with carved stone panels.

The left (west) leaf of the entrance door to the tomb bears the image of a recumbent winged deer above a woman with a mirror and a man kneeling, extending a scroll (?). The right (east) leaf of the door depicts a recumbent winged deer above a man and woman (with a mirror) standing. The man is shown with his hands open, palms out. The posts of the door are decorated with a feline grasping a ribbon which is knotted around a *bi* disc. The reverse side of the entrance door bears the décor of a kneeling guard with a sword, a dog beside him, and a weapons rack with spears (on the east/left leaf) and a phoenix above two men (on the west/right leaf).

¹ The text of the excavation report identifies the eastern post as Fuxi and the western post as Nüwa on a doorway in the north wall of the front chamber. In the illustration (WW 1984.3, 33, fig. 21), the directions appear reversed. I have followed the indications of the text.

Martin J. Powers has generally qualified these representations as “Confucian” and assumed that they represent the political affiliation of the deceased.²⁵ We know that, during the Han, omens were selectively reported to convey indirectly criticism of imperial policy, as the reporting of good omens signified praise.²⁶ Were “Confucianist”

images to have been used in parallel fashion to convey criticism of government,²⁷ we would reasonably expect them to be limited in distribution to a group identifiable by geographic location or rank. Whether or not the specific political affiliation could be identified, the images would have been used discriminately. Instead, they are found throughout China, including in the imperial palace. In parallel to such images, inscriptions from purportedly Confucianist works such as the *Xiaojing* (*Classic of Filial Piety*) appear on the walls of Anping (Hebei), repeated multiple times, like charms.²⁸ Repeated inscriptions in the undatable Wangdu (Tangshan, Hebei) M1²⁹ also center primarily on expressions of the filial, together with portents, although the tomb includes a declaration of fealty to the Han dynasty.³⁰ To claim fealty as limited to officials espousing Confucianism would require us to cast all other political parties (often simplistically identified as eunuchs and the clans of imperial consorts) as traitors. Political rivalries aside, such could clearly not have been the case. Whether or not tomb inscriptions express Confucianist ideals, these inscriptions tend to speak of grief, not politics. In addition, the tombs in which “historical” scenes occur, as well as the Hall of Numinous Brilliance in the Han kingdom of Lu as described by Wang Wenkao, combine the “Confucianist” with the decorative or the personal: “flying birds and running beasts,”³¹ the estate and domestic staff of the deceased (as at Anping and Holingor), and winged immortals (as at Anping). There is, therefore, no dissociation of “Confucianist” scenes and more religious material.³² This juxtaposition effectively dilutes any political meaning which might be inferred.

The masters of Holingor and the undatable Wangdu M1 are clearly identified as officials, although the rank of Wangdu is unclear, as is the status of Nanchen, Balimiao, and Anping. Captions serve only to identify the content of the images, not potential intent. To understand intent, the relationship of the deceased and his immediate circle to the images would require an explanation written by the deceased. In most tombs, little is known about the deceased; inference of personal views or class affiliation is limited and the risk of projection, great. The Wu Liang shrine (Jiaxiang, Shandong) may be offered as an exception, not because of image captions, but because of its memorial inscription.³³ However, in several fundamental areas, this view is problematic. Identification of the shrine said to belong to Wu Liang is based largely on custom or on the interpretation of one stone carving, inscribed as a self-portrait of the retired scholar, assumed to be Wu Liang.³⁴ The theory fits well enough when coupled with the memorial inscriptions on stelae from the same site. Without these biographical texts to provide identification of the site as a whole (although not of individual shrines), the title of “retired scholar” would not identify

anyone specific. It does not describe any political affiliation.

Wu Hung has proposed that Wu Liang's shrine reflects the owner's choice of images and the arrangement within the shrine of those images, and that this choice in turn was meant as a personal declaration of belief.³⁵ As Wu Hung stresses, we know from the *Hanshu* that some scholar-officials did design their own shrine or tomb.³⁶ However, Wu Hung himself notes that while we cannot “exclude the possibility that before his death a person could select favorite motifs to decorate his memorial shrine, such a possibility must be proved and cannot be used as a predetermined premise to identify a shrine's attribution.”³⁷ The same applies to the assumption of meaning. Wu Liang's memorial inscription identifies him only as a scholar whose government career did not advance to great levels, but who remained, as part of the governing classes, concerned with texts and government. From this, it is conjecture to associate him with the politically ambitious “New Script” (*xinwen* [新文]) school of Confucianism, as Wu Hung does,³⁸ or to assume that his political views may be divined from the images in his shrine.

The scenes carved in the Wu Liang shrine are captioned extensively. As translated by Wu Hung, they include descriptions, such as, “The jade horse appears when a ruler is pure and incorrupt and honors the worthy.”³⁹ While this caption phrase is longer than needed for verbal identification of the image, we cannot assume that it gives the image an identification unique to Wu Liang. “The jade horse,” without caption, would presumably be understood as a visual symbol by all familiar with legends pertaining to it. That those legends were appropriated by (or even generated by) Confucianism is not an issue. The written accompaniment is reinforcement of the image, not (reasonably speaking) a recreation of it. For any image to be widely and immediately recognized as representation, regardless of social class or political affiliation, there must be both standardization of the image and consistency in its identification, which we could call “intrinsic meaning” (as with Medieval European cathedrals). This is not to say that a single, recognized image could not have multiple meanings or layers of meaning. The common depiction of a gateway serves as an example: at Wangdu (Tangshan, Hebei) M1 (undatable), the doorway into the tomb depicts guards, one captioned as “soldier at the temple gate” (*simenzu* [寺門卒]),⁴⁰ another as “Chief of the Checkpoint at the Gate” (*mentingzhang* [門亭長]).⁴¹ On gilded bronze plaques originally nailed to wood coffins in various undated tombs in Wushan (Sichuan), the gates framing a seated figure are sometimes labeled, “the gate to heaven” (*tian men* [天門]).⁴² On at least one plaque, with no caption, the Queen Mother of the West is depicted in

an upper register (i.e., within the gates)⁴³ or the toad from the moon appears below,⁴⁴ both identifying the gates as leading to paradise as clearly as the caption does. The gate alone, however, need not and apparently does not necessarily imply paradise. At the same time, the more often an image is repeated, the more dilute its meaning. In this context, the meaning of the images to any individual becomes even more a matter of our own projection.

Not only is attribution of a shrine or tomb to a given individual problematic or impossible in the absence of positive proof (an inscription on or in the structure itself), the extent to which the monument may be said to be individual is also problematic. The images in the Wu Liang shrine in and of themselves, whether chosen by Wu Liang or another, are largely standard even though they also illustrate a number of “historical” tales not now attested on other sites. The iconic status of the images does not preclude Wu Liang's participation in the preparation of the shrine, but his presumed personal participation should not make of the images more than they appear to have been in the overall Han context. This context is not only one of standardization of image but also one of mass production. Because they are mold-produced, we have no difficulty accepting the mass production of figured bricks. However, stone panels are also demonstrably mass produced. Perhaps surprisingly, this holds true for painted tombs as well, where the images usually fall into a common repertoire of scenes. Mass-production means that, whatever the relationship of the owner to the material, his monument was individual only insofar as his taste and his finances could allow selection from predetermined images (unless the owner could afford exclusive production of a plan).

Significantly, examples include some from the Wu family shrines. Authors have tended to stress the “originality” of the shrine attributed to Wu Liang, claiming that the Front Shrine is modeled after the Left Shrine, both being later than the Wu Liang structure.⁴⁵ If we examine these three shrines without attempting to make any individual attribution, hence any dating, the repetitive nature of their décor becomes clear.

On their east and west walls, from the top downward, all three bear décor of the Queen Mother of the West/King Father of the East surrounded by homage-paying creatures;⁴⁶ a line of eminent men, whether heroes of the mythicized past or the disciples of Confucius; and a procession of carriages and footmen. The shrine attributed to Wu Liang expands the depictions of eminent men (and women) to include the men with their identifying attributes and also the scenes defining their lives. Therefore, this décor covers three registers, rather

than the single register of the other shrines. In the Left and Front shrines, some of these scenes are replaced by depictions of other events: a battle over a bridge (on the west wall in both shrines⁴⁷) and the attempt to raise a *ding* from the river (Left shrine, east wall).⁴⁸ In all three cases, the décor of eminent personages and the carriage procession extend across the corresponding registers of the rear wall of the shrine as well.

A two-story pavilion flanked by towers is depicted on the lower portion of the rear wall of each shrine (see [Figure 3.2](#)).⁴⁹ To one side of the pavilion stands a tree with intertwined branches, beneath which stand a horse and an unharnessed carriage. On the nearest tower, a man stands to shoot at birds in the tree. The roof of the pavilion is covered with birds (phoenix); the second story frames a woman receiving homage and being served; in the lower story, a man receives homage and service. Beside the pavilion, the carriage procession continues. In both the Left and Front shrines, the carriage procession scene is repeated in the register below.



Figure 3.2: Left Wu Family Shrine (Jiaxiang, Shandong), banquet scene, stone 9. (*Han Dynasty Stone Reliefs*, 112–113, top.)

All three Wu family shrines therefore follow a standard pattern with little variation. Specifically, each depiction of the Queen Mother of the West or King Father of the East repeats images found in the others, juxtaposed differently. One element of the food preparation scene (attendant to the banquet), with a pulley device beside which is suspended an animal (possibly a dog or wolf) for butcher, appears in all three shrines with little or no variation.⁵⁰ More importantly, the entire pavilion scene is nearly identical in each shrine. In each, the woman on the second floor is seated facing outward; the man on the first floor, seated, is shown in three-quarters frontal view. Unlike the woman, the man acknowledges the homage he receives, either

implicitly by the angle of his body toward some of those paying homage or explicitly in his return of the bow (as on the Left shrine scene; [Figure 3.2](#)).⁵¹

Not only are these examples so close as to be considered duplicates of one another with no one constituting a prototype for the others, they also serve to illustrate a number of problems concerning “meaning.” As duplicates, they are standard issue. They must therefore have a standard meaning. From this, we may extrapolate that the image of the unharnessed horse and carriage beneath the tree flanking the pavilion does not refer to any individual's retirement, even though the owner of the stone might choose to apply that meaning himself. The scene as a whole, then, reflects nothing personal of the purchaser (wealth and taste aside). The appearance of the unhitched horse and carriage beneath a tree with entwined branches in the circa AD 174 Balimiao (Yanggu, Shandong) M1 ([Figure 3.3](#)),⁵² executed in precisely the same style and with the same decorative conventions, indicates that portions of the iconography could be reproduced without the whole. The coincidence of a single image on the Wu Liang shrine and Balimiao M1 means that no distinction was made in the iconography of shrines as opposed to tombs.



Figure 3.3: Balimiao (Yanggu, Shandong) M1, stone, *WW* 1989.8, 54, fig. 11.

Further, if we accept the attribution of the Wu Liang shrine, we accept also a date of AD 151, the date of his death according to the memorial inscription. This implies that the same workshop was producing the same images in the same style over a period of at least twenty-odd years. The general style of execution is found throughout

China, but the specifics that might indicate a single atelier – reinforcement of images, the filling of extraneous negative space by bird heads, animals, and spirals – are localized. Their longevity clearly demonstrates that even the most specific comparisons of style and subject matter cannot be used to determine date. No conclusions may therefore be drawn regarding the dates of the Front and Left Wu shrines relative to that of Wu Liang, nor can identical stones found on other sites be dated without inscription of a year of death or of manufacture, or objects datable by formal comparison.⁵³ Nonetheless, undatable bas reliefs further demonstrate the common character of the Wu shrines. Songshan (Jiaxiang, Shandong) “M2,” for instance, includes four stones (numbered 14–17; [Figure 3.4](#)) each bearing the pavilion scene of the Wu shrines.⁵⁴ Of these, stone 16 does not include a tree with unhitched horse and carriage.⁵⁵ Whether the Songshan stones form a tomb or a shrine,⁵⁶ they confirm the interchangeability of tomb and shrine décor as demonstrated by Balimiao, and its mass production. In this instance, reproduction of the same scene four times within a single tomb raises the question of the extent to which any single monument comprises a readable whole. That is, do the images used in a monument need to form an uninterrupted series? Clearly not. If we insist on a single reading, as do Jean M. James and Martin J. Powers, for example, we create for the images a uniform body of meaning, which may distort them.

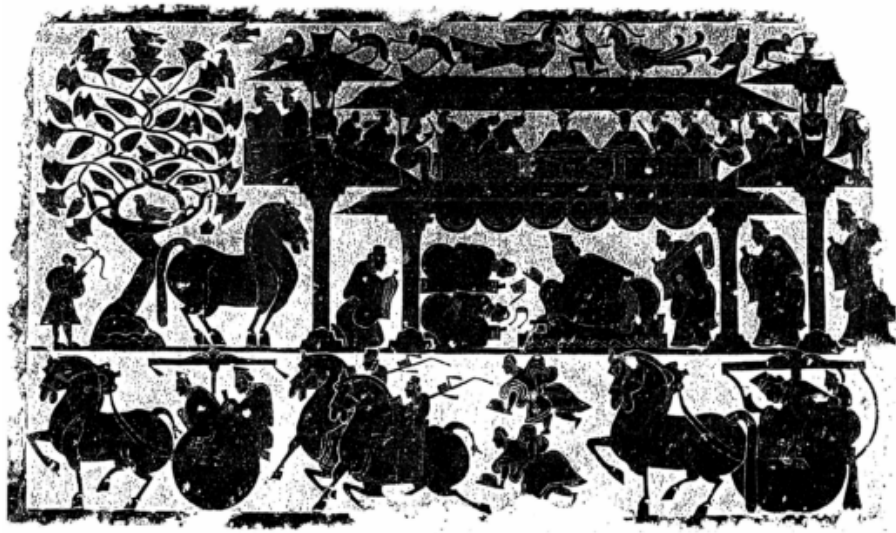


Figure 3.4: Songshan (Jiaxiang, Shandong) M1, stone 14. (© Zhu Xilu, *Jiaxiang*, 50, fig. 62. Reproduced with permission, Shandong meishu chubanshe.)

By the same token, we may assume that disparate images within a

single monument may not be related to one another, but represent different decisions, indeterminable, on the part of the designer. The unharnessed horse and carriage beneath a tree with interlocked branches, for instance, reappears in Songshan “M2” as an isolated image on a panel with various “historical” scenes, all executed in a style completely different from that of stones 14 through 17 and the majority of stones from the Wu shrines.⁵⁷ Apparently, one atelier did not supply all the reliefs used within either this tomb or the Wu shrines. This, too, reinforces the conclusion of prefabrication and mass production.

Another indication of prefabrication and mass production is unengraved cartouches where captions could be inserted, as at Balimiao (Yanggu, Shandong).⁵⁸ The unfinished state of a stone from Suide (Shaanxi),⁵⁹ apparently used in a tomb, may also suggest mass production. However, individual commission, as opposed to mass production, does not in itself imply that the decorative work would necessarily have been completed before installation.

Personalization of iconography through captioning occurs far more often in the work considered here than true individualism (the portrayal of a specified individual). In the Holingor tomb, among standard images of feasts and omens, the scene of non-Chinese (presumably Wuhuan) processing to pay homage to the owner of the Holingor (Inner Mongolia) tomb is customized as far as the ethnic identity of those depicted is concerned.⁶⁰ This customization, so that those paying homage may be identified as foreign, informs the image with a specific cultural and political meaning (the submission of the non-Chinese under Han rule). The common image of homage has been altered, including a procession on foot leading to the act of homage. Other scenes in the Holingor tomb are reproduced from a set repertoire (a carriage procession over a bridge, other carriage processions, armed men in procession), even though according to their captions they are meant to represent scenes from the life of the deceased. More personally specific are the captions themselves which trace the career of the deceased.

Naturally, portraits of the tomb master are individualized, as at the painted tomb at Anping (Hebei).⁶¹ Or rather, representations of the tomb master which appear unlike depictions of other men in the same décor may be accepted tentatively as portraits. The extent to which a likeness of the deceased was made can only be surmised. For instance, the “portrait” of the master of the Wangcun tomb (Xiaxian, Shanxi)⁶² is no different than the faces appearing on figures in the tomb's procession scenes, all of which resemble one another. Despite the contention of some writers that the woman portrayed on the

Mawangdui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1 funerary banner is the deceased, the figure looks like the servant figures in the same banner.⁶³ The Mawangdui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1 and M3 banners are so much alike as to constitute personalized versions of a standard form.⁶⁴ Here, “personalization” entails the use of female or male figures to represent the deceased. In another example, the paintings (on plaster) which are placed into the hollow brick ceilings of the Bu Qianqiu tomb (ca. AD 9) are nearly identical to those of Qianjingtou CM1231 (ca. AD 24) (both, Luoyang Municipality, Henan). The hollow bricks on which the Bu Qianqiu tomb painting was executed are numbered (Figure 3.5).⁶⁵ This must be assumed to constitute a key for the workmen who would assemble the tomb. The paintings were therefore prefabricated, not executed *in situ*.



Figure 3.5: Tomb of Bu Qianqiu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan), painting, WW 1977.6, 10–11, fig. 33–34.

The Qianjingtou CM1231 parallel further justifies this interpretation: the border lines of the Qianjingtou painting, seemingly intended to be drawn straight across the top and bottom of the whole, are frequently uneven, as if when reassembled, the bricks did not align as they had in the workshop. These bricks are also numbered.⁶⁶ In photographs, the edge of each hollow brick is visible, which would not have been the case had the bricks been plastered *in situ*, as small bricks were. In tombs constructed of small bricks, the plaster was applied over the entire wall, then painted. Such work had to be done *in situ*. Despite this, the images of tombs such as Anping (Hebei) or Holingor (Inner Mongolia) are largely standard. Not prefabricated, they nonetheless conform to a catalogue. The examples of the Bu Qianqiu tomb and Qianjingtou in particular further illustrate the impossibility of using iconography, even combined with style of execution, for dating.

The Qianjingtou and Bu Qianqiu paintings serve to illustrate

another concern as well: iconography understood as being associated with direction need not follow that direction in the tomb. For instance, we may assume that the sun would be placed on an eastern wall, in opposition to the moon (but of course the reverse could also be assumed, were the sun setting). If we associate the sun with the height of *yang*, we would expect it in the south. In the Qianjingtou painting, the sun and its attributes appear on the south end of the painting, which terminates in the north with the full moon. In the Bu Qianqiu tomb, the same type of full sun with the same attributes is placed in the east. On the Mawangdui banners, the (crescent) moon appears in the upper left; the sun, in the upper right. If we read the banners in isolation, these directions might be west and east, respectively. Judging from the position of the banner in the tombs, this alignment is confirmed. The fragmented paintings of Qianyang (Baoji Municipality, Shaanxi)⁶⁷ maintain this positioning. Some standardization of placement is therefore visible, but this standardization is not universal.

Tomb doors frequently bear the phoenix and a dragon or tiger, combining in one composition three of the four directional animals (south, east, and west, respectively). The double entrance doors of the tomb of Lord Feng (Tanghe, Nanyang Municipality, Henan) bear the image of a tiger on the left (south) leaf of the door, and on the right (north), a phoenix.⁶⁸ The south door of the central chamber in the same tomb bears the same décor on the right (east) and left (west) leaves, respectively.⁶⁹ The doors as a whole thus mix the symbols of west and south on the west and south doors, with no correlation made between the direction and its symbol.⁷⁰ On the lintel of a door in the south wall of the front chamber in the Haining (Zhejiang),⁷¹ a turtle supports a column entwined with dragons or snakes; the leaves of the door itself depict a phoenix. The turtle supporting a column recalls the turtle on whose back the world is poised, but its association here with the dragon and snake also signals the presence of the “Dark Warrior” (*xuanwu* [玄武]) motif of snake and turtle combined, representing the north. The south is represented by a bird, usually phoenix-like. On this door taken as a whole, then, symbols referring to both north and south are combined. This lack of orthodoxy, as one might call it, suggests that images that we are inclined to understand as full of portent were used by the Han casually, decoratively, and hence with less precision or weight than we tend to assume. The portrayal of paradise or “historical” scenes on toiletries boxes underscores this hypothesis.

How, then, are we to look at Han tombs? In order to evaluate context, the entire tomb must be examined, including its contents.

Because robbed graves are the norm, not the exception, few large tombs possessing wall décor still contain objects.⁷² Any relationship between goods and tomb décor is therefore likely to remain indiscernible. We can, however, examine preserved décor without either excluding portions that do not conform to our expectations or imposing on those portions a meaning forcibly derived from context.

Mawangdui M3 may be taken as an example. Although still inadequately published, the burial provides both tomb décor and furnishings. The painted silk banner from this tomb,⁷³ funerary in purpose, bears a décor which Michael Loewe⁷⁴ and Jean M. James,⁷⁵ by extension from their discussions of the Mawangdui M1 banner, would consider associated with the soul of the deceased.⁷⁶ Rather than interpreting the offering scene at the bottom of the banner as depicting sacrifices made to the departed (who, if we are to judge by the relative size of the figure, is represented in the scene), we might suppose the image to represent the deceased in his lifetime offering sacrifices or presiding over a banquet. The entire banquet scene need not be portrayed.

The upper register of homage to the deceased when the deceased is shown standing before smaller figures is more reasonably interpreted as homage during his lifetime, rather than as a representation of ritual worship of the deceased.⁷⁷ As we can see from other examples, the depiction of banquets and of homage to the now-deceased constitutes standard images, the two scenes often being combined. The uppermost portion of the Mawangdui banner undoubtedly does depict paradise, framed by the sun and moon. However the banner is viewed, it carries religious elements. On this basis, we cannot define the master of Mawangdui M3 as a religious man.

The painted silk hanging that covered the walls of the coffin compartment of Mawangdui M3⁷⁸ is currently the earliest extant precursor of wall paintings in Han architectonic tombs.⁷⁹ At the same time, in terms of subject matter, it presents many of the themes later standard in bas relief. On the west wall appears a procession of armed men on foot (all in profile) passing between two lines of spectators (seen from the front or back), while drums and bells are played; facing the opposite direction (in profile) is a procession of carriages, horses, and footmen, flanked at the rear by a man depicted in full frontal view, surrounded by other men in profile.⁸⁰ The scenes appear to show the departure of a military expedition, commanded by the man seen en face. This figure's size relative to the other figures as well as his full frontal position in a group implicitly corresponding to a homage scene both elevate him to a figure of authority. On the east wall, mounted warriors and carriages are depicted. No prey is visible,

and this portion of the hanging is badly damaged, but the Chinese designation of a “hunting scene” is justified when the images are paired with the boating scene below, around which the prey of the hunt does appear.⁸¹ Among the tomb furnishings is a lacquered toiletries box (black outside, red inside) with a sgraffito décor of immortals hunting; an immortal rides a tiger.⁸² Manuscripts in the tomb include medical, philosophical, historical, and legal texts.

The burial as a whole includes iconography associated with religious views, but this same iconography is employed on a toiletries box. The argument that this box was included in a burial and was thus imbued with religious consequence assumes that the box was made only for burial. As discussed earlier, we have no basis for assuming that burial goods were not items used in life. The décor, therefore, is for secular use.

For the tomb as a whole, we find scenes of military and social nature immediately beside these scenes of paradise. Were we to interpret the processional images as a funerary procession in honor of the deceased, we would still be faced with the hunting and fishing compositions. Jean M. James has attempted to read all décors figuring in tombs as necessarily religious. If, however, religious décors may appear on secular objects and secular objects are placed within the grave, we have no reason to believe that housing the soul required creation of a purely religious atmosphere. As the structure of the tomb itself began to imitate living architecture, and as the emphasis of burial goods shifted from the sacred (as in ritual bronzes) to the personal, the application of décor to the tomb must form an extension of the secularization of the tomb. As paintings were executed on palaces, so they appeared in graves. The paintings themselves are not sacred and the inclusion of secular material in them violates neither the development of the tomb as living quarters nor the free application of a given motif to any surface, regardless of the use to which that surface will be put. By this logic, scenes of social (including military) events placed in tombs remain scenes of social events. By the same token, depiction of deities, such as Fuxi and Nüwa on stones from the undatable Feicheng (Shandong; [Figure 3.6](#)),⁸³ in scenes of this world need not imply transposition of human life into paradise. Rather, the divine and the human coexist in a single universe. The tomb thereby combines aspects of life which we, with our separation of the religious and the civil, may find contradictory. This combination characterizes most Han tomb décor.

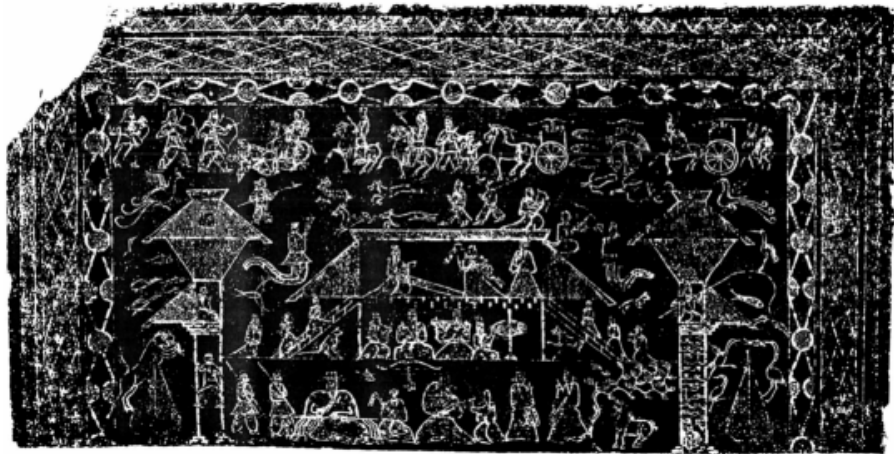


Figure 3.6: Feicheng (Shandong), stone. (Anon., “Shandong Feicheng Han huaxiang shi mu diaocha,” *WWCKZL* 1958.4, 35, fig. 1.)

The notion of a popular religion loosely based on religious Taoism, with emphasis on immortality, has become accepted by contemporary scholars. I propose that there existed during the Han dynasty a collection of beliefs which might be termed “popular history.” Since depictions of the Jing Ke story and others classified as “Confucian” are so widespread, these stories must have belonged to a body of popular folklore, as did the conception of the Queen Mother of the West as a ruler of paradise. The mass use of an iconography dilutes the value of the scenes as social comment of any kind: they become, if they were not originally, popular images of no particular meaning.

Décor as Product

For décor to provide specific information about Han culture or, more broadly, Han society in general, it would need to be narrowly provenanced and narrowly dated. In most cases, the vast amount of data now available to us fails in both respects. While we have collections of carved stones or stamped bricks identified by province, the destruction of tombs or shrines often makes more precise provenance impossible. In the case of found bricks or stones, we have no way of knowing if, by some chance, some of these figured pieces came from living, rather than funereal, architecture. We are fortunate to have some intact tombs complete with décor, if otherwise empty. In rare cases, the date of construction or burial is provided. Otherwise, if no datable objects remain, potential dating could be based only on tomb structure or décor – or some combination of the two. Because various structures remained in use over such a long period of time, tomb structure proves unreliable for dating (see [Chapter 2](#)); for the

same reason, so does décor.

Clearly, the subject-matter of décor was quite universal within Han China (see discussion earlier in [Chapter 3](#)). The various styles of execution and of composition likewise prove so widespread, geographically and (as far as we can tell) chronologically, that few distinctions can now be made. The medium employed is one area that we might expect to affect the style of execution,⁸⁴ but here, too, we cannot make clear distinctions. Part of the difficulty, of course, lies in the greater fragility of materials such as fabric, paint, and wood. Another problem lies with publication. Rubbings of brick or stone obscure the detail of the work; reconstructions, however, may simply (albeit unintentionally) distort the images. For instance, we do not know if the paintings at Dongmenli (Liaoyang [Old] Municipality, Liaoning) M1 accurately reflect the originals.⁸⁵ The Wangcun (Xiaxian, Shanxi) XWM5 report juxtaposes photographs of the damaged originals with reconstructions. Details of form (line, volume, shape, placement) differ.⁸⁶ I have tried to minimize distortion by avoiding reconstructed images as much as possible. Finally, rather than attempting to classify styles in general, I would suggest examining a couple of the most familiar.

What makes the carvings of the Wu family shrines (Jiaxiang, Shandong) so readily identifiable to my eye is their use of space: the artisans seem to prefer to work all available space. As in the pavilion scenes ([Figure 3.2](#)), the area above rooftops tends to be filled with birds and animals; the scenes inside a pavilion spill outside; towers hold additional figures in other activities; or, as on stones 12 of the Front Shrine and 4 of the Left Shrine,⁸⁷ marginal areas are filled with volutes (i.e., reinforcement). In purely illustrative scenes, like those of historical figures, historical anecdotes, and the disciples of Confucius,⁸⁸ the figures are drawn large enough to fill the frame provided for them, but the background is left primarily undelineated. Some of these compositional characteristics are shared by work executed in a different style. The composition of carvings on two nearly identical stones from the undatable Feicheng (Shandong),⁸⁹ for example, is virtually that of stones from the Wu shrines. In both cases, the central pavilion is cut away to reveal the downstairs, with a man receiving homage, and the upstairs, with a woman being waited on. On Feicheng stone 2 ([Figure 3.6](#)), the downstairs of the house is devoted to musicians. Figures from the downstairs scene appear immediately outside the house, at ground level. On platforms on the towers which flank the house, figures spill over from the second floor (Wu shrines) or unrelated figures fish or shoot arrows (Feicheng). The

area in front of (visually below) the house depicts a carriage procession. On Feicheng stone 2, this procession is replaced by the master of the house banqueting. On both Feicheng stones, the procession is repeated beyond (above) the house, where the procession on one stone includes immortals in deer- or fish-drawn carriages; on both Feicheng stones, this upper register is completed by a scene of battle with nomads. The house on the Feicheng stones is flanked by trees; on stones from the Wu shrines, by one tree. Beneath the tree on the stones from the Wu shrines and one tree on Feicheng stone 2 stands a horse (and unharnessed carriage, on the Wu stones). On the Feicheng stones, Fuxi and Nüwa float beside the roof of the house. On the Feicheng stones, the images are produced by a negative line detailing each form. Stone is not removed to create a negative background, as in the Wu shrines. In itself, this does not constitute a stylistic distinction.⁹⁰ The manner of drawing on the Feicheng stones is distinct from that of the Wu shrines, belonging instead to the style seen on stamped bricks with incised-line décor from Luoyang (Henan).⁹¹ Closely related compositions executed in differing styles are known from, for instance, Longyangdian (Tengxian, Shandong)⁹² and Quanfuzhuang (Ji'nan Eastern Suburbs, Shandong),⁹³ both undatable.

The details of execution on stones from the Wu shrines are shared in virtually identical form and manner by neighboring Jiaxiang sites such as Songshan M1, 2, Suijiazhuang, Nanwushan, Qishan, Xunzicun, and Hualincun,⁹⁴ as well as by Balimiao M1, in Yanggu (Shandong).⁹⁵ To me, this suggests the work of a single atelier or an artistic school, perhaps in different ateliers. Nonetheless, both overall style (manner of drawing), together with compositional tendencies (use of space), are found elsewhere in work closely enough related to that of the Wu shrines to constitute a single style. Within this single style, enough differences of detail remain that we may assume them the product of different workshops. Essentially the same style of drawing as in the Wu family shrines, together with space-filling figures, occurs on some carved stone panels from Haining (Zhejiang),⁹⁶ from the undatable Tuogouzui (Leshan Municipality, Sichuan)⁹⁷ and some from the undatable Dahuting (Mixian, Henan) M1,⁹⁸ on a stone panel not structurally part of the tomb at Beiguan (Huaiyang, Henan) M1 (Figure 3.7),⁹⁹ and on a stamped brick found near Chengdu (Sichuan).¹⁰⁰ When these examples show interior scenes, less obvious among the compositions of the Wu shrines, the human figures are large relative to their frame, but the background is also delineated by seemingly undecorated curtains and screens. This is noticeable especially on stones from Tuogouzui and Beiguan. Curtains are likewise shown in the Jiaxiang (Shandong) pavilion scenes,¹⁰¹ as well

as some of the anecdotal scenes at the Wu shrines.¹⁰² The visual weight and volume of these furnishings further serve to fill the negative space of the composition. Despite the distinctions of a local workshop, it is therefore evident that the Wu shrines and their kindred Jiaxiang stones belong to a style distributed over a broad geographic area (Shandong, Zhejiang, Henan, Sichuan) and, judging only from my chronologies, over a broad chronological span, as well (ca. AD 124–175). The latter confirms that style of execution is not dated narrowly enough to be significant as a means of dating tombs. The former places Jiaxiang within national stylistic trends.

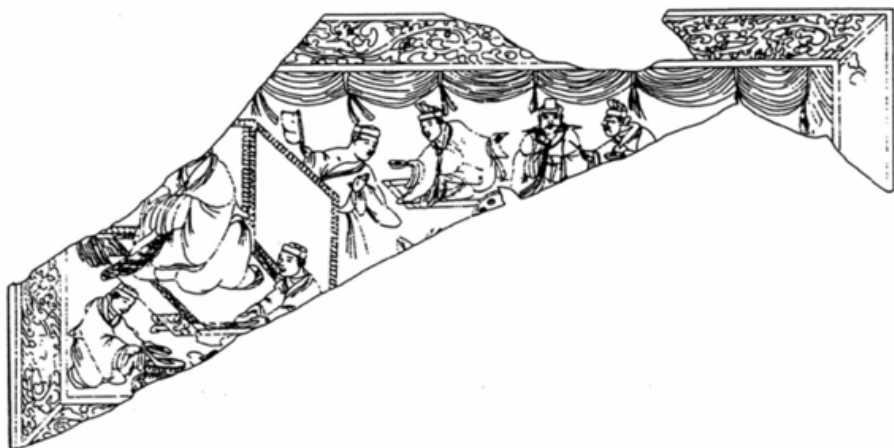


Figure 3.7: Beiguan (Huaiyang, Henan), stone, WW 1991.4, 43, fig. 16.

The same is true of other styles. For instance, several bricks and stones from sites throughout Sichuan are executed in a distinctive style commonly associated with that province, although the province is not stylistically uniform.¹⁰³ The subject matter, as is common throughout Han China, centers on scenes of paradise and of human activity, the latter notably including agricultural work and commerce.¹⁰⁴ By way of comparison, stones from Suide (Shaanxi) frequently include depictions of plowing,¹⁰⁵ as do stones from Shuanggoudiqu (Suining, Jiangsu);¹⁰⁶ stones from Hongshan (Jiaxiang, Shandong) show wheel-making;¹⁰⁷ fishing and hunting are seen, for instance, in Suide (Shaanxi),¹⁰⁸ Liangchengzhen (Weishan, Shandong),¹⁰⁹ and Qinglongshan (Peixian, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu);¹¹⁰ and rent collection is depicted at Dahuting (Mixian, Henan) M1.¹¹¹ Apart from the terraced hills of local terrain, what initially appears peculiar to Sichuan in many examples is the freedom of line, the flexibility and lightness of the figures. Work in very much the same manner has been found in brick at Xinye (Henan; [Figure 3.8](#))¹¹² and at Zhengzhou (Henan),¹¹³ on stamped brick from Banyue

(Dangyang Municipality, Hubei) M1,¹¹⁴ on some of the stones at Haining (Zhejiang),¹¹⁵ and in stone at Nanyang (Henan).¹¹⁶ The work from Xinye and Banyue, in particular, is so closely comparable to this Sichuan style (Figure 3.9) as to raise the question of a shared place of origin. As with stones at Balimiao (Yanggu, Shandong) M1 presumably from the same atelier that produced those of the Wu family shrines (Jiaxiang, Shandong), we do not have enough relevant data to do more than speculate: Do the stones or bricks come from a single producer or, rather, a single stylistic school? Over how great a distance were finished decorative panels shipped? If we could identify the source of the stone or clay, we would gain some insight, but we may not resolve the question. Undecorated stone blocks were brought from a distance at least for the construction of Beizhuang (Dingxian, Hebei) M1,¹¹⁷ the tomb provisionally attributed to Liu Yan, King Jian of Zhongshan. Beizhuang M1 demonstrates that, where cost was not prohibitive, long-distance shipment of raw materials did take place. It is possible that this was also the case with finished panels.

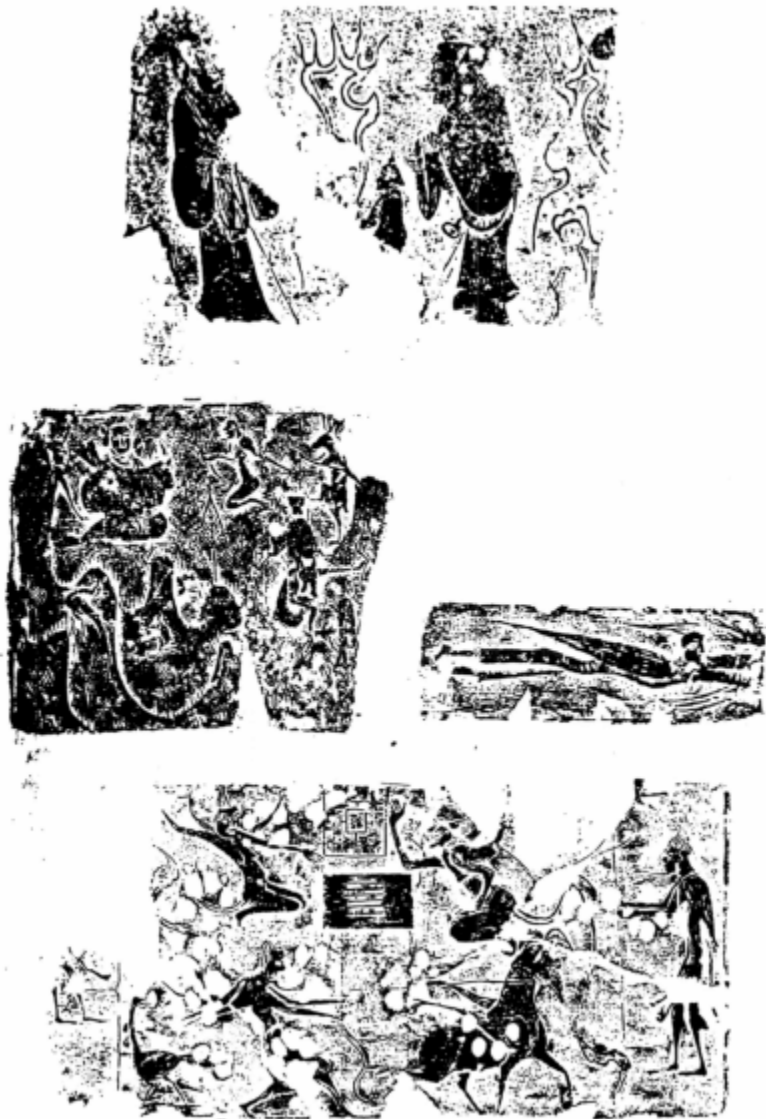


Figure 3.8: Xinye (Henan), brick, KG 1964.2, 91, fig. 1, 3–5.



Figure 3.9: Yihe (Pengxian, Sichuan), undatable, brick. (Sichuansheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, “Sichuan Pengxian Yihe gongshe chutu Handai huaxiang zhuan jianjie,” *KG* 1983.10, 899, fig. 3; 901, fig. 7).

Both Sichuan and Jiayang demonstrate a further stylistic problem: the widespread use of stylistic convention, regardless of the style of execution. Immortals, dancers, and acrobats are thin and lithe (Figure 3.8, center, bottom);¹¹⁸ laborers and jugglers, for instance, are muscular;¹¹⁹ men of importance, particularly the male figure presumably meant to stand for the master of the tomb, are given greater mass than other figures;¹²⁰ and horses have small muzzles and hooves, highly curved necks, barrel bodies, and fine legs. These stereotypes occur throughout China, regardless of style of execution and discipline. The manner of depicting a horse seen in the often-

photographed bronze horse in full stride from Wuwei (Gansu)¹²¹ is the general model for the Han horse, in round or flat work, although a less stylized version also exists.¹²² The same is true for the bronze immortal found in the Chang'an habitation site (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi)¹²³ and the deer-riding immortal of a sculptural bronze stand from Shouwang (Zhaotong Municipality, Yunnan).¹²⁴ Likewise, the ceramic entertainers from Sichuan¹²⁵ are of the same physical form as those depicted, for instance, on stamped bricks from Chengdu and Pengxian (both, Sichuan),¹²⁶ on carved stone from Chengguanzhen (Fangcheng, Henan; the man battling a tiger; Figure 3.10),¹²⁷ and on carved stone from Junliujiagou (Suide, Shaanxi; an historical scene).¹²⁸ This same body type appears on ceramic sculptures of entertainers from Qilihe (Jianxi, Luoyang Municipality, Henan)¹²⁹ and Miaonan ([New Village,] Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M528:15.¹³⁰ This conventionality of depiction makes regional differentiation hazardous and further obviates chronological distinction.

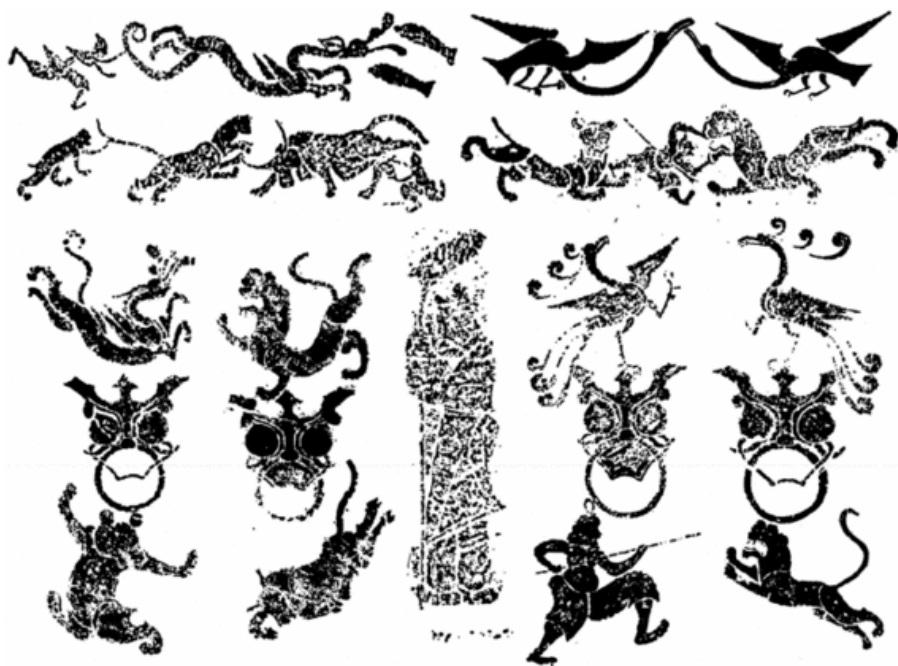


Figure 3.10: Chengguanzhen (Fangcheng, Henan), stone, WW 1984.3, 39, fig. 3.

At the same time, it is important to note that a given region, such as Sichuan or Jiaxiang, and even a given monument, such as the Wu Family Shrines or the tomb at Haining (Zhejiang), is not necessarily characterized by only one style of execution. For Sichuan, Zengjiabao (Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan) M1, 2 provide an example of stonework¹³¹ whose heavier figures contrast with the slim, free forms

noted above. The side towers of the Wu shrines,¹³² together with stone 1 from Songshan “M2” (Figure 3.11),¹³³ share the same style of execution seen on stones from a number of sites in Jiaxiang¹³⁴: simply drawn figures with largely undeveloped backgrounds. This same style also occurs on a stone from Hanlou (Tongshan, Jiangsu; undatable)¹³⁵ and on Han-era stones reused in a Northern Song (AD 1127–1279) tomb at Zoucheng (Shandong).¹³⁶ Subject matter and the conventions of execution remain within national norms. Another style of execution sometimes seen in Jiaxiang,¹³⁷ with lean, fluid animal forms, is also found at numerous sites in Jiangsu (Figure 3.12),¹³⁸ and the tomb of Lord Feng (or his consort) at Tanghe (Nanyang Municipality, Henan).¹³⁹ Similarly, a complex, highly fluid style in which the background is filled with abstract volutes interspersed with various figures (carriages, horsemen, hunters, animals) occurs in stone both at Suide (Shaanxi)¹⁴⁰ and Mamaozhuang (Lishi, Shanxi) M3,¹⁴¹ and, similarly, at Dahuting (Mixian, Henan) M2, in stone and in paint,¹⁴² all undatable. Antecedents for these last examples include lacquer, such as the third (outermost) nested coffin in Mawangdui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1.¹⁴³ These examples further underscore the difficulty of using décor to identify either the specific time or place of production.¹⁴⁴



Figure 3.11: Songshan (Jiaxiang, Shandong) M2, stone 1. (© Zhu Xilu, *Jiaxiang*, 44, fig. 51, bottom. Reproduced with permission, Shandong meishu chubanshe.)



Figure 3.12: Zhangyu (Shuining, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), stone. (Xuzhoushi, *Xuzhou Han huaxiang shi*, Pl. 254; 118 cm x 60 cm.)

Chapter 4 Vessels in the Typologies

The 542 vessel shapes or 2,151 individual pieces, constituting the dated typologies presented here, include two Qin types, *guan* 1 and 2 (totalling nine pieces), and two non-Chinese forms, *guan* 280 and 281 (five pieces). The latter are included primarily for convenience, given the familiarity of the forms. *Guan* 40 and 41 are likewise non-Chinese, essentially Dong-Son culture (Vietnam) *thap* (bucket-shaped pots), but are included here as integral to the Han Far South.¹ *Hu* 90, in contrast, is currently documented only on the non-Chinese site of Budonggou (Dongsheng Municipality, Inner Mongolia). The form is consistent with Han-era Chinese vessels and is therefore included in the typologies as Chinese. The Qin shapes represent the beginning of a series of related forms influential through much of the Han period. Neither *guan* 1 and 2 nor 280 and 281 has been counted in [Tables 4.1 through 4.6](#). Although of reasonably large size without these *guan*, the Han sampling nonetheless has its limits. It necessarily shares the problem of the uneven geographic and chronological distribution of dated archaeological sites, sometimes amplifying the resulting distortion. For instance, the modern province of Guangdong accounts for the majority of tombs dating to the Middle Western Han (ca. 156–74 BC) and the Early Eastern Han (ca. AD 25–105), comprising thirty-six of the ninety-six tombs for earlier period and ninety-two of 423 for the later period. In Middle Western Han Guangdong, the tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]; died 122 BC) is only one site. Due to its richness, however, it defines thirty-two of the forty-two vessel types then attested in Guangdong, of a national total of seventy-nine. Thus, the characteristics of the vessels found in the tomb of the King of Nanyue have disproportionate weight in analysis of dated Han vessels. Therefore, as with dated sites, the distribution of vessel types does not accurately reflect either the density or the relative cultural importance of the various regions or chronological periods of Han dynasty China.

Table 4.1: Distribution of vessel forms (H – Hu, G – Guan, D – Ding; Form Number [Number of Pieces]; Total Forms [Total Pieces]).

Early W. Han	Middle W. Han	Late W. Han	<i>de facto</i> Wang	Early E. Han	Middle E. Han	Late E. Han	Totals

	(206–157 BC)	(156–74 BC)	(73 BC–AD 5)	Mang (AD 6–24)	AD (AD 105–167)	(AD 168–220)
Anhui	H5(2) 1(2)	H23(3) 1(2)	H27(3) 1(2)	H34(1) 1(2)	H78(1) 1(2)	H92(4) 1(2)
		G36(1) 1(2)	H35(3) 1(2)	H36(2) 1(2)	H112 1(2)	G259(1) 1(2)
		D18(1) 1(2)	H38(1) 1(2)	H39(1) 1(2)	G145(2) 1(2)	
		6(8)	H41(1)	H44(2)	G217(1)	G240 1(2)
				H47(1)	H49(1)	G241(1) 1(2)
				H53(2)	G91(2)	G242(1) 1(2)
						D73(1) 1(2)
						G92(1) 1(2)
						G93(2) 1(2)
						G95(2) 1(2)
						G96(1) 1(2)
						G97(2) 1(2)
						G98(4) 1(2)
						G100(1) 1(2)
						G103(1) 1(2)
						G106(1) 1(2)
						D33(1) 1(2)
						D37(1) 1(2)
						D41(2) 1(2)
						D45(1) 1(2)
						D53(2) 1(2)
						D55(1) 1(2)
						27(45) 1(2)
Beijing	–		H59(2)	G110(1)	G192(1) 1(2)	H126(1) 1(2)
					G113(2) 1(2)	H132 1(2)
					G114(2) 1(2)	G115 1(2)
					(1) 1(2)	2(2) 1(2)
					G116(1) 1(2)	
					D54(1) 1(2)	
					7(10) 1(2)	
Fujian	–	H20(2)	G40(1)		G175(1)	G198– 8(11)
		G42(2)	G43(1)		(1) 1(2)	
		G49(2)	G51(1)		2(2) 1(2)	
		6(9) 1(2)				
Gansu	G9(1)	G45(2)	H57(1)	D34(1)	H72(1)	H73(1)
	G25(1)	1(1)	2(2)		G233 1(2)	
	3(4) 1(2)				(1)	G235(1) 1(2)
					5(5) 1(2)	
Guangdong	G4(1)	D2(9)	H29(3)	H29(1)	H50(2)	H75(1)
	D6(1)	D11(4)	G72(1)	G62(2)	(5)	H103(1)
	4(4) 1(2)	H23(4)	D25(1)	G121(3)	G105(4)	H106 1(2)
		H26(1)	G122(1)	G124 (5)	H107(7) 1(2)	
		H31(1)	G39(5)	G119	H108(1)	H109 1(2)
		G40(9)	G41(5)	4(7)	(1)	H110(1) 1(2)
		G42(3)	G35(4)			H113(1)
		G44(2)	G45(2)		(2)	G146(1) 1(2)
		G46(6)	G47(1)			G147(1)
		G48(3)	G49(3)	G50(1)	G170(3) 1(2)	
		G51(2)	G52(1)	G53(2)	G175(4)	G176 1(2)

	G54(1),G56(5),G57(104),G189(1), G59(3),G60(1),G61(7),G194(8),G195 G62(3),G63(3),D17(401),G198(3), D18(1),D20(1),D21(6),G201(6),G202 D22(6),D23(1),D24(103),G203(1), D25(1),D26(2),D28(1),G210(1),G211 42(114)	(2),G213(1), G217(11), G218(3), G219 (6),G220(4), G221(3),G222 (2),G223(2), G224(5),G225 (2),G226(4), G229(1),G230(7),G231(1),G240(1),G D81(1),D83(3),D85(1), D88(3),D89(2),D90(6),D93(3), D94(1),D97(1),D98(1) 57(164)	
Guangxi	H15(1),H54(1),H56(1),H57(1),H77(1),H82(1),H98(48) H23(1),G39(2),G92(1),G100(1),G101(2),G102(2), G44(2),G45(1),G118(1),H104(2), G46(1),G47(2),G48(2) 37(77) G48(1),G49(1), H105(2),H106(1),H107(2), G52(1),G53(2), H108(2),H109(5),G175(5), G55(1),G57(1), G194(4),G195(2),G198(4), G59(1),G61(3), G201(1),G211(3),G213(1), D21(1),D22(1), G217(3),G218(1),G219(2), D24(4),D25(1), G220(3),G221(1),G222(4), D27(1) G224(1),G225(3),G226(1), 21(30) G229(1),G230(2),G231(1), G232(1),D81(3),D88(2), D89 (2),D90(2),D93(1), D95(1),D96(1) 37(77)		
Guizhou	G74(1)– 1(1)	–	G140(1),G167– (3),G175(1), G176(1),G182 (1),G215(1), G219(1),G220 (1),G221(1), G246(1) 10(12)

[illegible]

[illegible]

				(1), G287(1),G288(1), G296(1),D102(1), D103(1) 16(17)
Sichuan	D13(1)	G39(1)	H52(1),H68(1),H76(1),H77(1),H84(2),H85(1),H84(2)	1(1) 1(1) (1) G132 (1),G137(1),G138(2),G273(1), 4(4) (2),G134(1), G275(2),G280(1), G135(2),G141(1),G142(1),G283(2), 4(6) G145(1),G148(2),G150(1), G152(2),G153(3),G155(1),G156(1), G159(1),G160(3),G161(2), G164(1),G166(1),G167(1), G172(3),G175(1),G178(1), G182(2),G189(1),G192(1), G193(1),G194(1),G196(1), G197(1),G229(1),G234(1), G244(1),G245(1), D71(1),D76(1),D78(1) 42(61)
Tianjin	-	-	G126(1)	- - 1(1) 1(1)
Yunnan	-	H43(1)- 1(1)	H77(2),H86(1),H109(1),H110(1),G148(1),G149(1),G196(1), G233(1) 9(11)	
Zhejiang	-	H32(3),H34(1),H66(2),H68(1),G93(3),G95(1),G297(1),G298(2), 10(20)	H32(3),H34(1),H66(2),H68(1),G93(3),G95(1),G297(1),G298(2), 10(20)	
Korea	-	D53(1)- 1(1)	H83(1),H87(1),G146(1),G151(1),G177(1) 5(5)	
Mongolia	-	-	H87(1),G156(1)	2(2)
Russia	-	-	H84(1),H87(3),G151(1),G155(1),G156(1) 5(7)	
Tuva	-	-	G151(1)	- 1(1) 1(1)
Totals	53	152	79	284
	98	455	42	208
	180	812	5	63
	62	178	542	2151

Includes Non-Chinese. The total number of forms for each era differs from the sum of the total number of forms by era by province; the former counts only separate forms, without repetition.

Table 4.2: Distribution of dated vessels in bronze and iron (H – Hu, G – Guan, D – Ding; Form Number [Number of Bronzes: Total Pieces, all media]).

Note: References are to bronze unless specified.

	Early W. Han (206– 157 BC)	Middl W. Han (156– 74 BC —)	Late W. Han (73 BC– AD 5)	<i>de facto</i> Wang Mang (AD 6–24)	Early E. Han (AD 25– 105)	Middl E. Han (AD 106– 167)	Late E. Han (AD 168– 220)	Totals
Anhui			H53 (2:11), D37 (1:6), D53 (1:5), D55 (1:2)		H102 (1:2), D73 (1:7)			7:33
Beijing								
Fujian								
Gansu			D34 (1:2)					1:2
Guangdong	G4 (1:4), D2 (1:2)	H19 (2:4), H23 (1:9), H26 (1:2), G39 (3:9), G40 (8:10), G41 (4:9), D17 (4:7), D18 (1:7),			H75 (1:4), H76 (1:3), H101 (1:11), D81 (1:5), D83 (1:4), D88 (1:6)			39:112

Guangxi		D22 (4:6), D24 (1:6), D25 (1:2), D26 (1:2)					
		H15		H77			22:72
		(1:5), G39 (1:9), G41 (4:9), D22 (1:6), D24 (4:6), D25 (1:2), D27 (1:3)		(1:7), H98 (2:13), D81 (3:5), D88 (2:6), D95 (1:1)			
Guizhou		G74 (1:4)		<i>Iron</i> G167 (2:11)			<i>Bronze</i> 1, <i>Iron</i> 2:15 10:30
Hebei	H8 (1:3), H9 (1:3)	H15 (2:5), H25 (3:14), D27 (1:3), D31 (2:2)					
Heilongjiang							
Henan		H24 (1:3)	D53 (1:5); <i>Iron</i> G109 (1:8)	H66 (2:2)	H113 (1:5), D80 (1:4)		<i>Bronze</i> 6, <i>Iron</i> 1:27
Hubei	G3 (1:1), G4 (1:4),	H24 (1:3), H25 (1:14),	H53 (1:11)	H61 (2:5), H68 (1:4)	H75 (1:4), G141 (2:5),	G306 (1:2)	<i>Bronze</i> 31, <i>Iron</i> 4:136

	D1 (2:2), D3 (4:4), D13 (2:5); <i>Iron</i> G18 (1:3)	G39 (1:9), D14 (2:9), D15 (3:6), D17 (1:7), D18 (1:7); <i>Iron</i> G39 (1:9)	G171 (1:1), D92 (1:4), D100 (1:1); <i>Iron</i> G167 (1:11), D73 (1:5)	
Hunan			H98 (2:13), H109 (1:11), H113 (1:5), D81 (1:5), D88 (1:6)	6:40
Inner Mongolia			<i>Iron</i> D78 (1:5)	<i>Iron</i> 1:5
Jiangsu	H24 (1:3), D14 (1:9), D17 (1:7), D27 (1:3)	D37 (2:6), D39 (1:6), D40 (3:4), D56 (2:4)	H98 (1:13), H102 (1:2), H108 (1:7), H113 (1:5), D74 (4:9)	20:78
Jiangxi	H25 (1:14), D24 (1:6)		H98 (2:13), D83 (1:4)	5:37
Liaoning Ningxia			<i>Iron</i> G177 (1:4)	<i>Iron</i> 1:4

Qinghai				H93 (1:7)		1:7
Shaanxi	G4 (1:4), D13 (1:5)	H25 (2:14), D14 (1:9), D15 (1:6), D17 (1:7)	H53 (1:11), D36 (1:7), D39 (1:6), D53 (1:5)		G283 (1:4)	12:76
Shandong	H4 (2:4), D13 (1:5)	H18 (1:1), H25 (1:14), G37 (1:5), D14 (1:9), D15 (1:6), D29 (1:6)	H45 (2:10), D38 (1:6), D39 (1:6), D56 (1:4), D15 (1:6), D29 (1:6)	H98 (1:13), D77 (1:7), D78 (1:5), D79 (1:7), D80 (2:4)		20:112
Shanxi		H23 (1:9), H25 (1:14)	D36 (1:7), D37 (1:6), D39 (1:6), D55 (1:2), D56 (1:4)	D76 (2:8), D77 (1:7)		10:63
Sichuan	D13 (1:5)	G39 (1:9)	D39 (1:6); <i>Iron</i> G109 (1:8)	H63 (1:10) H86 (1:3), G140 (2:4), G172 (3:3), G193 (1:1), D76 (1:8), D78 (1:5);	H125 (1:2)	<i>Bronze</i> 14, <i>Iron</i> 2:68

						Iron G140 (1:4)	
Tianjin							
Yunnan						H77 (2:7), H86 (1:3), H109 (1:11), H110 (1:2), G141 (2:5)	7:28

Zhejiang							
Korea		D53 (1:5)				H98 (1:13), D77 (1:7)	3:25

Mongolia
Russia
Tuva

Totals	Bronze 20, Iron 1	Bronze 84, Iron 1	Bronze 32, Iron 2	Bronze 6 70, Iron 7	3	226 (Bronze 215, Iron 11)
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Includes Non-Chinese. The total number of vessels for each form given in the calculations by province (horizontal rows) represents the total regardless of provenance or medium. Totals for each era would add this national total each time a given form occurred in a different province; era totals for forms (vertical columns) are therefore not given.

Note: G53 Shanxi, iron handles on earthenware, and D38, iron lugs on the lid of an earthenware ding, are not counted here.

Table 4.3: Distribution of vessel types providing eight or more examples (H – Hu, G – Guan, D – Ding; Form Number: Number of Pieces [Principle Location]).

Early W. Han (206–	Middle W. Han (156–74	Late W. Han (74 BC–AD	de facto Wang Mang	Early E. Han (25–105	Middle E. Han (AD	Late E. Han (AD
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157 BC] BC)	5)	(AD 6–24)		106–167)	220)
H23:9 (national); 25:9 (national); G40:10 (Far South), 41:9 (Far South), 61:10 (Far South); D14:9 (northern)	H32:14 (Lower Yangzi), 34:11 (Lower Yangzi), 35:33 (Lower Yangzi), 36:10 (Lower Yangzi), 39:12 (Lower Yangzi), 41:13 (national), 43:8 (northern), 44:11 (Lower Yangzi), 51:10 (northern), 52:8 (northern), 53:11 (northern), 54:10 (northern); G93:14 (Lower Yangzi), 98:23 (Lower Yangzi), 109:8 (national); D50:8 (northern)	H62:12 (Henan), 63:10 (Henan), 64:19 (Henan), 65:9 (Henan); G124:14 (national); 126:11 (Henan), 134:11 (northern); 135:8 (northern); 100:8 (national), 101:11 (national), 107:11 (northern), 109:11 (Far South); G148:30 (Shaanxi), 149:11 (northern), 156:10 (northern), 162:16 (Shaanxi), 163:13 (Shaanxi), 165:8 (Shaanxi), 167:10 (northern), 170:9 (national), 175:13	H74:10 (northern); 84:9 (mostly non- Chinese), 87:9 (northern), 96:18 (Lower Yangzi), 97:10 (Hebei), 98:13 (Far South), 100:8 (national), 101:11 (national), 107:11 (northern), 109:11 (Far South); G148:30 (Shaanxi), 149:11 (northern), 156:10 (northern), 162:16 (Shaanxi), 163:13 (Shaanxi), 165:8 (Shaanxi), 167:10 (northern), 170:9 (national), 175:13	G247:8 (northern); G275:13 (northern), 288:8 (northern)	H126:12 (northern); G275:13 (northern), 288:8 (northern)

(Far
South),
194:13
(Far
South),
195:13
(Far
South),
198:10
(Far
South),
201:8
(Far
South),
217:15
(Far
South),
219:9
(Far
South),
220:8
(Far
South),
230:12
(Far
South),
234:8
(northern);
D76:8
(northern),
90:8
(Far
South)

Table 4.4: *Distribution of dated vessels in stoneware and porcelain* (H – Hu, G – Guan, D – Ding; Form Number [Number of Stoneware: Total Pieces, all media]).

Note: References are to stoneware unless specified

Early W. Han (206–	Middl W. Han (156–	Late W. Han (73	<i>de</i> <i>facto</i> Wang Mang	Early E. Han (AD	Middl E. Han (AD	Late E. Han (AD	<i>Totals</i>
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	157 BC)	74 BC	BC– AD 5)	(AD 6–24)	25– 105)	106– 167)	168– 220)	
Anhui						G259 (1:1)		1:1
Beijing								
Fujian								
Gansu								
Guangdong						G169 (1:3), G170 (1:9)		2:12
Guangxi								
Guizhou						G246 (1:4)		1:4
Hebei							G261 (1:4)	1:4
Heilongjiang								
Henan							G301 (1:3)	1:3
Hubei							G304 (2:2), G305 (1:5)	3:7
Hunan			G98 (1:21)			H100 (1:8); G230 (1:12), G232 (1:2)		4:43
Inner Mongolia								
Jiangsu			H44 (2:7); G93 (1:14), G100 (2:6), G101 (1:6), G103 (1:5); D35 (2:3)			<i>Porcelain</i> G176 (1:6)		<i>Stoneware</i> 9, <i>Porcelain</i> 1:47
Jiangxi								

Liao- ning Ningxia Qinghai Shaanxi Shandong	H35 (2:32); G98 (1:21)	H96 (1:18)		4:71
Shanxi Sichuan		G142 (1:6)	G303 (1:1), G305 (1:5)	3:12
Tianjin Yunnan Zhejiang	H32 (3:11), H34 (1:8), H35 (3:32), H39 (1:13); G98 (3:21)	H96 (1:18)	H116 (1:3); G252 (1:2)	G265 (2:4); 16, Porcelain G301 (1:3)
Korea Mongolia Russia Tuva				
Totals	24	Stoneware 9, Porcelain 1	Stoneware 9, Porcelain 1	47 (Stoneware 45, Porcelain 2)

Includes Non-Chinese. The total number of vessels for each form given in the calculations by province (rows) represents the total regardless of provenance or medium. Totals for each era would add this national total each time a given form occurred in a different province; era totals for forms (columns) are therefore not given.

Note: G93 Anhui: one, lid only in stoneware, is not counted here.

Table 4.5: Distribution of Far South vessel forms (H – Hu, G –

Early W. Han (206–157 BC)	Middle W. Han (156–74 BC)	Late W. Han (74 BC–AD 5)	de facto Wang Mang (AD 6–24)	Early E. Han (AD 25–105)	Middle E. Han (AD 106–167)	Late E. Han (AD 168–220)
	H19, 20, G118, 21, 22; 119 G40-63; D21-26		G121	H77, 98, G254 103, 105, 106, 107, 109, 113; G143, 147, 175, 176, 194, 195, 198, 200, 201, 203, 210, 211, 213, 217, 219, 220, 221, 224, 226, 229, 230, 246; D81, 83, 88, 89, 90, 93, 94, 95, 97, 100		

Table 4.6: *Formal series of vessels in the typologies (H – Hu, G – Guan, D – Ding; Form Number).*

Descript	Early W. Han (206–157 BC)	Middle W. Han (156–74 BC)	Late W. Han (73 BC–AD 5)	<i>de facto</i> Wang Mang (AD 6–24)	Early E. Han (AD 25–105)	Middle E. Han (AD 106–167)	Late E. Han (AD 168–220)
Downward-sloping shoulders; moderate belly; wide foot	H18	H27			H75		
Short neck; broad belly	H7		H51, 52		H82, 85, 86		H125
Broad, horizontally symmetrical belly; long neck	H5, 9	H15, 28	H54, 55, 58	H62			
Broad, evenly curved belly; high foot	H10	G34				H119	
Broad, elongated belly	H12		H33, 48	H56			
<i>Close to H3:</i> Downward-sloping shoulders; broad belly, relatively flat underneath belly	H13	H31				H117	H126
Broad,	H14	H18,	H32,	H66	H102		

deep belly	25	34		
Low, small belly curving upward to wide neck	H17	H44		H80, 106
Wide neck; downward-sloping shoulders; broad belly; wide foot	H19, 21, 22, 23			H78
Long neck; deep-bellied bottles	H20, 29	H50		
Wide, rounded shoulders tapering to base		H35	H67	H84, 87
Low shoulders tapering to wide base		H36, 37, 39		H96
Wide belly tapering to relatively wide base		H42		H79
Moderately broad belly; moderate		H53	H63, 64	

foot				
Broad		H68,	H74,	H115, H130,
belly;		70	77, 93,	122 131
wide			98,	
foot			108,	
			109	
Broad			H76,	H120 H134
neck;			97	
low,				
small				
belly				
with				
relatively				
sharp				
horizontal				
central				
ridge				
Wide				H116 H129,
belly				133
angling				
upward				
(broader				
underneath)				
<i>Qin</i> fou:	G1, 6, G68	G82,	G162,	
Narrow	7, 8, 9,	83, 84,	163	
neck;	22; H2	85		
broad,				
high				
shoulders				
descending				
nearly				
straight				
to a				
broad				
base				
<i>Related</i>		H38,	H83,	
<i>to Qin</i>		43	94	
fou:				
Nearly				
heart-				
shaped				
profile				
<i>Related</i>	G16, 24G35	G110		
<i>to Qin</i>				

fou/*Hu*

94:

Moderate

neck;

angular

shoulders;

broad

base

Related G10 G37 G86, 87

to Qin

fou:

Short

neck;

wide,

high

shoulders

tapering

to

moderate

base

Related to Qin G107, 108

G170, G258 G260,
237 287,

fou/

G10:

Model

neck:

mode

mouth:

low

shoulders:

very

very
wide

base

base of
nearly

the

the
sam

width

width
as

as
ch

Related

Related
to Qin

f011:

Short

neck:

HECK,

wide
 shoulders
 tapering
 to
 relatively
 small
 base
Related H1 G29
to Qin
 fou:
 Very
 narrow
 neck
 and
 base
Chu G36, G100,
 fou: 49, 50, 101,
 Moderate 51, 52, 102,
 mouth; 55 103
 relatively
 high,
 very
 broad
 shoulders;
 broad
 base
Related G20 G97
to Chu
 fou:
 Narrow
 mouth;
 low
 shoulders
Related
to Chu
 fou/*Hu*
 35, 84:
 wide
 mouth;
 broad,
 high
 shoulders
 tapering
 to a

H84,
 87, 90

H88;
 G127,
 128,
 145

G158,
 210,
 211

G284

G168,
204,
228

G264

wide				
base				
<i>Related</i>	G91,	G134,	G251,	G270,
<i>to Chu</i>	93, 95	190	252,	275,
fou/ <i>Hu</i>			255,	296
35, 84:			265	
Wide				
mouth;				
broad				
shoulders				
curving				
to base				
<i>Related</i>		G180,		
<i>to Chu</i>		182,		
fou:		209		
short				
body;				
wide				
mouth;				
broad,				
low				
shoulders;				
wide				
base				
<i>Mou:</i>	G2, 26	G39	G172,	
Cooking			193	
pot;				
broad				
body;				
round				
bottom;				
wide,				
curved				
neck				
ending				
at a				
sharp				
median				
ridge				
<i>Mou:</i>	G3, 18	G79,	G140,	
Cooking		109	171,	
pot;			198	
broad				
body;				

wide
mouth;
short,
curved
neck;
downward-
curving
belly

Mou: G4, 5,
Cooking17, 23

pot;
wide
mouth;
relatively
straight
neck;
full,
rounded
belly

Related D100
to mou:

Mou on
legs; *cf.*

G2
Wide G14, 25G71 G94 G192

mouth;
broad
shoulders
straight
to wide
base

Fu: G19 G105
Cooking

pot.

Wide
mouth;
broad
belly;
round
bottom;
relatively
shallow

Relatively G21 G46 G76, 78G117, G169 G220,
tall 124 240

body;
wide
mouth;
low,
moderate
shoulders;
wide
base

Related G43,
to G21: 44, 45

G200

Wide,
short
body;
wide
mouth;
low,
moderate
shoulders;
wide
base

Wide G27

G157,
205

mouth;
angular
shoulders;
angular
lower
belly;
broad
base

Broad, G28 G67 G113

square

body

Thap: G40, 41

G189,
217,
218,
219

Bucket;
broad,
cylindrical

body;
broad
mouth;
straight
sides;
broad
base

“Boxes”: G59,

Shallow; wide mouth; nearly straight sides	60, 61, 62, 63				
Round, with rounded bottom	G38, 69	G116		G173	
<i>Related to G99:</i> Round, with flat bottom		G99, 114, 115		G146	G289, 299
Short body; moderate mouth widening to broad base; three feet; lid	G48		G119	G143	
Tall; moderate mouth; low shoulders; broad base	G54			G147, 215	
Wide neck; broad, shallow body	G57, 58		G118		
Tall; wide mouth; moderate curve from	G65		G123	G259	G304

mouth
to belly
and
from
belly to
base;
base
approximate
width
of
mouth
Wide
mouth;
moderately
wide
body;
low
belly;
very
wide
base
Wide
mouth;
low,
rounded
shoulders;
wide
base
Wide
mouth;
extremely
wide
shoulders;
wide
base
Moderate
neck;
elongated,
full
body;
wide
base
Wide
mouth;

G96

G121

G199,
229,
230

G106

G130

G149

G138,
159

G267

G120, G212
129

G125 G188,
214

high,
sharply-
defined
shoulders
straight
to wide
base
(base
nearly
as wide
as
mouth)

Broad
shoulders;
nearly
straight
to wide
base

Jug-
like:
moderately
wide
mouth;
moderate,
straight
neck;
broad,
squat
body;
broad
base

Wide
mouth;
high,
broad
shoulders;
narrow
base;

cf., Hu
38

Related
to
G167:
Moderate

G131, G158,
132, 160
133

G263

G161,
187

G261

G167,
177

G282

G148, G253
168,
178,
179,

mouth;				191
high,				
broad				
shoulders;				
moderate				
base				
Small				G176, G254
mouth;				203
low				
shoulders;				
rounded				
body;				
very				
wide				
base				
Wide				G183,
mouth;				216,
high,				241
narrow				
shoulders				
nearly				
straight				
to base;				
base				
approximately				
width				
of				
mouth				
Moderate				G184,
neck;				185,
rounded				186
belly;				
high				
foot				
Wide				G194,
mouth;				195,
low				201,
shoulders;				202
very				
wide				
base				
Body	D4	D15,	D37,	D73, 81
elongated,		17, 19	40, 43	
ovoid				

in			
profile			
Deep	D2, 11, D16,	D56	D72,
body;	13	17, 18,	76, 77,
rounded		27, 29	86
profile			
continues			
into lid			
Elongated	D7, 8		D60,
shallow			62, 63,
body;			64, 70
relatively			
flat			
bottom;			
upper			
body			
rising			
nearly			
straight			
to			
mouth			
Very	D22,		
wide	24, 25,		
mouth;	26		
lip			
extending			
horizontally			
beyond			
mouth;			
broad,			
slightly			
curved			
body;			
long			
legs			
Elongated		D34,	D78 D98
body		36, 39,	
with		53	
pronounced			
central			
ridge;			
<i>cf., D4</i>			
<i>Related</i>		D40, 52	
<i>to D34:</i>			

Elongated
body
with
pronounced
central
ridge;
flat
bottom

Related
to D34:
Elongated,
shallow
body
with
pronounced
central
ridge;
body
steeply
curved
above
and
below
High,
rounded
lid; flat
bottom;
fairly
straight
sides

D82

D87 D91, 96
(no lid)

Sample size presents other difficulties. Even though the total number of dated pots presented here is relatively large, most vessel types are represented individually by few pieces. Only sixty-four (twenty-nine *hu* [21.5 percent], thirty-one [10 percent] *guan*, and four [3.8 percent] *ding*) provide eight or more examples (see [Table 4.3](#)).² In fact, only *hu* 35 (thirty-three pieces), *hu* 64 (nineteen pieces), *guan* 98 (twenty-three pieces), and *guan* 148 (thirty pieces) number nineteen or more. In contrast, 18 percent of *hu* (twenty-four types), 20 percent of *guan* (fifty-nine types), and 33 percent of *ding* (thirty-four types) consist of a single example.³ While more numerous types are the result of chance, the single-item types were created deliberately. The latter are dated pieces for which I have not yet found identical comparisons. Because it would be impractical to include all of these shapes, I have

limited myself to forms that seem likely both to yield comparisons in the future and to prove to be narrowly datable. Both suppositions may prove wrong. For the present, the problem posed by these single pieces is that, for the purpose of formal analysis, they exist in a vacuum. Where were they made? Are they anomalous or of highly limited production? Were they experimental or commissioned? The higher proportion of single-example types of *ding* reflects the greater individuality of this kind of vessel relative to *hu* and *guan* and makes *ding* harder to use to establish cross-dating. In contrast, some of the most common forms of *hu* and *guan* are not included in the typologies because they yield contradictory, and hence unusable, dates. For instance, two Qin-derived *hu*, which are quite common during the Han – the long-necked bottle with a scalloped mouth (“garlic-top,” *suantou* [蒜頭] *hu*⁴) and especially the jar with a horizontally broad, usually ovoid body (“egg-shaped” or “cocoon-shaped,” *jianhu* [蒹壺]⁵) – as well as several *fu*⁶ and some *mou* (甗, both round-bottomed cooking pots), have been excluded because their forms seem to remain unchanged for long periods of time, also making cross-dating difficult.⁷ My division of vessels into *hu*, *guan*, and *ding* is not exact. *Hu* and *ding* were originally ritual bronze forms, defined respectively as tall, necked vessels meant to contain liquid and tripod vessels for the offering (or preparing) of meat⁸ or stew (soup).⁹ *Guan* were not ritual vessels¹⁰ and therefore lack specific definition. Nonetheless, some have Bronze Age antecedents. By the time of the Han dynasty, there is little evidence for the ritual use of vessels, except that *ding* sometimes appear in sets. As at Dongdongshan ([formerly Shiqiao,] Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2, these may be graduated in size, but the individual pieces may not be identical.¹¹ The idea of sets of vessels and even, perhaps, an inclination to acquire some kinds of vessels like the Dongdongshan *ding* in certain numbers with Bronze Age connotations (three, five, seven, etc.)¹² could have been retained during the Han with no purely ritual significance. In addition, during the Han, there seems to have been no defined use for these vessels. We have evidence that Han *hu* were not necessarily used for liquid: while Mawangdui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1:307 (*hu* 8) did indeed contain liquid (unspecified) and M1:209, alcohol, Mawangdui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1:301 (*hu* 6) contained *douchi* (豆豉), fermented soy beans. Laoshan (Qinglao Municipality, Shandong) M1 yielded a *hu* (*hu* 35) that contained a small number of fish bones; Houloushan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) XHM1:116 (*hu* 41) contained dog bones. Among *ding*, we find Mawangdui M1:105 (*ding* 10) with bird bones; G36 (*ding* 26) from the tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) with pig, fish, and chicken bones; and Dushan (Weishan, Shandong) M3:3

(*ding* 45) with fish bones. I have loosely retained the pre-Han formal definitions: *hu* are usually elongated vessels with a narrow, defined neck; *ding* have three feet or legs; *guan* is the all-purpose equivalent of “pot,” usually broader than *hu*, with little or no neck. The distinction between some *hu* and *guan* seems arbitrary, as in *hu* 57 and 60, as well as *guan* 48, 119, 231, 232, and 235, which could be considered *hu* or *guan*. *Hu* 60, with three legs, could even have been treated as a *ding*. I have generally followed the designations of the archaeological reports in which they are published. As a matter of convenience, I have grouped into these three main classes those vessel types which, while separately defined, were too few in number to classify separately. For this reason, *ping* 瓶 (bottles) are included with *hu*. *Fou*, broad-shouldered, sometimes narrow-mouthed vessels originally meant for liquid; *fu*, moderately shallow cooking vessels with a rounded bottom, no neck, and wide mouth; *mou*, cooking vessels with a rounded bottom and a narrow neck flaring to a wider mouth; and some *cang*, storage jars, as in Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M56:8 (*guan* 218),¹³ are classified with *guan*. Most three-legged vessels are classified as *ding*, including those forms identified by Chinese archaeologists as “three-legged *fu*” and *he* pitchers (with or without spouts),¹⁴ and *jiaohu*, *hu* for heating liquid.¹⁵

I conclude that the vast majority of vessels in my typologies were created for use by the living. Direct, physical evidence for vessel use is admittedly thin. Few examples from habitation sites are included here, partially because Chinese archaeology has given priority to burial sites, but more so because the expansion of my typologies depends on essentially closed sites, like tombs. The typologies thus include a bronze *hu* (*hu* 98), produced in AD 87 by commission from Lord Huangyang of Jiangling, subsequently found on the Old City of Zuocheng (Cangshan, Shandong);¹⁶ the earthenware *Chuping yuannian* (Han city of Chang'an [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) *hu* (*hu* 135);¹⁷ an earthenware *guan* (*guan* 24), Zhongzhoulu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) T1104:03;¹⁸ and a bronze *ding* (*ding* 53) from Chôngbaengni ([Teihakuri,] Pangyori, P'yôngyang, Democratic People's Republic of Korea).¹⁹ Soot is reported on only four *guan* (in three of the four cases, the vessel is in fact a *mou* cooking pot) and three *ding*;²⁰ carbonization of contents is reported for three *guan*.²¹ Heirloom pieces in a tomb also imply use before burial. Some of these pieces, such as the Mancheng (Hebei) M2:4028 bronze *hu*,²² are recognizable as pre-Han products; others are datable through inscription (as, for example, the AD 104 Machang [Pingba, Guizhou] *guan* 246, found in a Six Dynasties [AD 221–557] tomb²³) or through formal comparison to a time earlier than the date of burial. Ware inscribed with information about its production, with or without a date, does not necessarily

indicate for what use the vessel was intended. Additionally, depending on the status of the individual, burial preparations could begin years before death (see [Chapter 1](#)). For this reason, particularly if it is not far removed from the date of burial, the date of object production or acquisition may not, in itself, imply living use. However, when the acquiring office is named and is not known to have been primarily in charge of burial rites, as in the Privy Treasury (*neifu* [內府]) noted on a Mancheng bronze *fanghu*²⁴ or the Physician (*yigong* [醫工]) on a Mancheng bronze basin,²⁵ living use may be assumed. When the acquiring family is named, the purpose of the acquisition remains ambivalent, except in cases where the person identified is not the deceased, indicating transfer of property by some means. For instance, a bronze *ding* from Mancheng bearing the inscription, “Liang family of Mali” (*Mali Liangshi* [馬里梁氏])²⁶ and the Changxin Palace lamp, Mancheng M2:4035, documenting acquisition by the Changxin Palace and then by the Yangxin household²⁷ (see [Chapter 1](#)), both illustrate change in ownership. However, because we are not often in a position otherwise to identify the deceased, an object inscribed with a single name is generally assumed to name that person.

Common on ceramic ware are inscriptions identifying content. This, too, does not indicate whether the consumer is living or dead. Were the content discovered at excavation different from that named by inscription, we could assume either reuse of the vessel (i.e., that it was originally used by the living) or the planned content had been changed before burial. When improbable amounts are listed, as in the *wanshi* (萬石, ten thousand *shi*, 199,680 liters),²⁸ frequently at Shaogou²⁹ and at Luoyang Post and Cable Office (both, Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM372,³⁰ an infinite supply of the content must be intended. Two model granaries (*cang* [倉]), Luoyang Post and Cable Office IM372:66 and 73 are marked “ten thousand *shi* of money” (*qian wanshi* [錢萬石]).³¹ Although natural when providing supplies for the afterlife, such an inscription could conceivably have been used for luck by the living, as appears to be the case with the +Machang (Pingba, Guizhou) *guan* 246 inscription: “May any alcohol inside [this recipient] bring prosperity and good luck” (*zhong ke dou jiu xing he ji ci* [中可都酒行賀吉祠]).³² In parallel are good-luck inscriptions on mirrors as on Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M120:2: “May you rise to high office, may you always have sons and grandsons” (*jun yi gao guan, chang yi zi sun* [君宜高官, 長宜子孫]).³³ An auspicious inscription in and of itself thus does not mean that the vessel was made for burial. The same holds true for memorial jars. In this instance, the inscription is unambiguously funerary. The jar itself, however, may be an ordinary pot of indeterminable (living) function, which was subsequently inscribed for burial. Unfortunately, current

formal evidence is inconclusive: both examples of *guan* 300 (Shaogou M147:13³⁴ and Zhongzhoulu [Luoyang Municipality, Henan] M813:6³⁵) bear memorial inscriptions; the *Chuping yuannian* (Han city of Chang'an [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]), *hu* 135,³⁶ similarly inscribed, is currently the only example of its form. The same is true for the undatable Shizhuan (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M6:2, on which a funerary inscription blessing the contents of the jar as unending food for the deceased, was incised.³⁷ Since this must have been done before firing, the jar must have been made for burial. Unfortunately, this piece is not pictured in the excavation report. Most inscribed jars do not offer such clarity of interpretation. The jars in my typologies that are inscribed with memorials are plain, unornamented pieces. The idea of a jar as the vehicle for a funerary document links them conceptually to the highly-decorated, post-Han *hunping* (魂瓶, "soul jars") marked by inscription as made for burial.³⁸ In the absence of such evidence, whether formal or epigraphic, I assume that *guan* 300 and *hu* 135 were adapted for burial. Perhaps related to *hunping*, the *wuguan* (五管) *guan* or *ping*, pots or bottles ornamented with five miniature pots attached to the vessel's shoulders, are attested in dated Han tombs such as Haoba (Shangyu, Zhejiang) + M52.³⁹ The insistence on five for the number of applied miniatures evokes quasi-religious beliefs incorporating that number (five elements, *wuxing* [五行], for instance). More importantly from my perspective, the attached decorative elements preclude easy, practical use of the jar, further suggesting ritual or at least decorative function. For this reason, I have excluded this form from classification.

We generally assume that miniaturized vessels constitute *mingqi*, items made for burial in imitation of vessels used by the living. Presumably lower-cost than the objects they copy, these pieces need not truly be functional. Representing functionality would be sufficient. Nonetheless, small, functional versions of classified forms may have served a practical, if unidentified, purpose for the living. Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan), yielded a number of small *hu* and *guan*. Of these, Shaogou M30:5, *guan* 180,⁴⁰ measures 8.5 centimeters high. Within the same type, Wangjiawan (Ansai, Shaanxi) yielded an example 8.3 centimeters in height,⁴¹ while the Northwest Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) provides the largest example, at 23.4 centimeters high.⁴² All of these examples are earthenware. Similarly, Shaogou M49:10,⁴³ *hu* 63, height 25.8 centimeters, is identified by inscription as containing salt. Other examples of *hu* 63 range in height from the 9.8 centimeters gilded bronze piece from Fenghuangshan Park (Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan) M1:22⁴⁴ to an earthenware piece from the unnumbered tomb at Jingyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan), height 44.5

centimeters.⁴⁵ Shaogou M175:10,⁴⁶ *hu* 36, measures 23.4 centimeters in height, but the examples of *hu* 36 documented in the typologies are small: Baonüdu (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 85YBM104:54⁴⁷ is 18.2 centimeters high. Since the great majority of vessels in the present typologies are earthenware, miniaturization is unlikely to be accompanied by production in a less-costly medium. In the case of Fenghuangshan Park M1:22, the medium of this small piece must be more expensive. This could perhaps have influenced the vessel's size; we can only speculate. Nonetheless, given that we have no examples of miniature vessels in the typologies produced in a less expensive medium, the question of an exclusively funerary use rests instead on size and functionality. Based on the evidence of Shaogou M49:10, we cannot assume that the smaller versions of these forms were necessarily funerary miniatures without living function.⁴⁸

In the case of very small, bronze vessels at Mancheng (Hebei), the primary question is functionality. Mancheng M2 yielded a *hu*, three *ding*, three *yan* (甗) steamers, two *fanghu*, a *bianhu* (扁壺, flat, canteen-like *hu*), and two shallow *fu* (cooking pots, M2:3055 given as example, gilded on the outside, not illustrated),⁴⁹ measuring between 3.5 centimeters (the *fu*) and 17.4 centimeters (two of the *yan*).⁵⁰ M2 contained full-sized bronze basins of various shapes and two full-sized pre-Han bronze *hu*, but the remainder of the vessels were of earthenware. Three bronze *fu*, two silver-plated inside and out, with handles, one gilded inside, with no handles,⁵¹ measure 7.8 centimeters in height, which excavators consider within standard size. Two questions arise: Was it desirable to furnish the tomb with bronze, but too expensive to do so with standard ware? And, since these bronze miniatures appear from the report's descriptions and cross-sectional drawings to be functional, could they also have been made for the living? The height of only one of the three *ding*, for instance, is provided. At 8.2 centimeters, its size does not seem to preclude use, as for serving. Similarly, although one steamer, M2:3048, with a single pot as its base totals 6.4 centimeters in height (the boiler, 2.9 centimeters; the steamer, 3.7 centimeters), the other two, exemplified by M2:3038, with a double-boiler base, total 17.4 centimeters (the boiler 7.5 centimeters; the outer shell of the boiler, 5.9 centimeters; the steamer, 10.7 centimeters), miniature, but less toy-like.⁵² The 5.2-centimeter-high *bianhu*, in particular, is outfitted on each shoulder with stationary, upright rings. These correspond to often-movable ring handles on full-scale vessels; they could, however, also allow the *bianhu* to be threaded for wear. Such a diminutive bottle could conceivably have held perfume, medicine, spices, and the like for personal use. These pieces could thus have been used before burial. Cost of production would not seem to be a factor in the choice of

small rather than large pieces. Mancheng M2 is well-furnished, including a number of highly-finished, highly-decorated bronzes, undoubtedly items of prestige.⁵³ The fact that these miniatures represent the major vessel classes and apparently constitute the only Han-era bronzes of these shapes in this tomb gives the group intangible importance. Regardless of original use, I conclude that these vessels were indeed *mingqi*, serving a symbolic purpose in the tomb. Curiously, the excavation report does not consider the *bianhu* to be a *mingqi*.⁵⁴ Mancheng M1, well provisioned with presumably Han-era bronze vessels, likewise yielded miniatures. These, however, do not correspond to a wide range of vessel forms. Instead, they are limited to two forms of basin (one gilded inside, M1:4377), two *guan* with a handle spanning the mouth, and three “bottle-shaped” pieces, ranging in height from 2.1 (the basin M1:4377, broken) to 5.7 centimeters (M1:4017, one of the *guan* with a handle).⁵⁵ The pointed base of two of the three elongated “bottle-shaped” pieces is pierced by a hole. The excavation report does not view these pieces as *mingqi*.⁵⁶ All could potentially have served for measuring. The difference between the miniatures of M1 and M2 is thus primarily of context and, secondarily, of our imagination about possible function. None of these pieces has been included in my typologies.

The question raised by the Mancheng M2 miniatures applies to the Han era as a whole: how important was bronze at this time? Bronze was, naturally, used when metal was preferable for practical reasons; these tools, coins, seals, and braziers, for example, are not part of the present study. Use for cooking pots, such as *fu* and *mou*, likewise continued. However, in the major vessel classes, which were previously ritual bronzes *hu* and *ding*, my typologies include few examples in bronze. Only twenty-nine *hu* forms out of 135 (21 percent) and thirty-seven out of 104 *ding* forms (36 percent) include bronze.⁵⁷ This represents a total of 110 individual bronze pieces out of a combined 224 pieces of these forms (see [Table 4.2](#)). As with other statistics, these figures are undoubtedly skewed by the way I have constructed each vessel category, particularly by including forms not properly *ding* and by excluding types of *hu* that often appear in bronze (such as *bianhu*, as we might expect from this vessel's shape). Nonetheless, bronze does not appear prevalent enough among these forms to imply that a set of bronze vessels was required for burial. The much greater use of bronze for *ding* rather than *hu* may correspond to a greater use of *ding* for heating or cooking, putting them in the general category of *mou* and *fu* cooking pots. The distinction between cooking vessels and vessels used primarily for serving may be further reflected in the degree of surface ornamentation. While many *hu*, regardless of medium, are decorated, *ding* tend to be plain. On most

ornamented *dīng*, décor is limited to the lid (for instance, the pictured examples for *dīng* 11, 45, 50, 60, 61, 74, 76, 77, 79, 81, 84, and 92),⁵⁸ extending in the case of Mawangdui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1:66 (shown, *dīng* 11) and Houma (Shanxi) M4:4 (shown, *dīng* 45) onto the upper body. *Dīng* 67, 68, and 69 (shown)⁵⁹ carry minimal décor on the upper body; lids have not been preserved. Exceptionally, *dīng* 20, 42, 43, and 46 (shown)⁶⁰ are heavily decorated over the entire body and lid. So, too, some Far South forms carry décor over the entire body and lid (*dīng* 89, 90, 97, shown⁶¹). Nonetheless, we know from the smoke marks on the bottom of the + Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) E13 (shown, *dīng* 20, earthenware) that extensively decorated *dīng* may be used for heating or cooking. *Dīng* 55 (shown), +Youyu (Shanxi),⁶² in gilded bronze with relief décor over the body, is identified by inscription as a *zun* for heating alcohol; I have classified it as a *dīng* for convenience. Although not properly speaking a *dīng*, this vessel again demonstrates the use of highly-decorated ware for heating or cooking. I assume, however, that the Youyu *zun* was used, not in the kitchens, but at the table.⁶³

Ideally, for the study of Han ceramics, we would have at our disposal a map of the different types of clay deposits throughout China.⁶⁴ This could then be correlated with a map of Han kiln sites, with technical reports reconstructing the clays used at each kiln, together with the technical capabilities of the kiln.⁶⁵ Whole specimens of fired ware are rare on kiln sites, but would obviously be desirable. Technical analyses of ware found in tombs or habitation sites could allow identification of the source of the clay and perhaps the producing kiln. Formal comparisons would further aid in tracing production.⁶⁶ Unfortunately, nothing like this documentation is currently available.

We have evidence that clay was traded over some (unknown) distance. The excavation report for Linjiangzhilu (Chongqing Municipality, Sichuan) notes that the pits of M3 and 5 were lined with a white clay that must have been brought to the site from outside that area, since this type of clay is not known near the site.⁶⁷ Unfortunately, the report provides no indication of where the clay may have originated. In addition, ceramic ware was traded, sometimes over considerable distances. For instance, the Lelang Commandery tomb of T'osôngdong (P'yôngyang, Democratic People's Republic of Korea) M45 yielded an undated *guan* with downward-curving shoulders and four lugs near a broad mouth.⁶⁸ This form belongs to a series of *guan* so typical of the Han Far South that the Lelang example must have originated there (*guan* 220, 226, 246; 240). Of course, once

known, ceramic forms were certainly copied. The seeming lack of other Lelang pieces of this kind, however, suggests import. As recipients, ceramic ware could have traveled because of trade in its contents rather than trade in ware. The inscription on the + Machang (Pingba, Guizhou) *guan* 246, stoneware, specifies not only the date and place of production (Old Shen), a description of the vessel, and a blessing, but the price as well: “[In] Old Shen, the equivalent of twenty-five coins” (*Gushen zhi jin nianwu* [古沈直金廿五]).⁶⁹ While we have virtually no information on Han prices, the cost of the Machang *guan* may be compared to the sixteen coin tax levied annually by the Han central government on households of the ninth order of nobility and below⁷⁰ or to the two hundred coins per person per year retained as income by the enfeoffed nobility from taxes collected (and transmitted to the central government).⁷¹ In this context, twenty-five coins was a relatively high price. We have no way of knowing whether the same form, executed in earthenware, would have cost less.

Naturally, any pot in which food, drink, or goods were sold also had a price exclusive of content. In the Machang case, the incised declaration of price draws attention to the value of the vessel as such. To me, this suggests trade in empty ceramic ware. Perhaps because we are accustomed to the value placed on bronze in the preimperial era, trade in bronze as opposed to ceramic ware seems unsurprising. Inscriptions on two basins from Mancheng (Hebei), M1:4328 and 1:4098, note acquisition as made by “Gentleman-of-the-Household Liu purchased at Luoyang” (*zhonglang Liu mai Luoyang* [中郎柳買雒陽]).⁷² As in this instance, trade in bronzes could extend over significant distances. Whereas bronze production required mining of ores and a foundry, China's widespread clay deposits would have made local production the norm. For longer-distance trade in ceramic ware to occur, we must assume that a given vessel had sufficient worth to place it above readily available local productions. Except for those sixty-four forms represented by eight or more pieces, most vessel types in my typologies form too small a sample to suggest such popularity. Within these more numerous types, one region may be dominant: *hu* 44, for instance, like *guan* 93, is currently documented only in the Lower Yangzi; *hu* 62–5 and *guan* 126 are almost exclusively known from Henan; *guan* 40, 41, 61, 194, 195, 198, 201, 217, 219, 220, 230, and *ding* 90 are Far South forms. When distribution is purely local, I assume that vessels in circulation were either produced in volume at a few kilns whose potters were in communication with each other or where they had easy access to the same markets, where they saw the same pool of locally produced ware. When such ware appears in small numbers outside of this highly local area, we may assume it was imported. Thus, *hu* 62, concentrated in Henan, is attested in Hunan

and Guangdong (once in each); *guan* 201, pronouncedly Far Southern in form, is documented once in Hunan. We have no way of knowing under what circumstances the vessels were imported: as individual purchases away from home, as occasional trade in contents, or as occasional trade in ware. There seems little reason to suspect that production of these forms was adopted outside of the area of their primary distribution. In the future, chemical analysis may alter this view. For several of these more numerous types, however, regional distribution is broad, as in *guan* 162 and 163, both derived from Qin *fou*, therefore proper to Shaanxi, but found in Henan and (*guan* 163) Shanxi, as well as (*guan* 162) Sichuan. Such establishment of a broader geographic distribution must depend on the long-distance circulation of ware, full or empty. For those forms whose distribution is truly national across Han China (e.g., *hu* 101; *guan* 98), the vessels were clearly valued for themselves.⁷³ From the unevenly published data on the type of clay, and hence firing temperatures, it is difficult to draw any conclusions relating to centers of production. *Guan* 98 seems to occur in red earthenware in Henan (both at Yeling [Gongxian] and Jingyuan [Luoyang Municipality])⁷⁴ and in stoneware in Hunan (Heshanmiao [Yiyang]), Zhejiang (Donghuashan [Longyou]), and Shandong (Dongjiazhuang [Laixi]).⁷⁵ In Jiangsu, as in Anhui and Shaanxi, the form is made of earthenware (color not always specified).⁷⁶ Because the form of the vessel is attested primarily in Jiangsu and because it is related to the series of *hu* 32–9, primarily based in Jiangsu, I assume that *guan* 98 is of similar origin.⁷⁷ Potters must be assumed to have copied a model. Given the concentration of this form in the Lower Yangzi region, it is impossible to deduce a specific source for models ultimately copied elsewhere. Were such pieces traded full or empty? Given the success of these forms, I assume that the ware was valued for itself and therefore traded for itself, empty.

As is clear from examination of vessels in the typologies, the Bronze Age remained a pervasive force in vessel form throughout the Han. This persistence was made possible by the continued circulation during the Han of Bronze Age vessels, some already of great age.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, ceramic – or, rather, earthenware – was used to produce the overwhelming majority of the vessels classified here. Stoneware or porcelain examples occur in only eight *hu* types (5.9 percent), twenty *guan* types (6.6 percent), and one *dīng* type (0.96 percent).⁷⁹ This constitutes a total of forty-eight individual high-fired pieces of a total 225 individual vessels of these forms (see Table 4.4). High-fired clays are documented at about the same rate as bronze in proportion to the total number of individual vessels of any medium, but high-fired clays were used in a considerably smaller number of different forms.

Significantly, the greatest number of forms utilizing stoneware or porcelain is *guan*. There is no overlap in the typologies between forms including bronze examples and those including stoneware or porcelain. During the Han, high-fired ware was thus independent of bronze.

Distinguishing between stoneware and porcelain in excavation reports is not a simple matter. Chinese employs a single term, *ci* (瓷), for both. Clay body (the combination of clays mixed to produce the ware) and firing temperature should be diagnostic but pose special problems in a Chinese context. Porcelain, usually identified by its whiteness and translucency, is made with kaolin, a short (little malleable), white clay readily found through much of China. Chinese kaolin is more malleable than that found elsewhere in the world;⁸⁰ it is nonetheless usually combined with other clays to make it easier to work as well as to lower the firing temperature.⁸¹ As a result, color is no longer diagnostic. For instance, low-fired white ware (earthenware) is attested from the Neolithic period onward.⁸² Zhao Qingyun notes early vessels made of kaolin with the addition of 1.59 percent to 1.72 percent iron oxide, reducing the firing temperature to 1000–1150 degrees celsius.⁸³ Talc may also be used as a flux agent to reduce firing temperature.⁸⁴ The same is true, at a higher firing temperature, of stoneware. A *hu* from Niulingbu (Yishui, Shandong;⁸⁵ *hu* 96) is reported as pink. This color may be due to use of red clay in the body.⁸⁶ Nanchang Eastern Suburbs (Jiangxi) M3:3 is described as having “a fine white body close to *ci*,” but is identified as earthenware.⁸⁷

Firing temperature is difficult to ascertain. The translucent quality characteristic of porcelain will not occur at lower temperatures,⁸⁸ although any clay fired at the temperature required for maturity may become impermeable (vitreous). Distinction between stoneware and porcelain may therefore rest largely on visual appraisal of translucency, generally not possible through published images, where glaze may further obscure the matter.⁸⁹ For instance, a *guan* from Jiexiang (Shandong), not classified in my typologies, is described as stoneware or porcelain with a white glaze fired at 1200–1300 celsius.⁹⁰ The same site yielded an earthenware bowl, fired at 700–800 celsius, also with a white glaze.⁹¹

Despite the cultural dominance of bronze at that time, the technical capacity to produce high-fired ceramic ware existed long before the Han. Pieces identified as *ci* and presumably fired above 1200 celsius are attested as early as the Shang.⁹² Earthenware is usually fired between 950 and 1100 celsius.⁹³ In turn, stoneware, fired from 1200 to 1300 celsius⁹⁴ may in fact be fired higher than porcelain at a

minimum of 1280 celsius.⁹⁵ When, therefore, analysis of Chinese kilns and the fragments of ware from these sites suggest firing temperatures from 1200 ± 20 celsius to 1240 ± 20 celsius,⁹⁶ we are undoubtedly dealing with stoneware production and possibly also with porcelain at the upper extreme of this range.⁹⁷ At the same time, analysis does not necessarily resolve definitively the question of the temperature at which a kiln would have been fired.⁹⁸ Thus, the term *ci*, even when accompanied by some indication of assumed firing temperature, does not allow unambiguous differentiation between stoneware and porcelain. The term “proto-porcelain” (*yuanshi ci* [願始瓷]) is sometimes used for “early” porcelain. Whether this implies high-fired stoneware (as in, a predecessor to porcelain) or perhaps relatively low-fired porcelain (as in, the first porcelain) is likewise unclear. I have accepted the term as “porcelaneous stoneware,”⁹⁹ or stoneware approaching porcelain, presumably in terms of vitrification, when *yuanshi ci* is used in Chinese reports. For *ci* alone, I have attempted to resolve the problem only when some descriptive data (usually the color of the clay body) is available: *ci* that is white, I assume may be porcelain; any other coloration, I interpret as stoneware. When no further information is provided, I find that distinction is impossible and render *ci* as “stoneware or porcelain.” Of the forty-eight *ci* in my typologies, only two are described as white and, thus, potentially porcelain: +Ganquan (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2:1, *guan* 176, and Baiguanzhen (Shangyu, Zhejiang), a kiln site, *guan* 301.

Because of the nature of the typologies, many examples of Han stoneware have not been classified and will not be considered here. In the case of the pieces included in the typologies, stoneware is subordinate to earthenware. For most vessel types produced in stoneware/porcelain as well as in earthenware, the majority of examples of the form are of earthenware. For Han vessels overall, in terms of both bronze and ceramics, earthenware was thus the medium of innovation in vessel production; stoneware examples were specialized reproductions. For *hu*, this is significant because seven of the eight *hu* types that include stoneware pieces are well-attested forms represented by eight or more examples of the form. Given the rarity of stoneware among these types, the originals, which were initially circulated and copied, are most likely to have been earthenware. Among *guan*, only four vessel types with stoneware versions have yielded eight or more examples of any clay body (*guan* 93, 98, 170, and 230). For the remaining stoneware *guan*, no more than six examples of each type, whether of stoneware or earthenware, have been documented. Stoneware thus appears far more dominant in *guan* than in *hu*, in some cases representing one-third or more of

pieces of a given type (*guan* 100, 142, 169, 232, 252, 259, 265, 301, and 303–5). In these cases, we cannot be sure which clay was the medium of initial creation. For *guan* 176 and 246, despite the small sample size, the form of the vessels indicates a Far South origin. The single example of stoneware for *guan* 176 is from Jiangsu; this is likewise the only documented example of this form undoubtedly not made in the Far South. For *guan* 246, the single stoneware version occurs in Guizhou.

Zhejiang is known from the Springs and Autumns period onward for high-firing kilns, some of which were in operation during the Han.¹⁰⁰ Shanggu and Ningbo¹⁰¹ are in fact represented in my typologies. Zhejiang also yields the majority of stoneware classified here (sixteen pieces), as well as one potential porcelain. Nonetheless, other regions not now recognized as centers of production for high-fired ware during the Han have yielded lesser amounts of stoneware versions of vessels in the typologies. These include Jiangsu (nine stoneware, one potential porcelain), Shandong, Hubei, and Hunan (each with four stoneware), Sichuan (three), Guangdong (two), Anhui (one, plus a bowl used as a lid), and Hebei, Henan, and Guizhou (one each). Forms originating in the Lower Yangzi (*hu* 32, 34, 35, 44, 96; *guan* 93, 98, 100, 101, 103, 259; *dìng* 35) could theoretically have been produced in stoneware only in Zhejiang. Without more analysis of the ware, it is impossible to be certain. However, *hu* 44, *guan* 93, 100, 101, and 103 are currently attested in stoneware, not in Zhejiang, but in Jiangsu. Jiangsu likewise yields the only high-fired examples of *guan* 176 and *dìng* 35. Jiangsu, so closely tied to Zhejiang, could easily have imported high-fired ware from its neighbor. However, in the period immediately following the Han (ca. AD third through fourth centuries), Jiangsu is known to have produced high-fired ware.¹⁰² In this context, it seems likely that Jiangsu produced at least some high-fired ware during the Han and that, in the future, Han-era high-firing kilns will be discovered in this province.

Similarly, Zhejiang kilns may readily be accepted as the source of forms that, while common to other regions, are now attested in stoneware only in Zhejiang, even though these forms are little documented (*hu* 116; *guan* 252, 265). *Guan* 301, here attested only in three examples from Henan, Zhejiang, and Sichuan, remains ambiguous. Stoneware examples occur in Zhejiang and Henan, with no other such ware noted from Henan. None of the Han-era kilns identified in Henan by Zhao Qingyun was high-firing.¹⁰³ For *guan* 301, both stoneware pieces may thus have originated in Zhejiang. *Hu* 100 and *guan* 169, 170, 232, and 261 are not now attested in Zhejiang in stoneware or earthenware. In these cases, Zhejiang production seems

unlikely. Local production not only in Jiangsu, but in Shandong, Guangdong, Guizhou, Sichuan, Hunan, Hubei, and possibly Henan, Hebei, and Anhui, must therefore be assumed as a working hypothesis. High-firing kilns may subsequently be found in these areas. Notably, high-firing kilns are known, circa sixth through tenth centuries AD in Hunan, during the Sui-Tang period (AD 581–907) in Anhui, during the Tang (AD 618–907) in Shandong, Henan, Hebei, and Sichuan, and by the Song (AD 960–1279) in Guangdong.¹⁰⁴

The most frequently attested vessel types also help define regional exchange within Han China. Cultural blocs defined in the Bronze Age persist in the Lower Yangzi (Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Anhui, Jiangxi¹⁰⁵) and Middle Yangzi (Hubei, Hunan¹⁰⁶), but much attenuated. As during the Bronze Age, these regions remained in close contact both with each other and with the now well-defined Far South (Guangdong, Guangxi, Fujian, Guizhou). During the Han, however, with territorial expansion, the former Chu region of Hubei and Hunan became geographically central, with the Far South now representing the south. Beyond this, although the cultural legacy of preimperial Chu continued throughout the Han, the Middle Yangzi no longer represented a regionally distinct form of Chinese culture. Here, too, in terms of vessel shapes, the Han Far South superseded the Middle Yangzi. Far South vessel forms tend to be more distinctive, and more limited geographically, than those of the Middle or Lower Yangzi (see [Table 4.5](#)).¹⁰⁷ Thus during the Han, Hubei and particularly Hunan at times utilized Far South vessel forms.¹⁰⁸ At other times, the Middle Yangzi shares vessel forms found throughout northern China (commonly, Shaanxi, Henan, Hebei, Shanxi, and Shandong¹⁰⁹), frequently including the Lower Yangzi (*hu* 51–3; *guan* 234). Indeed, some vessels that achieved broad distribution across the north are likely to have originated in the Lower Yangzi, as in the series of related forms, *hu* 32, 35, 36, 39, 96, and 101 (even though the latter is slightly more prevalent in Guangdong), and *guan* 98.

Sichuan and Qinghai, like Inner Mongolia, Liaoning, and Korea, usually belong to the northern sphere. This cultural affiliation is visible both from the lack of purely or primarily western Chinese forms¹¹⁰ and from the repeated inclusion of these more peripheral areas in the distribution of northern forms (such as *hu* 54, 87, 100, 101, and 126; *guan* 134, 135, 149, 156, 165, 167, and 170). Clearly, despite being geographically far removed from the core of China, parts of Qinghai, Inner Mongolia, Liaoning, and Korea utilized not only Han tomb structures, but Han vessel forms. Vessel forms from Chinese sites in Sichuan are occasionally aligned with the Far South (*guan* 194), but more often with the north (as in *hu* 52, 63, and 126; *guan* 134, 135,

156, 162, 167 [primarily northern], 234, and 275; *ding* 76).

At the same time, Shandong occasionally demonstrates contact with the Far South (*hu* 107), even without the participation of the north as a whole. The same contact occurs in reverse with *hu* 54, attested mostly in Shandong, but appearing as well in Guangxi. The means of transmission is not now clear. Far South connections with various non-Chinese cultures of the region are unsurprising, but the only readily identifiable non-Chinese vessel form used by the Far South is the Dong-Son *thap*, *guan* 40 and 41. Further evidence of interaction with southern non-Chinese, the Dong-Son bronze drum, occurs only rarely on Han Chinese sites. (For both *thap* and drum, see [Chapter 2](#)) The Far South at times does utilize vessel forms widespread farther north (*hu* 62, essentially a Henan form); in some cases, the Far South appears to be the source of the forms (*hu* 98, 107, and 109; *guan* 175). Regardless of origin, the participation of the Far South in these vessels gives these vessels national distribution throughout China.¹¹¹

The vessels classified in my typologies may be viewed as series of closely-related forms ([Table 4.6](#)), highlighting continuity or revival of shapes as well as trends in form. From this perspective, few Han forms appear truly new. In addition, some seemingly innovative pieces are in fact artificially isolated here: related forms may not have been dated or may simply not have been included. For instance, *gang* (缸), with squared bodies – which I have classified as *guan* 28, 67, and 113 – are also found in very square form in burial goods pit 13 at Yangling, the tomb of Jingdi (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi; d. 141 BC),¹¹² and at Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) in M3, 11 (undated), and 174 (undated), among others.¹¹³ Similarly, the pear-shaped *yi* (匜) vessels for pouring, classified here as *hu* 60 and 105, are attested in somewhat different form in Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4015 (undated) and 4018, for example.¹¹⁴ The jug-like *hu* 49, with a broad, half-rounded profile with a flat base and a short, narrow neck, is likewise related to examples from Guangzhou M4039 and 5029, simply not included here.¹¹⁵ *Guan* 164, with elongated, vertical handles, undoubtedly derives from non-Chinese forms such as (in truncated form) *guan* 280–1. If *guan* 164 is of Chinese manufacture, its adoption does constitute innovation. As such, however, it seems to have been short-lived. Beyond these idiosyncrasies, only *hu* 47, 69, and 72, as well as *guan* 244, appear unusual. *Hu* 47 is in fact similar to a less-extreme piece (unclassified) from the contemporaneous circa 70 BC Dushan (Weishan, Shandong) M4:2.¹¹⁶ *Guan* 244 (ca. AD 102) appears to be related to an unclassified bronze *fu* M1:40 from the circa AD 67 Maquan (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi), a very wide vessel with a

flat, closed top and moderately wide mouth.¹¹⁷ In addition, ceramic pieces from the undated cemetery of Maituo (Wushan, Chongqing Municipality, Sichuan) are related.¹¹⁸ However, all of these more singular forms, including *guan* 244, feature exaggerated curves which are, as far as I can see, now without adequate comparison.

With so much continuity, it is difficult to recognize stylistic trends in terms of the duration or the geographic origin of vessel production. Apart from two examples of *hu* 25 with different production dates,¹¹⁹ we cannot with any certainty deduce the production-life of vessel forms. *Guan* 92 and 98 occur in two positively dated tombs: Huchang (Hanjiang) M5, died 70 BC¹²⁰ and Xupu (Yizheng) M101, died AD 5,¹²¹ (both, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu). Circa 70 BC material is rare in circa AD 5 tombs; therefore, the Xupu *guan* 92 and 98 may, at least provisionally, be accepted as heirlooms rather than as long-lived forms.

Exceptionally, the Far South allows identification of some stylistic trends over time (Table 4.5). The production of both the Dong-Son *thap* (*guan* 41 and the ceramic derivative, *guan* 40) and the small “boxes” (*guan* 59–63) appear limited to circa 122 BC. The *thap* are formally related to later cylindrical *guan*, such as 189 and 217–19, but are unlikely to be culturally related. Rather than the vertical sides of the vessel body framing the wide mouth, as in the *thap*, the sides of *guan* 189 and 217–19 form a broad lip narrowing the mouth. Close precedents from Springs and Autumns Jiangsu and Zhejiang have the same lip.¹²² Neither the *thap* nor the “boxes” have the downward-sloping or low-set belly I call the “Far South profile.” However, this profile alone is inadequate as a definition of Far South style. Despite some occurrence circa 122 BC (*hu* 19–22; *guan* 48 and 56–8; *ding* 21 and 23), it best fits specifically Far South productions only in the Later Han (generally, from *hu* 105, ca. AD 90, onward; from *guan* 194, ca. AD 80; from *ding* 81, ca. AD 65), when the curves of the profile are particularly pronounced. In part, this formal inconsistency is undoubtedly due to the chance of data selection, with a concentration of Far South sites at circa 122 BC, dominated by the tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]), and at circa AD 90 (see Table 2.1). It is, however, even more likely due to the interrelatedness of the Far South and the rest of Han China.

In addition to Far South forms without the “Far South profile,” as in the *thap* and “boxes,” the expected profile (usually in its more moderate version) occurs on vessels which are not currently attested in the Far South or which appear there only rarely. This is particularly visible among *hu*, but may be seen in *guan* and *ding*, as well. For instance, *hu* 3, 13, 23 (national distribution, including the Far South),

29, 46, 50, 117, 120, 122, 123, 126, 127, and, with too few examples to determine origin, *hu* 26 and 31 (both attested in the north and in Guangdong); *guan* 36 (a Chu-type *fou*), 105 (a *fu* characteristic of this vessel type), 96, 106, and 142 (all *guan* with low, downward-sloping shoulders); and *ding* 49, all look Far Southern but are produced elsewhere. *Hu* 117 and 126, especially, reprise the more elaborated Far South profile. (*Ding* 49 does as well, but predates *ding* 89, 90, and 97.) This means that many instances of “Far South” vessel form were common throughout Han China. Because these formal characteristics were shared by the north and Far South, and because they appear in China from the early Bronze Age,¹²³ they cannot be said to have originated in the Far South. The adoption of the “Far South profile” in the region for which it is named is therefore a matter of local taste, not regional cultural inheritance. At the same time, the free, pronounced curves of *hu* 117 and 126 seem to echo more elaborate Far Southern developments, visible less in *hu* than in *guan* (e.g., *guan* 194–5). The Far South thus participated in cultural exchange with the rest of Han China both as recipient and as originator of vessel forms.

Formal interaction between vessel classes is not limited to cases such as *guan* 194–5 and *hu* 117 and 126. It is also visible in *ding* 100, a *mou* modified by the addition of legs and handle to become a vessel for pouring (*he*), the form of whose body is closely echoed by *ding* 93 (also a *he*). Both the *ding* series 89, 90, 97 and the series 83, 94 (*he*) have the same exaggerated “Far South profile” as *guan* 194–5. Because *ding* shapes appear to have been so individualized, I would tend to assume that *guan* predominated as a source of formal influence. In the case of the close formal relationship of some *ding* to *dui* (covered bowls, not part of my typologies), neither vessel has longevity in these specific, related forms. These pieces may even have been conceived as sets, with a closely related *ding* and *dui* occurring together in tombs such as Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M74, 125, and 135.¹²⁴

Beyond these punctual examples, the exchange of formal influence between vessel classes is particularly visible within the largest of the series of related vessel forms, the Qin *fou* series (Table 4.6). The influence of Qin on Han vessels is marked. Apart from the “cocoon-shaped” and “garlic-topped” *hu*, the latter both in continued Han production (as noted above) and as a formal source for long-necked bottles such as *hu* 49 and 50, several Han *guan* with sharp edges at the shoulder seem to derive from Qin forms (e.g., *guan* 111, 112, 125, 126, 162, 188, and 214).¹²⁵ Similarly, *guan* with vertically straight sections of the body, typically immediately below the shoulder, as on *guan* 11, 25, and 139, may also reflect Qin practice.¹²⁶ The sharp-

edged shoulder, however, has Early and Middle Shang antecedents, making it part of a long formal tradition of which Qin was the late Bronze Age transmitter, rather than the originator.¹²⁷ In the case of the Han-era Qin *fou* series, Late Warring States and dynastic Qin likewise provides the immediate prototype¹²⁸ for Han versions of the vessel that in fact have a more complex Bronze Age history.

For example, *guan* 1, a Qin-era *fou* (ca. 217 BC) with multiple formal ties within the Han typologies, is closely related to *guan* 6–9, 22, 82, and 85. *Guan* 68, 83, 84, 88, and 163 are closely related as well, but vary in the fullness of the body (*guan* 68), the treatment of the neck and shoulders (*guan* 83, 84, 162, and 163), and the width of the base (*guan* 88). Included in this series is *hu* 2, which shares the essential characteristics of the Qin *fou* and *guan* 22 in particular: a moderately long, vertical neck; broad, usually high, shoulders; and a fairly steep, straight curve to a (usually) broad base. On the *hu*, the narrower body and proportionately longer neck (both, relative to *guan* in general), both often typical of *hu*, necessarily alter the vessel's proportions. Related forms (Table 4.6) vary primarily in the width of body and neck. Most related forms include both *hu* and *guan* (or *fou*). In some cases, the appearance of both *hu* and *guan* in a group of related forms is due to our confusion about the correct identification of vessels: Why, for instance, is *guan* 29 not a *hu*, given *hu* 84? In other cases, however, it is clear that influence was shared between the two vessel classes, as in *hu* 38. Not only the original *fou* (*guan* 1), but subsequent related forms – particularly *hu* 83 and 84, and *guan* 16 and 82 – have specific Warring States Qin precedent, although the Han did not make use of the broad flange around the mouth seen on some of these same Qin vessels (Table 4.7).¹²⁹

Table 4.7: Pre-Han antecedents for vessels in the typologies.

Vessel in Dated Typology: Preimperial Comparisons (*H:Hu; G:Guan; D:Ding*); Comparative vessels in bronze unless otherwise noted. For “Western Zhou (?),” cf. von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 274.

H4:

Warring States, Erligang Railroad Station (Zhengzhou Municipality, Henan); earthenware; Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 203, Pl. 227;

H8:

Late Warring States, tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan (Sanji [Pingshan, Hebei]; d. 309 BC) DK:8; Hebeisheng, *Cuo mu*, vol. 2, Pl. 85:1;

H14:

Early Warring States, Baihuatan (Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan); copper-inlaid bronze; Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 81, Pl. 94;

H17:

Late Springs-Autumns, no provenance, Chinese Culture Center (San Francisco); Zhongguo qingtongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou (2)*, 62, Pl. 70;

Late Springs-Autumns, Jinsheng (Taiyuan, Shanxi); Zhongguo qingtongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou (2)*, 66, Pl. 74;

H25:

Middle-Late Warring States, *Anyi xiaogong zhong* from the state of Wei, Taerpo (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 107, Pl. 123;

H33:

Late Springs-Autumns, Niujiapo (Changzi, Shanxi); Zhongguo qingtongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou (2)*, 67, Pl. 75;

Late Springs-Autumns/Early Warring States, no provenance, Sackler Gallery (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.); Zhongguo qingtongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou (2)*, 68, Pl. 76; *narrower body, straighter neck than H33*;

H35:

Late Western Zhou *lei*, Renjiacun (Fufeng, Shaanxi); Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (shang)*, 208, Pl. 229;

H43:

Early Western Zhou *lei*, Zhuwajie (Pengxian, Sichuan); Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (shang)*, 178, Pl. 195;

H49:

Late Warring States Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 121, fig. 112:1 (M126:1), 6 (M257:6), 9 (M177:3);

Dynastic Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 121, fig. 112:7 (M283:1), 8 (M20:1);

H56:

Late Springs-Autumns, no provenance, Chinese Culture Center (San Francisco); Zhongguo qingtongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou (2)*, 61, Pl. 69;

Early Warring States, Baihuatan (Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan); Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 81, Pl. 94;

Late Warring States, tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan (Sanji [Pingshan, Hebei]; d. 309 BC); Hebeisheng, *Cuo mu*, vol. 2, Pl. 84:1-4 (XK:16-19); *note that the base and neck are somewhat*

different from H56;

H60:

Western Zhou (?), Tunxi Airport (Anhui) M3 *he* (for pouring); porcelaneous stoneware; Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 120, Pl. 111;

H63:

Late Warring States, tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan (Sanji [Pingshan, Hebei]; d. 309 BC) DK:8; Hebeisheng, *Cuo mu*, vol. 2, Pl. 85:1;

H71:

Middle Springs-Autumns, Huangzi *hu*, Baoxiangsi (Guangshan, Henan); Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 12, Pl. 14;
Early Warring States, Liulige (Huixian, Henan) *hu*; copper-inlaid bronze; Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 57, Pl. 69;

Hu 83:

Early Western Zhou *lei*, Beidong (Kazuo, Liaoning); Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (shang)*, 159, Pl. 174;
Early Warring States *lei*, Huixian (Henan); Zhongguo qingtongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou (2)*, 160, Pl. 182;

Early Warring States Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 135, fig. 120:2 (M234:3);

Middle Warring States Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 135, fig. 120:3 (M215:3);

Middle-Late Warring States, Nanyaozhuang (Xuyi, Jiangsu); inlaid gold, openwork overlay, bronze; Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 99, Pl. 114;

H84:

Late Shang *lei*, Beidong (Kazuo, Liaoning); Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (shang)*, 78, Pl. 80;

Middle Springs-Autumns, *Yueshu fou*, no provenance; bronze inscribed in gold; Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 10, Pl. 12;

Late Springs-Autumns, *Cai hou Zhu fou* 蔡侯朱缶, Anle (Tuoyi Municipality, Hubei); Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 27, Pl. 32;

Late Springs-Autumns/Early Warring States *lei*, Shangma (Houma Municipality, Shanxi) M1004:11; Shanxisheng, "Shanxi Houma Shangma," *WW* 1989.6, 9, fig. 11:2.

Late Springs-Autumns/Early Warring States *lei*, Jinsheng (Taiyuan, Shanxi); Zhongguo qingtongqi., *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou (2)*, 44, Pl. 49;

Early Warring States *fou*, Huixian (Henan); Zhongguo qingtongqi., *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou (2)*, 160, Pl. 182;

Late Warring States Qin *guan*, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 127, fig. 115:6 (M25:2);

H88:

Late Warring States, tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan (Sanji [Pingshan, Hebei]; d. 309 BC); earthenware; Hebeisheng, *Cuo mu*, vol. 2, Pl. 114:1-4 (XK:78, 81, 79, 80); Pl. 252:2 (PM1:44); Pl. 262:5 (PM2:43); Pl. 271:6 (PM4:27); Pl. 275:6 (PM5:35); *the Zhongshan examples are not precisely close to H88, but are reminiscent of it;*

Hu 95:

Late Springs-Autumns, Jinsheng (Taiyuan, Shanxi); Zhongguo qingtongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou (2)*, 44, Pl. 49;

H106:

Early Warring States, Liyu (Hunxian, Henan); Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 47, Pl. 56;

H126:

Springs-Autumns Qin, Yiqitunzhuang (Fengxiang, Shaanxi); earthenware; Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, 157, Pl. 165;

H130:

Early Warring States, tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng (Leigudun [Suizhou Municipality, Hubei]; d. 433 BC); Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 63, Pl. 75;

G1:

Late Warring States Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 155, fig. 130:2 (M97:1), 3 (M177:1), 4 (M257:3), 5 (257:1);
Dynastic Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 155, fig. 130:1 (M247:2);

G16:

Middle Warring States Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 135, fig. 120:12 (M225:5);

G19:

Early Warring States Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 141, fig. 123:4 (M10:3), 7 (M133:3);

Middle Warring States Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 141, fig. 123:1 (M129:4), 6 (? M120:1), 10 (M225:8);

Late Warring States Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 141, fig. 123:2 (M4:3), 11 (M98:1);

Dynastic Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 141, fig. 123:3 (M193:5), 5 (M249:2);

G21:

Early Warring States Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 127, fig. 115:9 (M10:3);

G42:

Warring States, Han cemetery of Fenghuangshan (Qiushan, Jiangyin Municipality, Jiangsu); vitreous earthenware; Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 220, Pl. 244;

G48:

Late Western Zhou *gui*, Tianma-Qucun (Quwo, Shanxi) IIM62:83; Shanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo, Beijing daxue kaoguxue xi, "Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jinhou mudi disici fajue," *WW* 1994.8, 10, fig. 16:3; Tianma-Qucun I11M31:4, Shanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo, Beijing daxue kaoguxue xi, "Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jinhou mudi disanci fajue," *WW* 1994.8, 25, fig. 4:2;

Late Springs-Autumns/Early Warring States *gui*, Huixian (Henan); Zhongguo qingtongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou* (2), 152, Pl. 174;

Late Springs-Autumns/Early Warring States *gui*, Huixian (Henan); Zhongguo qingtongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou* (2), 152, Pl. 174;

G49:

Early Late Springs-Autumns Chu, Xiasi (Xichuan, Henan) M2:55; Henansheng, *Xichuan Xiasi*, Pl. 53:2;

G56:

Western Zhou (?), Biedun (Jintan, Jiangsu); porcelaneous stoneware; Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 133, Pl. 132;

G57:

Early Shang, Erligang (Zhengzhou Municipality, Henan); Zhongguo qingqongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 1: *Xia, Shang*, 120, Pl. 121;

Middle Shang, Longtouzhen (Chenggu, Shaanxi); Zhongguo qingqongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 1: *Xia, Shang*, 127, Pl. 128;

Middle Shang, Baijiazhuang (Zhengzhou Municipality, Henan); Zhongguo qingqongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 1: *Xia, Shang*, 132, Pl. 133;

Warring States, Tangjiacun (Shaoxing, Zhejiang); glazed stoneware; *Zhongguo taoci*, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 194, Pl. 215;

G58:

Late Shang *you*, Anyang (Henan); *Zhongguo meishu*, *Qingtongqi* (*shang*), 63, Pl. 68; 125, Pl. 134;

Western Zhou *you*, Tiexiao (Luoyang, Henan); argillaceous grey earthenware; *Zhongguo taoci*, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 140, Pl. 140;

Late Western Zhou/Springs-Autumns, Yiqi (Tunxi, Anhui) *you*; von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 277, fig. 57, second row, far left;

Late Springs-Autumns, Hougongdui (Gushi, Henan) *hu*; *Zhongguo meishu*, *Qingtongqi* (*xia*), 26, Pl. 31;

G68:

Early Warring States *lei*, Fenshuiling (Changzhi, Shanxi); *Zhongguo meishu*, *Qingtongqi* (*xia*), 50, Pl. 60;

G72:

Springs-Autumns, no provenance, Guangdong Provincial Museum; vitreous earthenware; *Zhongguo taoci*, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 153, Pl. 161;

G82:

Late Warring States Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 127, fig. 115:7 (M4:2);

Late Warring States Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 135, fig. 120:1 (M181:3);

G85:

Early Warring States, tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng (Leigudun [Suizhou Municipality, Hubei]; d. 433 BC) EC 8:1; earthenware; Hubeisheng, *Zeng hou Yi mu*, vol. 2, Pl. 162:2, right;

G89:

Early Warring States, tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng (Leigudun [Suizhou Municipality, Hubei]; d. 433 BC) EC 8:1; earthenware; Hubeisheng, *Zeng hou Yi mu*, vol. 2, Pl. 162:2, right; *note that G89 has no neck*;

G93:

Early Late Springs-Autumns Chu, Xiasi (Xichuan, Henan) M3:5; Henansheng, *Xichuan Xiasi*, Pl. 81:3;

Dynastic Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware, used as coffin; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 100, fig. 99:2 (M264:2);

G98:

Late Springs-Autumns Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 125, fig. 114:7 (M13:1);

G104:

Late Middle Springs-Autumns Chu, Xiasi (Xichuan, Henan) M7:4; Henansheng, *Xichuan Xiasi*, Pl. 13:4;

G124:

Western Zhou (?); Biedun (Jintan, Jiangsu); vitreous earthenware; Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 117, Pl. 107;

G139:

Middle Warring States Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 130, fig. 117:4 (M235:3);

G152:

Early Warring States *lei*, Luhe cemetery (Lucheng, Shanxi); Zhongguo qingtongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou* (2), 121, Pl. 137;

G155:

Early Warring States Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 127, fig. 115:4 (M133:2);

G178:

Late Warring States, tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan (Sanji [Pingshan, Hebei]; d. 309 BC) BDD:87; earthenware; Hebeisheng, *Cuo mu*, vol. 2, Pl. 248:5;

G189:

Western Zhou (?), Fushan Orchard (Jurong, Jiangsu); porcelaneous stoneware; Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 107, Pl. 93;

Spring-Autumns, Deqing (Zhejiang); 165, Pl. 175, Xikou (Longyou, Zhejiang); porcelaneous stoneware; Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 164, Pl. 174;

Spring-Autumns, Xikou (Longyou, Zhejiang); porcelaneous stoneware; Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 165, Pl. 175; Spring-Autumns, Kuanguangdun (Hefeng, Lishui, Jiangsu); porcelaneous stoneware; Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 167, Pl. 177;

G198:

Warring States, Jiuzhanqiu (Tieshan, Zhenghe, Fujian); porcelaneous stoneware; Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 186, Pl. 203;

G199:

Western Zhou (?), Yongning (Gaochun, Jiangsu); porcelaneous

stoneware; Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 110, Pl. 98;

G201:

Early Warring States Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 183, fig. 147:3 (M74:4); *shoulders are lower than G201*;

G208:

Early Warring States Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 127, fig. 115:3 (M243:1);

G249:

Late Warring States, tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan (Sanji [Pingshan, Hebei]; d. 309 BC) PM6:34; earthenware; Hebeisheng, *Cuo mu*, vol. 2, 279:5;

G256:

Spring-Autumns, Fushan Orchard (Jurong, Jiangxi); vitreous earthenware; Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 156, Pl. 164;

G258:

Late Warring States, tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan (Sanji [Pingshan, Hebei]; d. 309 BC) BDD:88; earthenware; Hebeisheng, *Cuo mu*, vol. 2, Pl. 248:6; *reminiscent of G258*.

G288:

Western Zhou (?); Longyou (Zhejiang); porcelaneous stoneware; Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 123, Pl. 115; Early Warring States Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M228:1; earthenware; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 130, fig. 117:5;

G296:

Dynastic Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware, used as coffin; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 100, fig. 99:1 (M193:2);

D5:

Late Warring States Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 109, fig. 105:4 (M18:1);

D11:

Middle-Late Warring States, Xiaotun (Luoyang Municipality, Henan); inlaid gold and silver on bronze; Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 101, Pl. 116;

D13:

Early Warring States, Shangshe (Xinzhou, Shanxi); Zhongguo qingtongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou (2)*, 173, Pl. 194;

D14:

Late Springs-Autumns/Early Warring States, Huixian (Henan); Zhongguo qingtongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou* (2), 158, Pl. 180; *note shorter legs than D14*.

D15:

Early Warring States, Shangma cemetery (Houma Municipality, Shanxi); Zhongguo qingtongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou* (2), 159, Pl. 181;

Late Warring States, tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan (Sanji [Pingshan, Hebei]; d. 309 BC); Hebeisheng, *Cuo mu*, vol. 2, Pl. 72:1, 2, 4 (VK:6, 7, 9); Pl. 73:1-5 (DK:1-5);

D17:

Late Springs-Autumns, Jinsheng (Taiyuan, Shanxi); Zhongguo qingtongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou* (2), 17-19, Pl. 19-20;

Late Springs-Autumns, no provenance, Shanghai Museum; Zhongguo qingtongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou* (2), 22, Pl. 23;

D18:

Middle Springs-Autumns, Shangma cemetery (Houma Municipality, Shanxi); Zhongguo qingtongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou* (2), 10, Pl. 11;

D22:

Springs-Autumns, Guixi (Jiangxi); earthenware; Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 155, Pl. 167;

D31:

Middle Springs-Autumns, no provenance, Xinzhou Regional Museum (Shanxi); Zhongguo qingtongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou* (2), 9, Pl. 10;

D39:

Late Warring States Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 109, fig. 105:2 (M177:2);

D68:

Late Springs-Autumns/Early Warring States, Huixian (Henan); Zhongguo qingtongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou* (2), 147, Pl. 169; 149, Pl. 171;

Late Springs-Autumns/Early Warring States, Huixian (Henan) *dou* (body); Zhongguo qingtongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou* (2), 156, Pl. 178;

D69:

Late Springs-Autumns, Ximen (Shouxian, Anhui); Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 28, Pl. 34;

Late Springs-Autumns/Early Warring States, Huixian (Henan); Zhongguo qingtongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou*

(2), 148, Pl. 170;

D70:

Middle Warring States Qin, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); earthenware; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 109, fig. 105:1 (M94:18);

D89:

Middle Springs-Autumns, Wang Zi Wu *dìng*, Xiasi (Xichuan, Henan); Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 13, Pl. 16;

Middle Springs-Autumns, Old City of Zixing (Hunan);

Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 17, Pl. 22;

Late Springs-Autumns, Ximen (Shouxian, Anhui); Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 29, Pl. 35;

Late Springs-Autumns, Yangjiapai (Huaining, Anhui);

Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 32, Pl. 39;

While Qin appears to have developed its own variant of *fou*, as in my *guan* 1, this form was in turn closely related to vessels from other Chinese states of the time. Related Han forms likewise reflect pre-Han precedents from multiple regions. For instance, a Middle–Late Warring States bronze *hu* from Nanyaozhuang (Xuyi, Jiangsu), with inlaid gold and an openwork overlay around the body, provides additional precedent for *hu* 83.¹³⁰ Further, related examples are attested from the earlier Bronze Age, beginning with Late Shang *lei* and continuing through the Late Warring States in *lei* and *fou*. Some of the earlier examples, despite being *lei*, are more *hu*-like, with narrower bodies than many *lei*. As an example, Early Western Zhou *lei* from Beidong (Kazuo, Liaoning)¹³¹ and Zhuwajie (Pengxian, Sichuan)¹³² are comparable to Han *hu* 83 and 43, respectively. In addition, *lei* or *fou* from Late Springs and Autumns–Early Warring States sites such as Jinsheng (Taiyuan, Shanxi)¹³³ and Late Springs and Autumns–Early Warring States Shangma (Houma Municipality, Shanxi; [Figure 4.1](#)),¹³⁴ as well as Early Warring States Huixian (Henan),¹³⁵ also appear to follow from earlier *lei*, such as a Late Shang example from Beidong;¹³⁶ the later pieces, however, have broader, sometimes fuller, bodies. These Late Springs and Autumns *lei* are in turn closely related to one form of Middle–Late Springs and Autumns *fou* from the Chu site of Xiasi (Xichuan, Henan; [Figure 4.2](#)).¹³⁷ The Chu version is sometimes a little broader and shorter, with a wider mouth and shorter neck, than its northern counterparts. From these interrelations, the Springs and Autumns *fou* exemplified by the piece from Jinsheng becomes the antecedent of both *hu* 84, taken here as related to the line of Qin *fou*, and of *guan* 93, here considered as deriving from the Chu version of the Springs and Autumns *fou* (the vertical variant of the Chu *fou*).

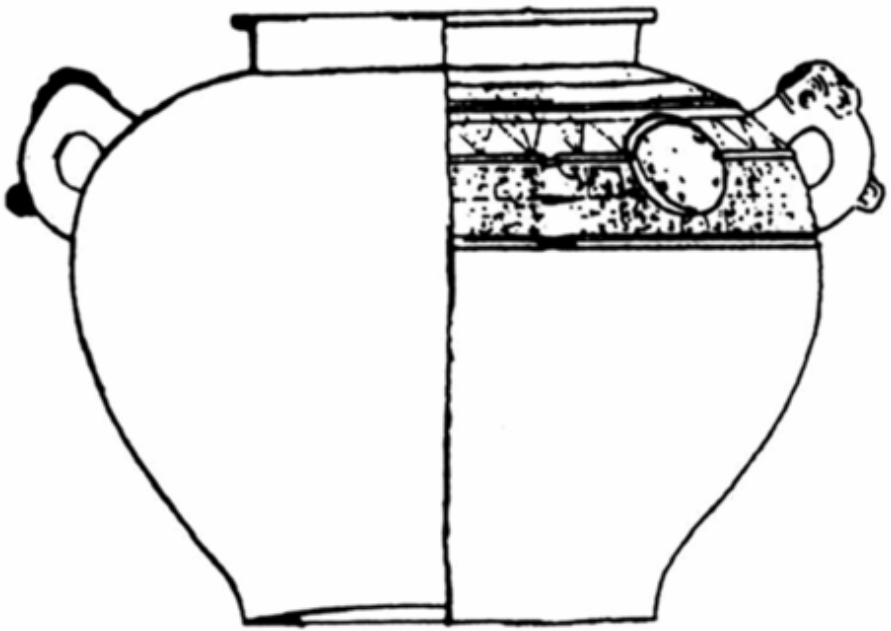


Figure 4.1: Shangma (Houma Municipality, Shanxi) M1004:11, ca. early 5 c. BC (Late Springs and Autumns/Early Warring States), bronze. (Shanxisheng, “Shanxi Houma Shangma,” *WW* 1989.6, 9, fig. 11:2.)

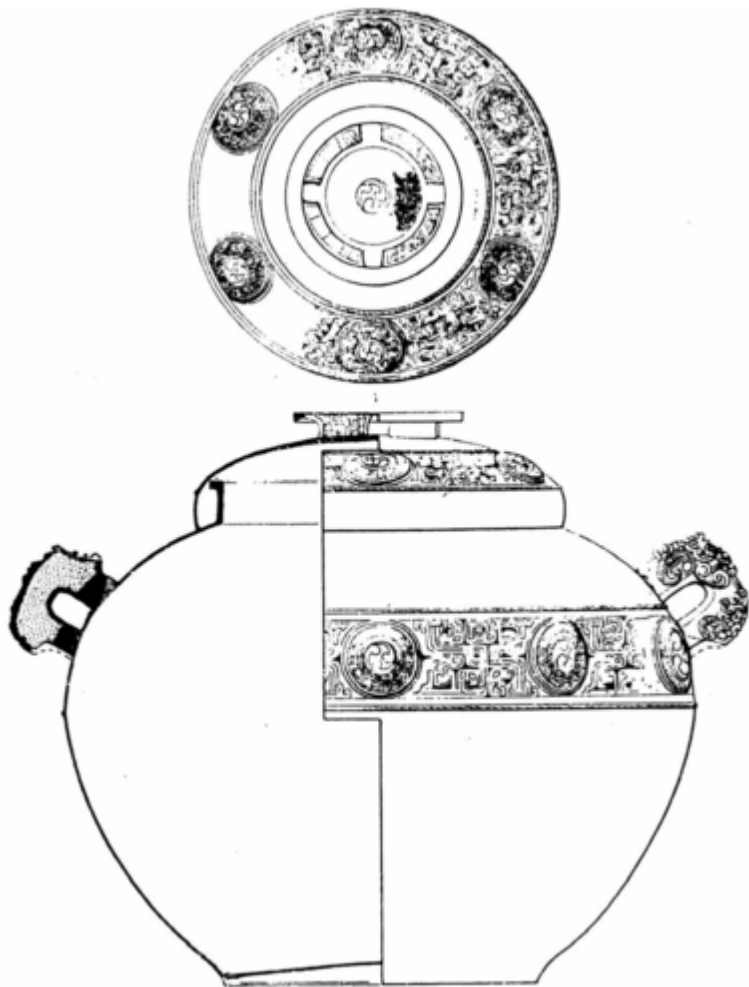


Figure 4.2: Xiasi (Xichuan, Henan) M3:6, Early Late Springs and Autumns (ca. late 6 c. BC), bronze. (Henansheng, *Xichuan Xiasi*, 224, fig. 166.)

The confluence of Qin and Chu is visible as well in an earthenware *guan* EC 8:1 from the tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng (Leigudun [Suizhou Municipality, Hubei]; died 433 BC; [Figure 4.3](#)), a state culturally dominated by Chu. EC 8:1, however, recalls Qin *fou*, albeit with a narrower base and three feet.¹³⁸ It represents an antecedent for the Han *guan* 89, which, however, has no neck, and is related to *guan* 85, in the series of Han dynasty Qin *fou*. At the same time, Chu also produced a shorter, very broad *fou*, likewise seen at Xiasi.¹³⁹ This form is the prototype for Han-era Lower Yangzi and Far South *fou*, such as my *guan* 49. Although developed notably in stoneware in the Lower Yangzi during the Eastern Zhou (see [Chapter 2](#)),¹⁴⁰ the long Chinese lineage of this form and the more elaborate treatment of

Chinese versions in bronze lead me to attribute its initial creation to Chu.

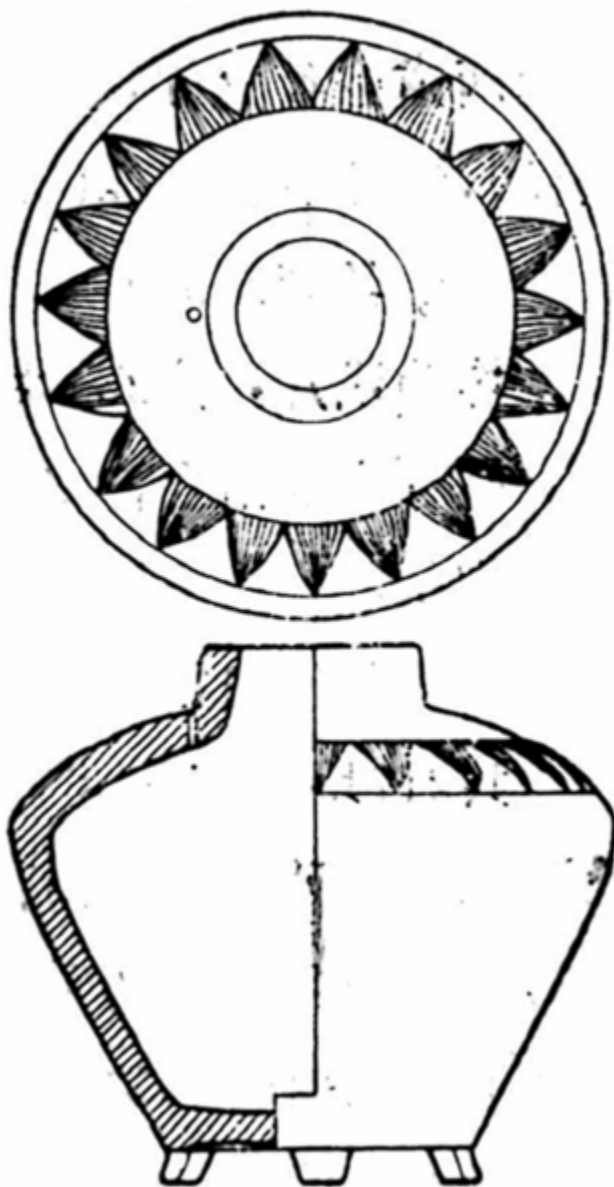


Figure 4.3: Tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng (Leigudun [Suizhou Municipality, Hubei]), d. 433 BC, EC 8:1, earthenware *guan*. (Hubeisheng, *Zeng hou Yi mu*, vol. 1, 436, fig. 3.)

In this context, no single pre-Han region has dominance in Han vessel forms and, despite the Chu *fou*, no pre-Han region retains significant regional continuity into the Han. The Han are the creative

heirs not only of Qin and Chu, but of the Bronze Age as a whole.

Pre-Han bronzes in Han tombs provide evidence of the immediacy of Bronze Age vessels as models of form and, at times, décor.¹⁴¹ We do not know how the Han viewed these pieces or on what basis or to what extent pre-Han bronzes had value. That is, we do not know how much memory of Bronze Age values, as reflected in these vessels, remained during the Han. Relatively few genuinely old pieces are attested in dated tombs (Table 4.8). The tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]), the wealthiest dated tomb, likewise contained the greatest number of pre-Han vessels. The presence of such bronzes in aristocratic tombs suggests that the vessels were recognized as rare and as conferring additional status, and for the King of Nanyue, perhaps even legitimation. We do not yet know what imperial tombs or treasuries held and to what extent pre-Han work may have been included. I assume that the King of Nanyue may have built a treasury, represented in his tomb, of objects which would mark his status as self-proclaimed rival to the emperor of China. At the same time, these early pieces also occur in otherwise undistinguished tombs such as Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M3 and 25. The status accruing to these bronzes may therefore not have been as great as we may imagine. I see no way at present to explain such diversity of ownership. Were preimperial bronzes affordable to a wide range of incomes, or were they generally chance finds, family relics, or aristocratic gifts?

Table 4.8: Pre-Han bronze vessels in dated Han tombs. (H: height; M: diameter of mouth; G: diameter of girth; B: diameter of base; L: length; W: width; Wt.: weight)

Fenghuangshan (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan)

Early Warring States *ding* M5:11, Chu/south: H (overall) approximately 20 cm (broken), legs 9.6 cm (KG 1993.3, 243, fig. 5:6)

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei)

Early Late Springs-Autumns *jiaohu* (鑊壺, for pouring) M9:1, Chu: H 26.5 cm, M 12.4cm, G 24 cm, B 11 cm (Gaotai, 94, fig. 78)

Early Warring States *ding* M3:8, Chu: H 19.25 cm, M 13.4 cm, G 16.2 cm (Gaotai, insert after p. 93, fig. 76)

Gaozhuang (Dilu, Hebei)

Late Warring States *hu*, northern Chinese: H 29 cm, M 9.5 cm, G 20 cm, B 13 cm (KG 1994.4, Pl. 5:5)

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi)

Late Springs-Autumns *ding* M8:9, Chu/south: H 13.5 cm, M

12.5 cm, G 15.4 cm (WWZLCK 4 [1981], 36, fig. 11:2)

Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui)

Late Springs-Autumns *fanghu* M1:3, Chu: H 47.9 cm, M 14.9 cm, G 29.2 cm, Wt. 11.315 kg (KGXB 1983.3, 385, fig. 2:2)

Middle Warring States *hu* M1:4, northern Chinese: H 23.4 cm, M 8.4 cm, G 16.6 cm (KGXB 1983.3, 387, fig. 4:1)

Middle Warring States *hu* M1:5, northern Chinese: H 22.5 cm, M 9.3 cm, G 18.2 cm (KGXB 1983.3, 387, fig. 4:2)

Huainan (Anhui)

Late Springs-Autumns *ding*, Chu: H 13 cm, M 12.7 cm, G 14.5 cm, Wt. 400 g (broken) (WW 1994.12, 43, fig. 4)

Early Warring States *ding*, Chu: H 22.8 cm, M 19.9 cm, G 23.7 cm, Wt. 4.35 kg; soot marks on bottom (WW 1994.12, 42, fig. 2; 43, fig. 3:1, 2)

Early Warring States *ding*, Chu: H 20 cm, M 16.7 cm, g 23, Wt. 1.85 kg (WW 1994.12, 42, fig. 1)

Late Warring States *hu*, Chu: H 28.5 cm, M 8.5 cm, G 17 cm, B 10.4 cm, Wt. 1.85 kg (WW 1994.12, 44, fig. 6; detail 43, fig. 3:3)

Huoshan (Anhui)

Late Middle Warring States (ca. 316 BC) *ding* M1:8, Chu: H 34 cm, M 13.6 cm, G 25.6 cm (WW 1991.9, 43, fig. 6:5)

Jingshan (Yishui, Shandong)

Late Springs-Autumns *pan* (盤) basin, Chu: measures 11 cm x 17 cm across the top (WW 1985.5, 51, fig. 20)

Mancheng (Hebei)

Middle Warring States cup M1:4284, northern Chinese or Chu: H 6 cm, M 10.5-18 cm, B 5.3-11.8 cm; gilded (*Mancheng*, v. 1, 61, fig. 41:1)

Late Warring States *hu* M2:4028, Chu: H 29.8 cm, M 7.6 cm, G 15.7 cm, B 10.3 cm (*Mancheng*, v. 1, 247, fig. 161)

Late Warring States *hu* M2:4029, Chu: H 29.9 cm, M 10 cm, G 20.8 cm, B 13.7 cm (*Mancheng*, v. 1, 248, fig. 162)

Nanchang Eastern Suburbs (Jiangxi)

Early Warring States *ding* M1:15, Chu/south: H 22 cm; soot marks on bottom (KGXB 1976.2, Pl. 5:1)

Early Warring States *ding* M14:18, Chu/south: H 24.4 cm (KGXB 1976.2, 177, fig. 7:6)

Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong])

Late Springs-Autumns *ding* G6, Chu/south: H 14.5 cm, M 11.7 cm, G 13.2 cm (*Nanyue*, v. 2, Pl. 178:2)

Late Springs-Autumns *jian* (鑑) basin G38, Chu: H 24.3 cm, M 37.5 cm, G 40.6 cm, b 24.8 cm (*Nanyue*, v. 1, 289, fig. 202:1)

Late Springs-Autumns *jian* basin G68, Chu: H 15 cm, M 35 cm, G 35 cm, B 21 (*Nanyue*, v. 2, Color Pl. 23:2)

Early Warring States *ding* G32-1, Chu/south: H 34.3 cm, M 22 cm, G 28.7 cm; soot marks on bottom (*Nanyue*, v. 2, Pl. 179:1)

Early Warring States *ding* C37/south, Chu: H 25.5 cm, G 30 cm (*Nanyue*, v. 2, Pl. 34:2)

Early Warring States *pou* (甬) jar B29, Chu: H 21.6 cm, M 14.5 cm, G 32.2 cm, B 15.8 cm (*Nanyue*, v. 1, 49, fig. 33:2-3)

Early Warring States *pou* jar B66, Chu: H 14.7 cm, g 21, diameter of lid 12 cm, B 12 cm (*Nanyue*, v. 1, 49, fig. 33:1)

Middle Warring States brazier G40, mixture of northern and southern Chinese: H 11 cm, L 27.5 cm, W 27 cm (*Nanyue*, v. 1, 282, fig. 195)

Middle Warring States brazier C53, northern Chinese: H 7.5 cm, L 27.3 cm, W 27.3 cm (*Nanyue*, v. 1, 74, fig. 53:5)

Middle Warring States *fanghu* B51, Chu: H 55.5 cm, G 30.4 cm, M 15; lid; gilded (*Nanyue*, v. 1, 48, fig. 31)

Middle Warring States *fanghu* B52, Chu: H 51.5 cm, M 15.7 cm, G 29; gilded (*Nanyue*, v. 2, Pl. 16:1)

Late Middle Warring States (ca. 316 BC) *ding* C265, Chu: H 42 cm, M 31.5 cm, G 35 cm (*Nanyue*, v. 2, Pl. 34:3)

Late Warring States *ding* G7, Chu/south: h 33 cm, m 22.5 cm, g 26.4 cm (*Nanyue*, v. 1, 278, fig. 192:3)

Burial goods pits of the King of Qi (Wotuo [Zibo Municipality, Shandong])

Pan basin K1:65 inscribed *sanshisian nian* (三十三年) 214 BC, Qin, assuming northern Chinese: gilded silver (KGXB 1985.2, 256, fig. 28)

Sanlidun (Lianshui, Jiangsu)

Middle Warring States *hu* M1:82, northern Chinese (related to the state of Zhou): H 73 cm; silver plated, inlaid in silver and turquoise (KG 1973.2, Pl. 9:1)

Middle Warring States *hu* M1:85, northern Chinese (related to the state of Zhou): H 15.5 cm; silver and gold inlay (KG 1973.2, 82, fig. 3:1)

Middle-Late Warring States *zun* (for heating alcohol) in the form of a unicorn M1:84, northern Chinese: H 27.4 cm, L 41.8 cm; inlaid gold, silver, and turquoise (KG 1973.2, Pl. 10:1)

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei)

Late Springs-Autumns/Early Warring States *lei* jar M47:24, northern Chinese: H 25.5 cm (without lid?), M 16.5 cm, B 21 cm (KGXB 1986.4, 501, fig. 25:1 [lid], 4 [body])

Early Warring States *ding* M25:10, northern Chinese: H 34.5 cm, M 25 cm (KGXB 1986.4, 500, fig. 24:5)

Middle/Late Warring States *hu* M3:3, northern Chinese: H 29.4 cm, M 9.5 cm, B 12.2 cm (KGXB 1986.4, 44, fig. 53; Pl. 25:1)
Middle Warring States through dynastic Qin *hu* M25:22, northern Chinese: H 34.6 cm, M 10.6 cm, B 13.5 cm (KGXB 1986.4, 500, fig. 24:6)

Xianshan (Xiangfan, Hubei)

Late Springs-Autumns *ding* M3:6, Chu: H 35.4 cm, M 29.7 cm (KG 1996.5, 38, fig. 6)

Xunyang (Shaanxi)

Early Warring States *hu*, northern Chinese: H 33 cm, M 10.7 cm, B 14.4 cm (KGYWW 1989.6, 105, fig. 1)

More than the presence of old vessels, imitation by Han artisans in itself suggests that pre-Han work carried a value greater than that of simple aesthetic response. Distinction between Han and pre-Han bronzes can be difficult. Imitation may involve vessel form or, more usually, décor. When the form matches a Han vessel with no exact pre-Han equivalent, identification as a Han product is naturally less ambiguous. For these imitations, predominantly décor links the vessel to pre-Han productions. Detailed examination of several examples helps clarify criteria for distinction between old and new, as well as ways in which Bronze Age vessels were incorporated into Han bronze production. The same questions apply to all Han bronzes in general, even when they do not closely recall Bronze Age productions: What role did bronze play within the Han era and, more broadly, what is the relationship of the Han bronze to the preimperial age?

Preimperial Bronzes as Heirlooms

Not all preimperial bronzes buried in Han graves have been published as such. A few of the more problematic deserve individual attention. The most widespread of preimperial heirloom, bronze mirrors, will not be considered in this work.

Mancheng M2:4028

The bronze *hu* from Mancheng M2:4028 (Figure 4.4), implicitly identified by the excavation report as Late Warring States,¹⁴² is thought by Jessica Rawson to constitute an example of the Han imitation of preimperial bronzes.¹⁴³ Rawson seems to equate the suspension chain attached to the shoulders of the vessel with Chu, as opposed to Qin, custom. Such chains appear in Zhongshan as well as Chu, as in the 309 BC tomb of King Cuo on both *hu*¹⁴⁴ and *ding*.¹⁴⁵ Braziers suspended by chain are not rare in the northern Chinese

states.¹⁴⁶ In the case of Mancheng M2:4028, while the use of chains is unattributable in itself, all other comparisons are with Chu work and are so exact as to leave no doubt of the authenticity of this piece as a Warring States product. The lack of any comparison to Han *hu* further substantiates this identification.

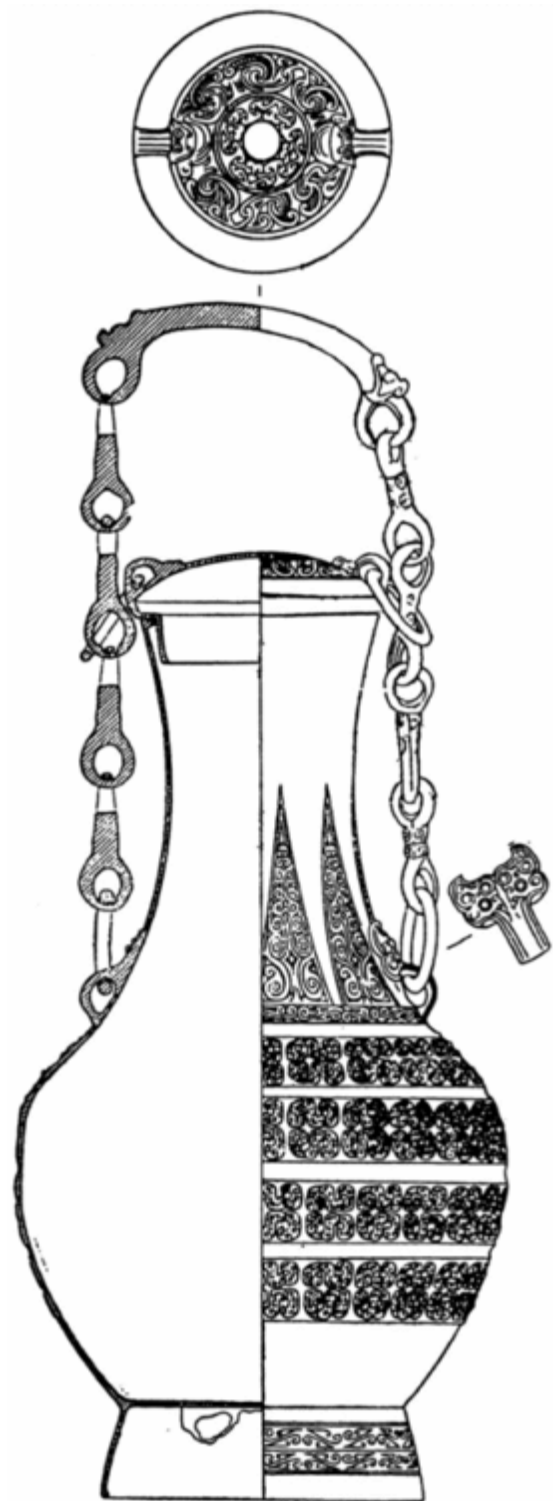


Figure 4.4: Mancheng (Hebei) M2:4028, bronze. (*Mancheng*, vol. 1, 247, fig. 161.)

Mancheng M2:4028 carries a décor of long triangles rising from the shoulder to mid-neck, each triangle filled with mirror-image continuous S-form scrolls; immediately below the triangles, a narrow band repeats horizontally a related motif of unconnected S-scrolls. Over the belly of the vessel follow four registers of horizontally-placed S-curved serpentine shapes, as on the Baijia (Handan, Hebei) M57 vessels, but with no heads visible on any of the scrolls. The foot carries a double band of unconnected motifs consisting of a hook and a loose spiral placed to form broad triangles.

A *hu*, missing its suspension chain, from Late Warring States Gezhouba (Qianping, Hubei)¹⁴⁷ is generally similar, but the decorative patterns, placed in the same positions as on Mancheng M2:4028, are entirely different. Likewise, the Chu site of Yutaishan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M480:2 (suspension chain intact)¹⁴⁸ bears a décor differing from that of the Mancheng *hu* in its patterns but not in its placement on the vessel. However, the continuous S-spirals within the triangles on the neck of Mancheng M2:4028 appear on Chu work such as on an Early Warring States garment hook (M46:12) from Jinjiashan (Dangyang Municipality, Hubei).¹⁴⁹ The same pattern appears in a somewhat more angular form in the triangles ornamenting the neck of a related *hu* from the Lieshi Park (Changsha Municipality, Hunan),¹⁵⁰ dated to the Middle–Late Warring States.

The hook and spiral motif on the foot of Mancheng M2:4028 occurs in modified form on bronzes such as the gold- and silver-plated *ding* from Xiaodun (Luoyang Municipality, Henan)¹⁵¹ dating to the same period, the Middle–Late Warring States gold- and silver-plated *ding* excavated at Xianyang (Shaanxi),¹⁵² as well as on earlier bronze axle-caps from Chu sites such as Late Springs–Autumns Yangjiashan YM6:7 and Jinjiashan M43:6 (not dated; both Dangyang Municipality, Hubei).¹⁵³ The motif, while existing in Chu, is nonetheless more prominent in the northern states, including Qin.

Despite this northern balance for decorative patterns on both the belly and foot registers, the form of Mancheng M2:4028 corresponds to Chu types. Even though those *hu* whose decorative schemas are closest to it have ring-like feet, not the inward-angling base of the Mancheng example, and rounder bellies, inward-angled feet and the less rounded belly are nonetheless known in Chu. Mancheng M2:4028 matches Chu jars such as the Middle Warring States Yunxian (Hubei) M105:1.¹⁵⁴ Thus, the layout of the décor on Mancheng M2:4028, the specific decorative patterns used, and the vessel form are all attested in Middle Warring States period Chu. Mancheng M2:4028 may therefore be accepted as of Middle Warring States Chu manufacture.

Mancheng M2:4029

Mancheng M2:4029, a bronze *hu*, yields several pre-Han parallels (Figure 4.5).¹⁵⁵ It carries only two types of decorative patterns: elongated triangles around the neck, each filled with mirror-image semicircles in a plant-like motif; and over the belly and foot, horizontal bands of wide-angled zigzags filled with simple scrolls, each band bordered top and bottom by a line of connected ovals, like a loosely twisted rope. An undated vessel from Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M3:3 provides a nearly exact comparison, differing in the border of the horizontal registers (a repeated mushroom-like pattern), which also occurs in similar style beneath the triangles on the neck and in the motif within the triangles themselves (Figure 4.6).¹⁵⁶ On Shuihudi M3:3, this motif is less scroll-like and more floral: a central stem is flanked on each side by a half-circle opening downward and terminating in a curl at each end.

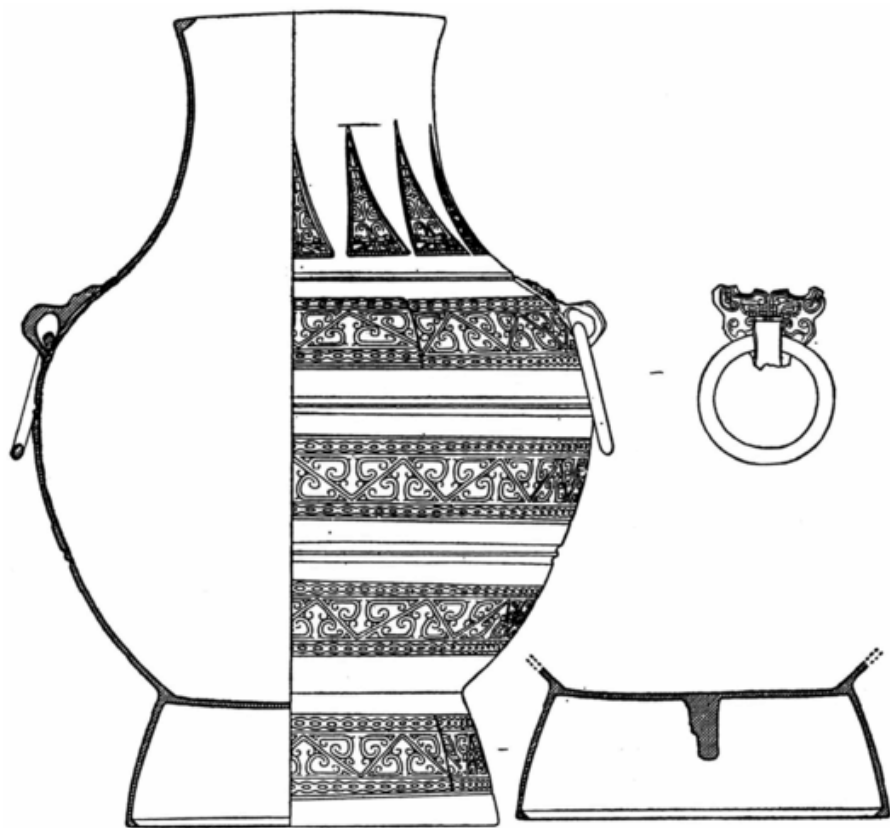


Figure 4.5: Mancheng (Hebei) M2:4029, bronze. (*Mancheng*, vol. 1, 248, fig. 162:1.)

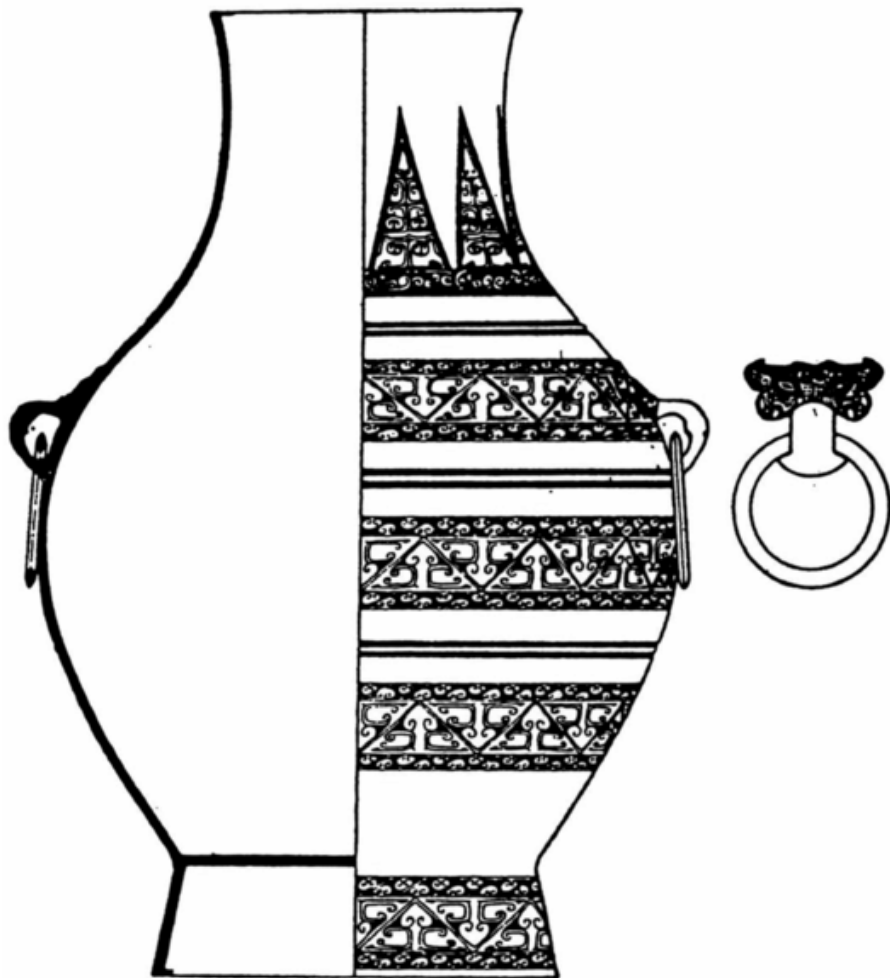


Figure 4.6: Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M3:3, bronze. (*Shuihudi*, 44, fig. 53.)

A Late Warring States *hu* from Qianping (Hubei) M12:1 follows the same decorative schema, but the borders of the principal registers are filled with simple curls (belly and foot) or the spiral and hook motif mentioned above (neck).¹⁵⁷ The triangles on the neck bear a series of connected spirals and hooks arranged in vertical mirror image about a central line. The décor of the central register differs from both Mancheng M2:4029 and Shuihudi M3:3 in that the zigzags are narrower, describing equilateral rather than obtuse triangles. Notably, the Gezhoubu M1:2 and Yutaishan M480:2 *hu* discussed earlier in the context of Mancheng M2:4028 both carry closely related neck décor, of which Yutaishan M480:2 appears identical to Mancheng M2:4029. The Yutaishan example also matches Mancheng M2:4029 in the details of its belly décor, including the register borders of loosely

twisted rope form.¹⁵⁸

These comparisons validate interpretation of Mancheng M2:4029 as a Late Warring States Chu product. A *hu* that may well be considered a Han (undatable) imitation of this piece or those like it belongs to the David-Weill collection in the Musée Guimet (Paris).¹⁵⁹ Here, the décor is simplified, a scalloped “vine” scroll replacing the more intricate Warring States motifs.¹⁶⁰ The piece, parcel-gilded, follows Chu form, including the ring foot found on the Yutaishan, Gezhouba, and Lieshi Park examples, and in the elongated, narrow belly and thin neck. Such work, although not scientifically excavated, implies that other Han-produced imitations of Warring States ware may yet be found.

Nanyue C53

Another brazier – C53, from the tomb of the King of Nanyue – raises questions about its production (Figure 4.7).¹⁶¹ Both the outer walls and the top edge of this brazier carry a décor of meandering spirals. On the walls, the décor is marked by strongly diagonal lines; on top, it follows essentially a square form. The diagonals recall, but only indirectly, the scale and feather bands repeated on the Nanyue brazier G40 (Figure 4.8). Details of the décor, however, are closely related to Middle Late Warring States patterns like that on a *zun* (for heating alcohol) from Guanwachi (Changsha Municipality, Hunan)¹⁶² as well as to silver- and gold-inlaid pieces from the Luoyang (Henan) area: for example, the chariot fittings from Zhongzhou.¹⁶³ In addition, a brazier from the Middle Warring States Gebukou (Zhucheng, Shandong) bears the same décor (Figure 4.9).¹⁶⁴ This décor therefore appears in both the north and the south. Given the Gebukou brazier – similar in both form and décor to Nanyue C53 – the case for a northern Middle Warring States origin for the latter appears strong.

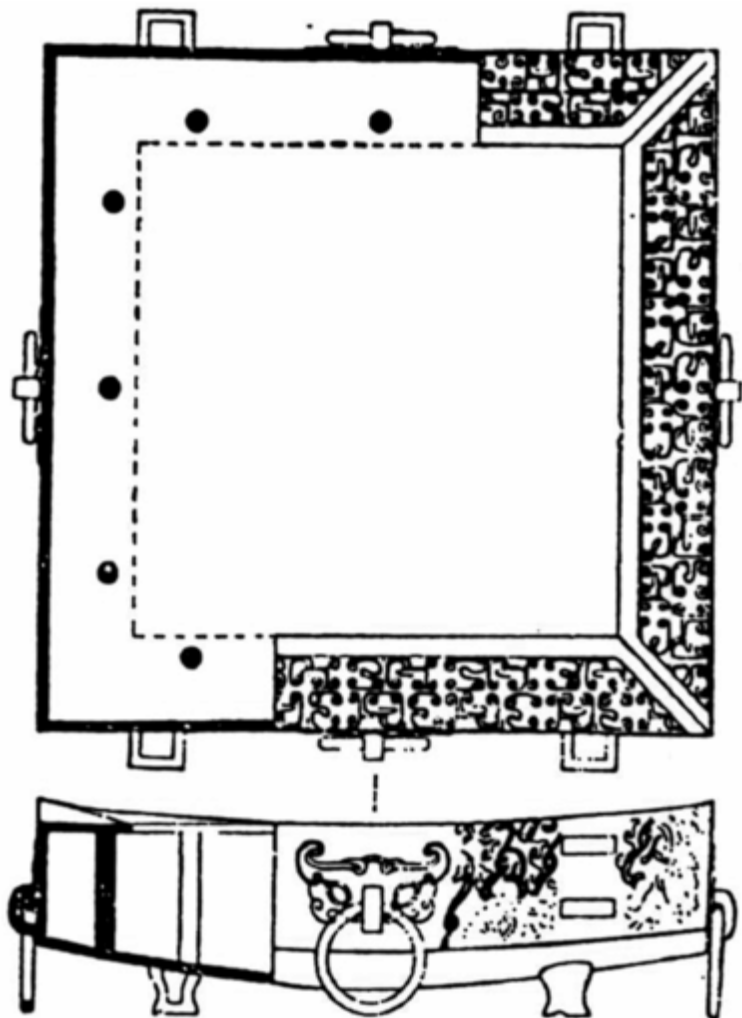


Figure 4.7: Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) C53, bronze brazier. (*Nanyue*, vol. 1, 79, fig. 53:5.)

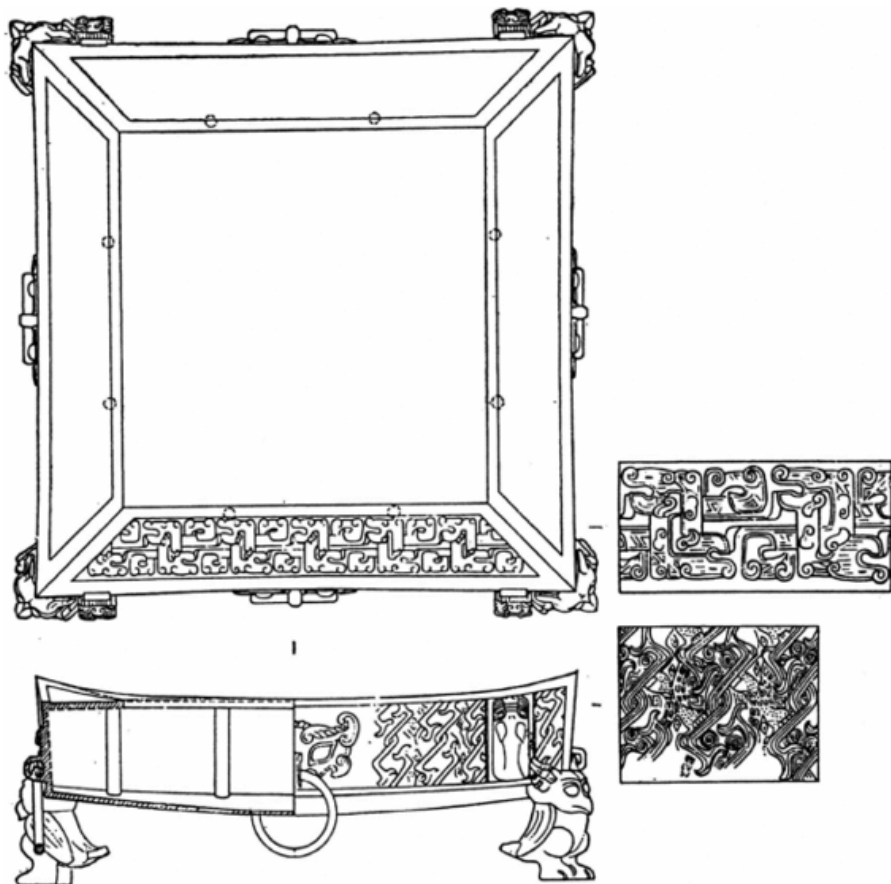


Figure 4.8: Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) G40, bronze brazier. (*Nanyue*, vol. 1, 282, fig. 195.)

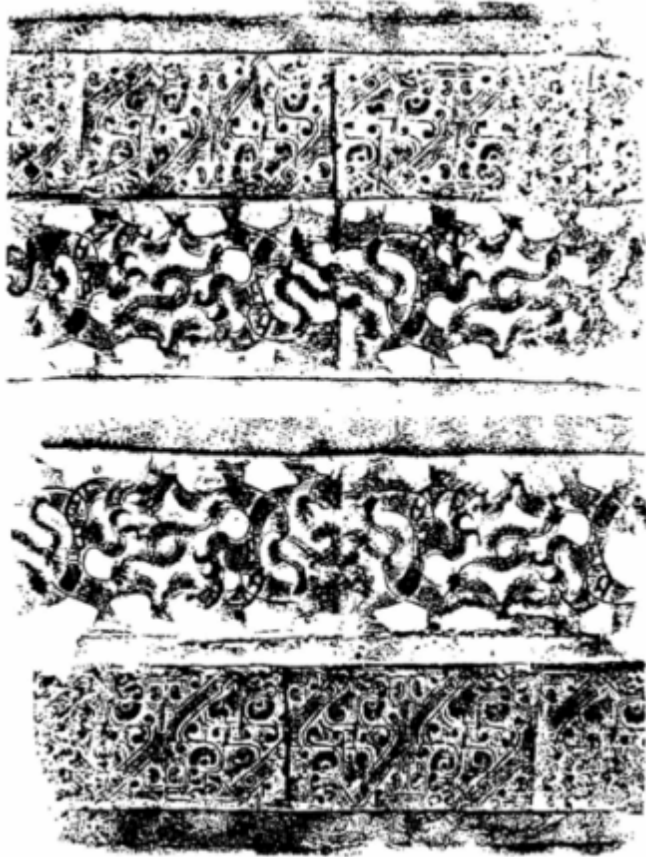


Figure 4.9: Gebukou (Zhucheng, Shandong), Middle Warring States, bronze. (Shandong Zhuchengxian, “Shandong Zhuchengxian Zangjiazhuang,” WW 1987.12, 55, fig. 21:2.)

Sanlidun (Lianshui, Jiangsu) Bronzes

An unusually high number of preimperial bronzes proportionate to burial goods as a whole were found in the Sanlidun tomb (Lianshui, Jiangsu), circa AD 5. Among these are a knife-shaped coin used in Warring States Yan, Qi, and Zhongshan¹⁶⁵ and a jade *cong* (琮, box-like vessel with a circular top on a square body) set in a gold- and silver-inlaid base with four eagle-shaped legs,¹⁶⁶ which may be compared to jade *cong* (no metal fittings) from Early Warring States Chu.¹⁶⁷ A *zun* (for heating alcohol) in the shape of a hornless rhinoceros was also originally inlaid with silver and gold in a pattern of diagonally set hooks and spirals, echoing the décor of a turquoise-inlaid mirror from the Shandong site of Shangwangzhuang (Linzi), dating to the Middle-Late Warring States.¹⁶⁸ The zoomorphic *zun* is

therefore to be interpreted as northern Chinese, of the same period. These three pieces from Sanlidun do not enter directly into the present discussion but add to the context when interpreting this site.

The Sanlidun tomb by location might be supposed to hold more southern than northern pieces, if heirloom acquisition reflected local cultural conditions of the preimperial period. Instead, the tomb's collection reflects both north and south, particularly if the site's bronze sculpture of a reclining deer is a Chu product.¹⁶⁹

Of immediate concern here are two more preimperial pieces from the same tomb: a silver- and gold-inlaid bronze *ding* and a turquoise- and silver-inlaid, silver-plated bronze *hu*. The *ding*, of northern form, has a band of long, squared spirals around the neck and over the sides of the upright, square handles (Figure 4.10).¹⁷⁰ A row of heart-shaped loose spirals terminating in floral shapes covers the belly. The lid carries a pattern of large, loosely entwined serpents punctuated by irregular hooks undoubtedly constituting the four legs of these beasts. In the center of the lid is a circle containing three spirals reaching inward from the circle's edge. Small spirals fill in the open space. Attached to the lid are three reclining deer, executed in the round. The affixing to the lid of animals in the round is widespread in northern Warring States China;¹⁷¹ the intertwined dragons on the lid has close parallels in the Luoyang area, including pieces said to come from the royal Zhou cemetery of Jincun (ca. fourth century BC). Examples of the latter are included in the Alfred F. Pillsbury collection (Minneapolis).

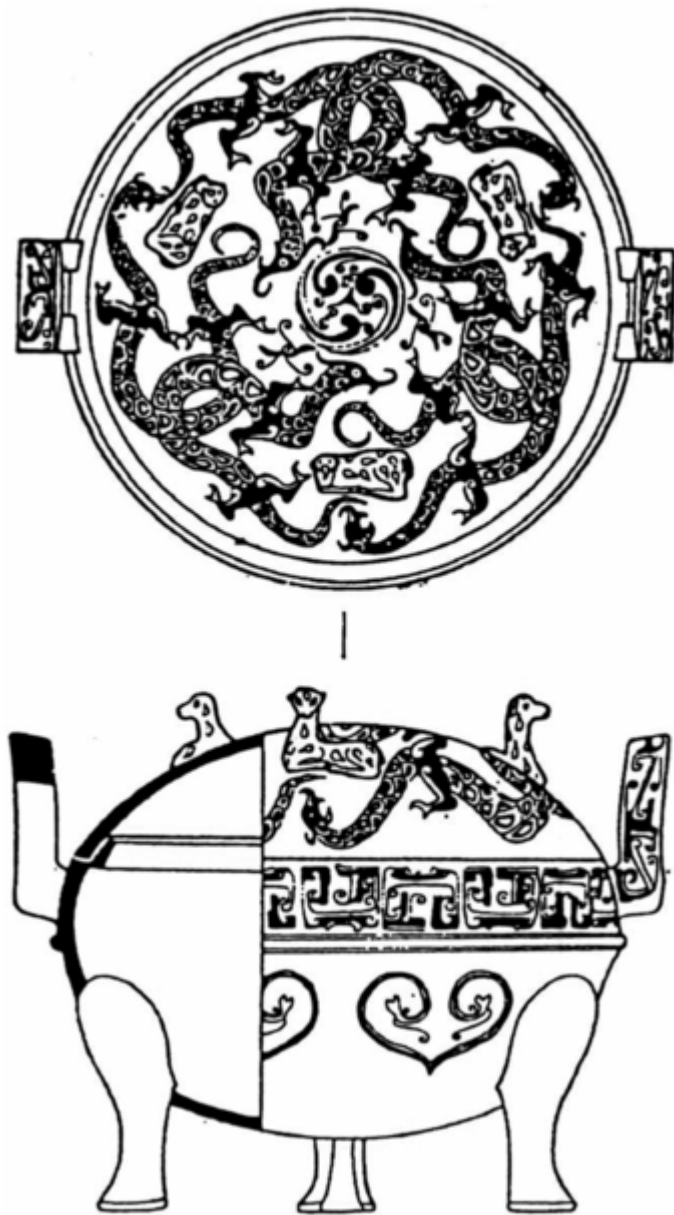


Figure 4.10: Sanlidun (Lianshui, Jiangsu), silver- and gold-inlaid bronze, KG 1973.2, 82, fig. 3:1.

One *ding* from this collection,¹⁷² also inlaid with silver, bears the heart décor on the belly as well as the intertwined dragons on the lid. Both décors are somewhat simplified on the Pillsbury *ding*: the hearts seem to lack the floral terminals, and only half the number of dragons on the Sanlidun *ding* are shown, although the Pillsbury dragons are reinforced by a scalloping hexagonal figure with attendant spirals. The

central circle with three spirals remains. The comparison is nonetheless conclusive. The Pillsbury *ding* carries a neck décor of intersecting diagonal bands embellished by spirals (recalling in diagonal form the squared spiral décor on the upper edge of the Nanyue C53 brazier [Figure 4.7]), which also appears on a squat *hu*, inlaid with gold and silver, again in the Pillsbury collection,¹⁷³ believed to have the same general provenance and date. The neck of this *hu* carries a squared décor like that on the neck of the Sanlidun *ding*. Notably, the Pillsbury *hu* likewise bears a heart décor, inverted, on the lower slope of the belly. Further Jincun comparisons are possible, as in a silver- and gold-inlaid bronze mirror in the Freer collection (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.)¹⁷⁴ with the full Sanlidun complement of dragons, but without the central spirals.¹⁷⁵

Based on these comparisons, the Sanlidun *ding* may be assumed to be of Zhou (Luoyang region) provenance and to date to approximately the Middle Warring States.¹⁷⁶ The Sanlidun *hu*¹⁷⁷ (Figure 4.11) makes use of some archaic features and a mixture of northern and southern Warring States convention. The form seems deliberately to recall Middle Springs–Autumns *fanghu*, such as examples from Shangma (Houma Municipality, Shanxi) and Lijialou (Xinzheng, Henan).¹⁷⁸ The Shangma example, with its belly décor of large interlaced serpents (a direct predecessor to the Jincun intertwined dragons) also bears the mark of Chu influence in the form of the animal heads on its handles, crowned with large, abstract antlers. The Lijialou piece also evidences Chu influence together with the northern.



Figure 4.11: Sanlidun (Lianshui, Jiangsu), silver-plated bronze, turquoise and silver inlay. (Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi [xia]*, 125, Pl. 143.)

The center of the Sanlidun *hu* lid is topped by an eagle-like bird, reminiscent of Zhongshan work,¹⁷⁹ and three smaller birds arranged around the rim. The body of the vessel follows Luoyang-area forms, including Middle Warring States Zhongzhou M1702:5,¹⁸⁰ in earthenware, but adds the ring foot of Chu bronzes such as the Yutaishan M480:2 *hu* mentioned earlier.¹⁸¹ To the shoulders are

attached outward-projecting ring handles topped with stylized animal heads, recalling Chu work of the Middle–Late Springs and Autumns, including Xiasi,¹⁸² not noted in the same form on Warring States pieces. The animal head attached to this ring is not clearly visible in published illustrations of the Sanlidun material. It does not resemble the characteristic Chu antlered head, but may be related to northern abstractions found on small appliqué ornaments in Qin and Zhongshan.¹⁸³

The *hu* is set on the heads of three birds like that in the center of the lid, which are also of the same form as the birds used as a base for the Sanlidun *cong*. The body of the *hu* carries a décor of hooks and curls describing long triangles and diamond-shapes accentuated by turquoise inlay. This patterning matches the Shangwangzhuang (Linzi, Shandong) mirror¹⁸⁴ and is therefore northern. The use of animals as a base for vessels is common in both Chu and the north;¹⁸⁵ the eagle form gives the Sanlidun a northern provenance, despite the archaistic Chu handles on this *hu*. These eagle forms further alter the provenance of the Sanlidun *cong* from south to north.¹⁸⁶ A Middle Warring States date for the *hu* and an Early–Middle Warring States date for the *cong* are probable.

While both Mancheng and the tomb of the King of Nanyue belong to the higher ranks of the upper class and therefore provide an expected context for the late burial of preimperial goods, Sanlidun has little to distinguish it beyond its heirloom bronzes. A cist grave, the Han furnishings are modest ceramics. Must we suppose the burial's four jade and two stone *bi* (broad rings of unascertained significance) to indicate social status in the sense of class? Are these objects to be identified with ritual, or with wealth? In the Han context, does any earlier ritual significance attached to the *bi* still pertain? On the whole, even with the *bi* understood as tokens of wealth, Sanlidun does not communicate status in the manner of Mancheng. We may accept it as a moderately wealthy grave with an uncharacteristic wealth of preimperial artefacts.

Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) Bronzes

Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M1 is another tomb of modest wealth. The tomb – a pit grave with a lacquered coffin and two jade *bi* – yielded more than eighty objects, mostly ceramic ware. Of twenty-four bronzes, three are preimperial and, as at Sanlidun, reflect the northern as well as the preimperial cultural context expected in this region.

Hejiayuan M1:5

Hejiayuan M1:5 is a bronze *hu* of northern form (Figure 4.12)¹⁸⁷ used in the states of Zhongshan and Qin from the Middle Warring States through the Qin dynasty.¹⁸⁸ The décor consists of zigzags alternating with registers of broader zigzags and T-shapes whose crossbar terminates in slight curls; both of the latter forms are filled with dots. The vessel's neck and foot are undecorated except for a couple zigzags near the mouth. This pattern, in a more complex version, is found in Middle Warring States Yan, as on the steamer portion of a bronze double boiler with a *ding* base, Baijia M57:1 (Handan, Hebei; Figure 4.13).¹⁸⁹ Here, the T-forms are interlocking, squared spirals rather than discrete Ts, and a smaller décor of squared spirals reinforces them, rather than the Hejiayuan dots. A simpler T pattern, filled with squared spirals, is found on a vessel for cooling alcohol (*zunfou* [尊缶]) C139 from the tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng (Leigudun [Suizhou Municipality, Hubei]; died 433 BC.).¹⁹⁰ This Zeng version is nonetheless more complex than Hejiayuan M1:5 in that the T-shapes join other Ts placed perpendicularly to them to form a larger pattern than the single row of Ts on Hejiayuan M1:5. The coincidence of date between the Yan and Zeng examples reinforces, however, a Middle Warring States date for Hejiayuan M1:5 and gives evidence for the coexistence of closely related décors of varying intricacy.



Figure 4.12: Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M1:5, bronze, KGXB 1983.3, 287, fig. 4:2.

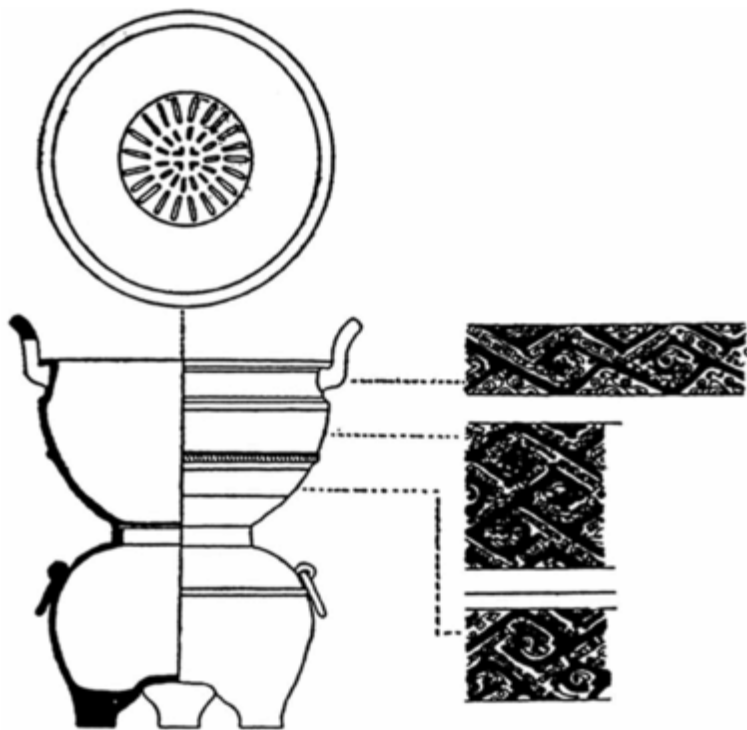


Figure 4.13: Baijia (Handan, Hebei) M57:1, Middle Warring States, bronze, KG 1962.12, 623, fig. 13.

The coincidence of decorative patterns between Chu-dominated and northern Chinese cultural contexts raises the issue of the extent to which these two spheres were indeed discrete.¹⁹¹ In the case of Hejiayuan M1:5, because both the décor and the form are found in northern China, a northern provenance must be accepted.

Hejiayuan M1:4

Another bronze *hu*, Hejiayuan M1:4 (Figure 4.14),¹⁹² follows a less common but still northern form.¹⁹³ Like Hejiayuan M1:5, the form of M1:4 is attested during dynastic Qin, also at Miyang (Henan).¹⁹⁴ A further example may be found in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM; Toronto). Because its décor is datable, an upper horizon of the Middle Warring States is proposed for the form.¹⁹⁵ Unlike the undecorated Miyang example, the ROM piece carries two patterns. One consists of regularly placed dotted bands describing right angles, terminating at one end in a curl. The overall pattern achieves a rough square of curls, and serves to fill the elongated triangles, which rise over the vessel's neck. The belly and foot, in contrast, are divided into horizontal registers filled with repeating vertical rectangles of broad curves surrounding a central squared

spiral of irregular shape. The patterning on the vessel foot is less curved and closer in effect to the neck décor, while still eschewing right angles.

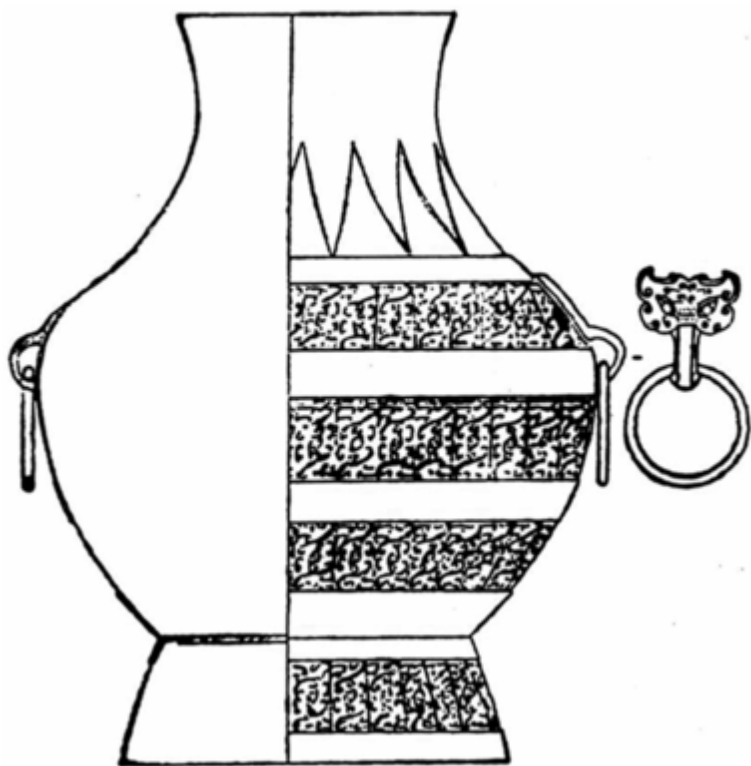


Figure 4.14: Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M1:4, bronze, KGXB 1983.3, 387, fig. 4:1.

Of these patterns, the neck décor is identifiable from Late Springs and Autumns Jin, as on the top of the *bo* (鑄) bell Shangma (Houma Municipality, Shanxi) M1004:1.¹⁹⁶ This décor continues in essentially the same pattern in Early and Middle Warring States Chu, as witnessed by a number of mirrors associated with Chu, but found throughout China.¹⁹⁷ At the same time, patterns related to that of the ROM *hu* belly are found on Early Warring States northern vessels like CIM3750:8 from Zhongzhouzhonglu (*sic*, Zhongzhoulu presumed; Luoyang Municipality, Henan), in the state of Zhou.¹⁹⁸ The Zhou instance of the décor clearly derives from contemporaneous S-form zoomorphs, common in northern décors and attested at the same site on the *dui* CIM3750:10.¹⁹⁹ In abstract form, Zhongzhou[zhong]lu CIM3750:8 uses linked C-forms (thereby creating S-shapes) terminating in hooks reminiscent of eared-bird heads. This patterning, if placed vertically, may be interpreted as prefiguring the seemingly random curves of the ROM *hu*. While the comparison is less than

satisfactory, it allows the ROM piece to be understood at least provisionally as Middle Warring States northern Chinese work. This extends the same date and provenance to Hejiayuan M1:4, whose belly and foot carry the same décor as the ROM *hu* belly. The Hejiayuan neck bears only a large zigzag motif rising from the shoulder.

Hejiayuan M1:3

Hejiayuan M1:3 is a broad-shouldered *fanghu* (squared *hu*), also with a large zigzag rising over the neck from the shoulder (Figure 4.15).²⁰⁰ The body and foot carry horizontal registers of interlocking squares overlaid with small, raised dots. This décor corresponds generally to that of Late Springs and Autumns work, including a *zun* from Diancheng (Wujin, Jiangsu)²⁰¹ and a *jian* from Niuxingshan (Xiangxiang, Hunan),²⁰² the latter also found on Shanbiaozhen (Jixian, Henan) M1:43, a site otherwise northern Chinese.²⁰³ The vessel form, however, is associated more with the north.

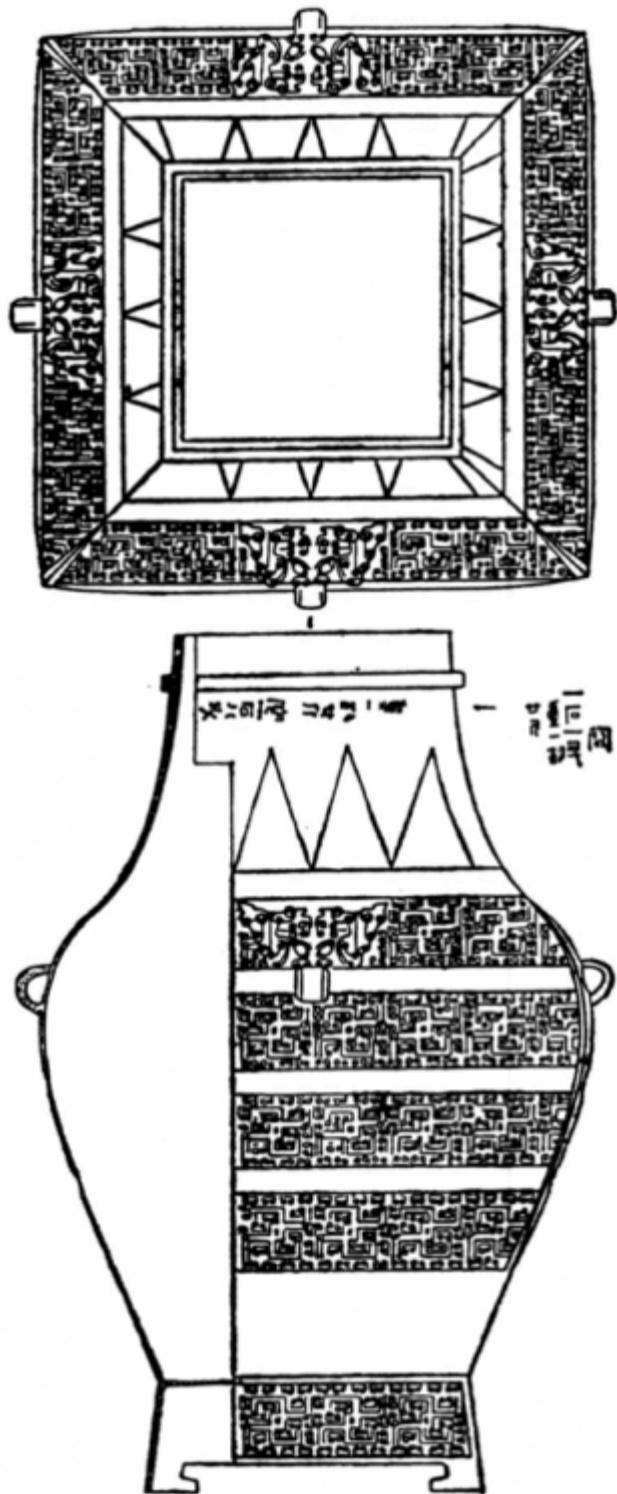


Figure 4.15: Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M1:3, bronze, KGXB 1983.3, 385, fig. 2:2.

The earliest documented *fanghu* seem to be of Late Western Zhou/Early Springs and Autumns date, as witnessed by the Shangcunling (Sanmenxia Municipality, Henan) cemetery.²⁰⁴ In turn, this form appears in profile and in décor to constitute the squaring of Middle Western Zhou *hu*, such as an example from Zhuangbai (Fufeng, Shaanxi).²⁰⁵ Of the Shangcunling *fanghu*, all essentially of the same form with a low-set belly narrowing slowly near the handles and from there slowly flaring to the lid, M1706:108 is close in shape to the *fanghu* common in northern China from the Middle Springs–Autumns (e.g., Lijialou [Xinzheng, Henan])²⁰⁶ through the late fourth century BC (Late Middle Warring States). The latter period is attested most particularly in the region of Chu, as at Changtaiguan (Xinyang Municipality, Henan) M1 and M2, dating to the late-fourth century BC.²⁰⁷ The Chu examples tend to have an extended neck: the vessel shoulders narrow to what would appear to be the mouth, but within this is set a long, flaring neck.

Seemingly more common in northern states from the Early Warring States on was a version of the *fanghu* different from this early type known in the north and perpetuated in Chu.²⁰⁸ This is: a vessel with a moderately long neck, relatively broad shoulders, and often a rather high foot. The height of the shoulders raises the visual center of balance, as do the long, gradual curves of the sides. This second type is also known in Chu, but appears more rarely.²⁰⁹ One of these northern-form *fanghu*, a piece in the Ashmolean Museum (Oxford University) published by William Watson²¹⁰ as Early-Middle Warring States, poses the same problem as the Hejiayuan example.

The décor of the Oxford *fanghu*, the curl and dot pattern used both in Late Springs–Autumns Jin and Early–Middle Warring States Chu, confirms Watson's dating, but being more widespread in Chu by the Early–Middle Warring States is in conflict with the preponderantly northern form of the vessel. In the case of the Oxford *fanghu*, because the décor is not limited to Chu, a northern attribution for the vessel seems most likely. The décor on Hejiayuan M1:3, however, appears exclusively (in the present archaeological record) southern. The occurrence of this type of *fanghu* in the south, albeit rarely, makes a Chu attribution for Hejiayuan M1:3 feasible. That same décor, however, imposes a date of Late Springs–Autumns for the piece, making it the precursor of the common Warring States northern form.

In all, few datable Han tombs have yielded preimperial bronzes. Of the sixteen tombs and burial goods pits noted here (Table 4.7), six are located in the north, accepting Jiangsu and Anhui as part of the preimperial south. In Mancheng M1, Gaozhuang (Dilu, Hebei), the burial goods pit annex to the tomb of a King of Qi (Wotuo [Zibo

Municipality, Shandong]],²¹¹ and Xunyang, preimperial bronzes are all characterized by their correspondence to the geographic region of burial: northern pre-Han products in northern Han tombs. For the geographically southern tombs, only five yielded predominantly Chu vessels (including here the lacquered earthenware *ding* Huoshan [Anhui] M1:8). Four other geographically southern burials contained mostly or entirely northern-produced heirlooms. These comparisons indicate no a priori relationship between geographic location during the Han and the type of product of pre-Han origin buried. Mancheng M1 and M2, in whose Han-manufactured imitations of preimperial bronzes neither northern nor southern pieces are dominant, yielded only one northern preimperial vessel (M1) and two Chu vessels (M2), giving the misleading impression of northern dominance in M1 and Chu in M2.

Apart from the royal status of the occupants of Mancheng M1-2, the burial pits of the King of Qi, and the tomb of the King of Nanyue (self-proclaimedly imperial), the remaining thirteen tombs in which these early vessels are documented are otherwise unremarkable. Indeed, the total inventory of Huainan (Anhui) was only eight pieces. Despite the previous robbing of some of these burials, there remains no indication that the deceased occupied in life a position of high ritual (i.e., royal) or official rank. Some wealth is presumed in the case of larger burials, but what wealth do these early bronzes themselves imply?

The questions of how these early pieces were acquired, what significance they held during the Han, whether they were items of prestige, personal taste, or family heirlooms, are all unanswerable. Their presence, however, assured the continuation in some form of the Bronze Age aesthetic. They provide direct evidence, already deduced, that preimperial work was readily available throughout the Han. In this context, the little influence such material had on Han décor and most Han forms is all the more surprising. More Chu vessels than northern are attested (23:14), yet in general, Chu influence may not be said to be more visible in Han vessel forms and décor than that of the north. In the area of bronze and ceramic ware, the Han may therefore be interpreted as a period of new developments, when the past was visually present but rarely imitated.

Imitation of Preimperial Bronzes

Mancheng M1:5019

At times, a vessel's décor as a whole seems to have been copied from a single pre-Han vessel with minor variations, as in Mancheng M1:5019.

Mancheng M1:5019, classified here as *hu* 9 (ca. 168 BC) because of its form, is a gilded bronze vessel with a décor divided into three horizontal registers. Each register is marked by rhombic insets of green glass itself patterned with diagonal rows of circles set within squares; the gilded bronze bands surrounding the glass are broken by silver semi-spheres inlaid near each corner of the glass. The vessel's shoulders carry two gilded *taotie* appliqués from which a large ring is suspended. The lid, surmounted by three lugs of the treble clef-like form common to Western Han vessels, is also gilded and set with glass triangles and rhombi as well as silver semi-spheres. The Middle or Late Warring States site of Jincun (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) provides the prototype (Figure 4.16).²¹² Unlike Mancheng M1:5019, the horizontal registers on the Jincun *hu* are demarcated not by plain but by figured gilded bands; the diagonal bands framing the glass insets are silvered and figured, while the semi-spheres are gilded. Décor extends over the entire foot, rather than being limited to the body, as on the Mancheng example. The lugs on the lid are of a familiar Warring States variety: an open circle as the base, terminating not in an open kidney form above, but in a closed comma-like tail. The shape of the Jincun piece identifies it as northern Chinese; the form of Mancheng M1:5019 compares well only to Han *hu* 9. Mancheng M1:5019 must therefore be a Han imitation of Jincun or similar work. To date, I have found no other vessel corresponding to this.



Figure 4.16: Jincun (Luoyang, Henan), Middle/Late Warring States (ca. 4 c. BC), gilded bronze, silver, glass. (*Zhongguo meishu, Qingtongqi (xia)*, 103, Pl. 119.)

Mancheng M1:5014

In other cases, however, a single prototype cannot be identified and the décors imitated are not readily attributed to a single region. The problem then involves not only the identification of a prototype for the Han application of the décor, but reconstruction of its pre-Han manifestations. For example, Mancheng M1:5014, also of bronze, is Han in form, belonging to *hu* 8, circa 168 BC. It bears an abstract décor divided into five horizontal registers of varying width. From the mouth downward, these include two narrow registers, each patterned with broad intersecting bands terminating in simple spirals. Small spirals and rounded hooks appear along the edges of the register as

well as within the intersecting bands. This décor is repeated in register 5, covering the low foot. Register 3, covering most of the vessel's neck, is marked by a continuous zigzag, running from top to bottom of the register. Each triangle thus formed is filled with a flower-like design, the blossom at the base of the triangle. Small circles are placed regularly in pairs to frame the blossom and stem. The fourth register covers the vessel's belly with a pattern of loose, interlocking, scalloped spirals which sometimes assume dragon-like form. The overall design is reinforced by irregular, scalloped shapes. Registers 1, 2, and 5 are silver-plated; register 4, the belly, is gilded; and register 3, the neck, is both gold and silver plated. The lid, with three treble-clef lugs (the upper portion solid rather than openwork) makes use of décor similar to that of the belly: three scalloped and intersecting bands radiate from a central point. Portions of some scallops assume the form of bird heads. The entire lid is gilded.

Jessica Rawson has written that this piece is likely to be an imitation of Warring States work from Chu.²¹³ No exact prototype has been found, to my knowledge. The broad, scalloped spirals of Mancheng M1:5014 are indeed similar to Chu décor, such as the openwork attachment loop of the *bianzhong* (綸鐘, a bell form with attachment loop) bells from the 491 BC tomb of the Marquis Zhao of Cai (Shouxian, Anhui; Figure 4.17).²¹⁴ These attachment loops reprise the mass of wide, interconnecting lines punctuated with broad comma shapes and large dots found on the lower portion of the bell wall, but opening the dense pattern both literally (openwork) and figuratively (in a less compact depiction). The loop generally describes a semi-ovoid form rather than the rectangular shape made by the décor on the lower body of the bell. It is therefore freer and more curving, but does not approach the spiraling of the Mancheng M1:5014 décor despite the familial relationship evident between the Zhao of Cai commas and the Mancheng scallops. With some variation, this comma and dot pattern is characteristic of both Chu and the northern Chinese states of the same period, as at the state of Jin site of Fenshuiling (Changshi Municipality, Shanxi) M25:26 (*hu*) and M25:38 (*jian*),²¹⁵ and in Chu-dominated areas, at Xiasi (Xichuan, Henan) M2:56 (*ding*)²¹⁶ and in the Leigudun (Suizhou Municipality, Hubei) tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng C-139 (*jianfou*).²¹⁷ These examples do not, however, provide prototypes for the Mancheng spirals.

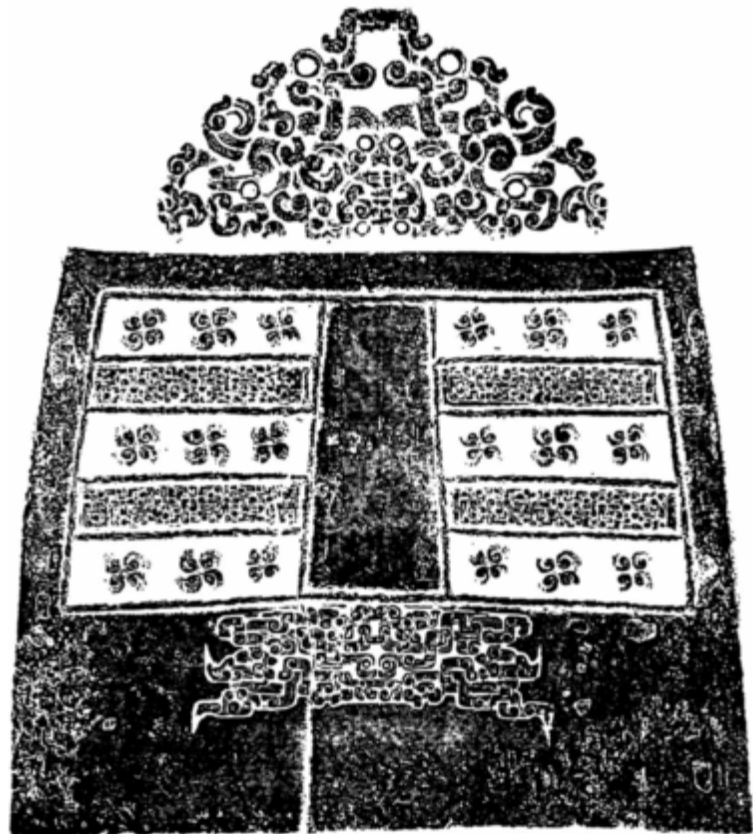


Figure 4.17: Tomb of the Marquis of Cai (Shouxian, Anhui), d. 491 BC, bronze *bo* bell. (Anhuisheng, *Shouxian Caihou mu chutu yiwu*, Pl. 44.)

Although the 491 BC *bianzhong* does not sufficiently match Mancheng M1:5014, later material from Cai offers other comparisons with a more zoomorphized décor. The silver-plated bronze of a recumbent bovine form from Shouxian (Anhui), dating to the Middle–Late Warring States,²¹⁸ provides a close parallel to the Mancheng M1:5014 belly décor. Does, however, the use of such pattern in Cai necessarily reflect the influence of Chu, as Rawson's view implies?

We know Cai to have been connected both culturally and politically to Chu and also to Jin.²¹⁹ Zoomorphism does occur in Chu décor, as witnessed by the Xiasi (Xichuan, Henan) M3:12 *ding*²²⁰ as well as material from the tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng (Leigudun [Suizhou Municipality, Hubei]).²²¹ However, these examples more closely recall Jin usage than the usually less recognizably zoomorphic patterns common in Xiasi décors, for instance.²²² Strict geographic definitions of zoomorphic dot and comma or related décors are, by this sampling,

made inadequate. Although found in both north and south, Jin nonetheless remains the most common source of such *décors*. Notably, George W. Weber, Jr.,²²³ considers the Zhao of Cai material to be related at least in part to Jin stylistic tendencies, not to those of Chu, as cited in the excavation report.²²⁴

The Shouxian bronze bovine is associated with Chu because its inscription refers to the treasury as the office *dafu* (大夫), a term used specifically in Chu, and because by the Middle Warring States, Chu had expanded into Anhui. This sculpture nonetheless appears to have no precedent in Chu metalwork. The bovine's body is covered with scalloped curves marked by strong diagonal lines and bird-head-like scrolling, as on Mancheng M1:5014.²²⁵ Chu may therefore be the immediate source of this pattern, which became widespread under dynastic Qin, continuing during the Han. The pattern, however, is not exclusive to Chu and may not have originated in Chu.

By the Middle Warring States, intersecting diagonal lines terminating in scrolls, like those of Mancheng M1:5014, registers 1, 3, and 5, were used in both northern and southern states in metalwork and lacquer. Multiple examples may be cited, including Middle Warring States Chu bronze work such as Wangshan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M2:T82,²²⁶ an axle cap making use of related *décor*, and in more intricate form on a lacquer-inlaid bronze *zun* (for heating alcohol) M2:T111 from the same site.²²⁷ Versions of the *décor* also occur on the rim of the circa 316 BC Chu site of Baoshan (Jingmen Municipality, Hubei) M2:432-9 turquoise-inlaid mirror²²⁸ and on the M2:167 *zun*,²²⁹ the exterior of which is gold and silver plated (the interior is covered with red-brown lacquer).²³⁰ *Décors* related to both this and the large spirals of Mancheng M1:5014 register 4 were used in gilded bronze work from Middle-Late Warring States northern China²³¹ through dynastic Qin²³² and into the Han.²³³

Applications of the *décor* to lacquer may be assumed to derive from its use on bronze. Lacquer examples include the lower register of a *lian* toiletries box from Baoshan M2:432.²³⁴ Northern examples include a fragment from Fenshuiling (Changzhi, Shanxi) M20 (Jin), dating to the Late Warring States.²³⁵ The most common examples from this date and from dynastic Qin are found at Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei).²³⁶ The location of this site within Chu would appear to confirm a Chu origin for the *décor*. However, the location of this site raises questions about the origins of its material: post-Qin conquest in date, does it constitute the continuation of the region's Chu heritage? Few examples of northern lacquer have been preserved, potentially distorting the significance of the large number of Chu examples known from Shuihudi. It appears that the *décor* was

originally applied to bronze, but remained much longer in use in lacquer. While the *décor* in bronze seems more fully in context in northern China, a conclusive attribution may be made to neither north nor south.

Qin- and Han-era Shuihudi may, however, provide the most immediate prototype in lacquer. Mancheng M1:5014 clearly drew on multiple sources, as no single prototype, particularly in *hu* form, may now be postulated. To the extent that for most Chu lacquer patterns bronze precedent may be found, we cannot assume a lacquer original for Mancheng M1:5014 registers 1, 2, and 5.

Mancheng M1:5015, 5018

Mancheng M1:5015, 5018,²³⁷ bronze *hu* inlaid and plated with gold and silver, are often termed “bird-script” *hu* because of their *décor*. Closely related but not identical on each *hu*, the *décor* consists of thin scalloped tendrils forming alternating bands of abstract *décor* marked by elongated animals and humanoid creatures together with elaborate script. Despite its name, this script does not match Warring States Chu bird script, typified by characters drawn as pictographs to the extent that they are composed of one or more birds. The resulting script recalls early Chinese graphics only in its general outline.²³⁸ The Mancheng version contains neither birds nor bird heads, only the vine-like motif described above as used on mirrors preponderantly of Chu distribution, but known in Qin as well, and common during the Han. “Bird-script” is therefore a misnomer.

Likewise, there is no reason to ascribe a lacquer prototype to the scalloped spiral-or-vine motif.²³⁹ The abstract *décor* combining this same pattern with animals and human-like figures does have lacquer precedent, but is widespread throughout the Han in metalwork as well. The narrow, abstract bands of *décor* on Mancheng M1:5018 preserve the curves associated with the scalloped “vine” *décor*; on Mancheng M1:5015, the vines are depicted as intersecting diagonals, a running series of open rectangles, and the original interlocking, loose spiral. The squared tendrils recall, but not immediately, Middle–Late Warring States bronze work such as a silver- and copper-inlaid bronze *dui* in the Shanghai Museum²⁴⁰ and, more distantly, a *dou* (footed cup) of the same period, originally inlaid, from Xin'ao (Xiangxiang, Henan).²⁴¹

The highly elongated animals portrayed have a Late Springs and Autumns foreign origin, adapted in China from unknown prototypes and used in both northern and southern China as decorative elements maintaining the scenes of animal predation, which undoubtedly

comprised the foreign original, or integrated into geometric settings. In the north, these animals tend to be portrayed with long, thin, nearly serpentine bodies; often, the animal assumes a crouching-play position, hindquarters higher than forequarters, the lower portion of the forelegs entirely or nearly entirely on the “ground.” Often the animal’s head is turned to face the rear.²⁴² Animals of this kind appear in Chu as well, often inlaid with copper, but also in the round, as in the tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng (Leigudun [Suizhou Municipality, Hubei]).²⁴³

Some northern geometric patterns (bands of repeated concentric triangles and continuous, horizontal S-curves)²⁴⁴ also appear in Chu territory,²⁴⁵ without the animals associated with these patterns in northern China. Chu developed its own animal imagery, most distinctively centered around the same triad of animals introduced to China through the foreign predation imagery. In Chu, the emphasis is changed from the act of predation (the kill) or the pursuit of the prey to become the triumph of the prey over the predator (rebirth). For this reason, I believe, in Chu the bird surmounts the tiger and the deer is more commonly depicted than the feline. These animals tend to be portrayed realistically; birds may have the same crest that appears in northern work.

In addition, Chu developed an antlered feline, an image consistent with and often part of the predation imagery of the steppe.²⁴⁶ The Chu version, however, is characterized by the type of antlers affixed to the serpentine tiger: these follow abstract bronze décor in a series of interlocking squares, jutting out at harsh angles, or serpent-like as on the *zun* C-38 from the tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng (Leigudun [Suizhou Municipality, Hubei]).²⁴⁷ In the round, this representation is found on *fanghu* from Xiasi (Xichuan, Henan) M1:50²⁴⁸ but also on some northern Chinese examples of the same type of *fanghu*, as the example from Lijialou (Xinzheng, Henan), which also evidences Jin decorative usage.²⁴⁹ Accordingly, the Mancheng animals have wide precedent throughout Late Springs and Autumns and Warring States China, but do not correspond to any specifically southern image.

While this precedent is the source of the Han imagery, the Mancheng animals indeed match none of their preimperial antecedents. They do match examples from the lacquered outer (third) coffin of Mawangdui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1, where they are combined with the “vine” motif (there interpreted as “clouds”).²⁵⁰ Given the intricate, coherent image of the Mawangdui M1 coffin décor, an earlier Han version may be supposed.²⁵¹ At present, therefore, the Mawangdui M1 example, echoed in the Mawangdui M3 toilettries box with sgraffito décor on black lacquer, remains the

earliest complete representation of the vine-plus-animal and humanoid décor published in the Han archaeological record. The Mawangdui animals more closely recall northern Warring States Chinese versions than those of Chu.²⁵² Because no Warring States vessel with this specific décor is currently attested, neither Mancheng M1:5015 nor M1:5018 may be considered imitations of preimperial work. By form, they belong to *hu* 15, circa 136 BC.

Mancheng M1:4282 (series)

Mancheng M1:4284 is third in a series of five single-handled ovoid cups of graduated size (Figure 4.18).²⁵³ Of the remainder, only M1:4286 is shown in drawing. The distinction is important because of the variation in décor. According to the excavation report text, the M1:4284 décor matches that of M1:4282 and 4283, while M1:4285 and 4286 are identical. Of gilded bronze, the décor of the entire set may be generally described as comprised of intersecting diagonal lines over a ground of repeated small, concentric triangles. On M1:4286, the intersecting lines are distinct from the background, superimposed over it. These lines are plain and straight, marked by large, plain squares at alternate points of intersection. Around the remaining intersections, a phoenix circles over the right-hand diagonal (right to left), under the left-hand, over the continuation of the right below the point of intersection, and under the continuation of the left. The background is laid out in an upright square grid combining the concentric circle motif with square spirals set in a contiguous but not continuous interlocking series, and circular spirals. The vessel's handle is circular, formed by an eagle-like head with highly elongated neck, a wing, and tail feathers. On M1:4284, in contrast, the background and intersecting diagonal lines intermesh without rigidly square forms. The diagonals consist of bands of concentric triangles interlaced with bands of scale motif and dot patterns. The M1:4286 pattern is found also on a lidded cylindrical “box” of gilded bronze, M1:4273;²⁵⁴ M1:4284 appears to be echoed on a gilded bronze fitting M1:4295,²⁵⁵ as well as on a brazier G40 from the tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]; Figure 4.8).²⁵⁶

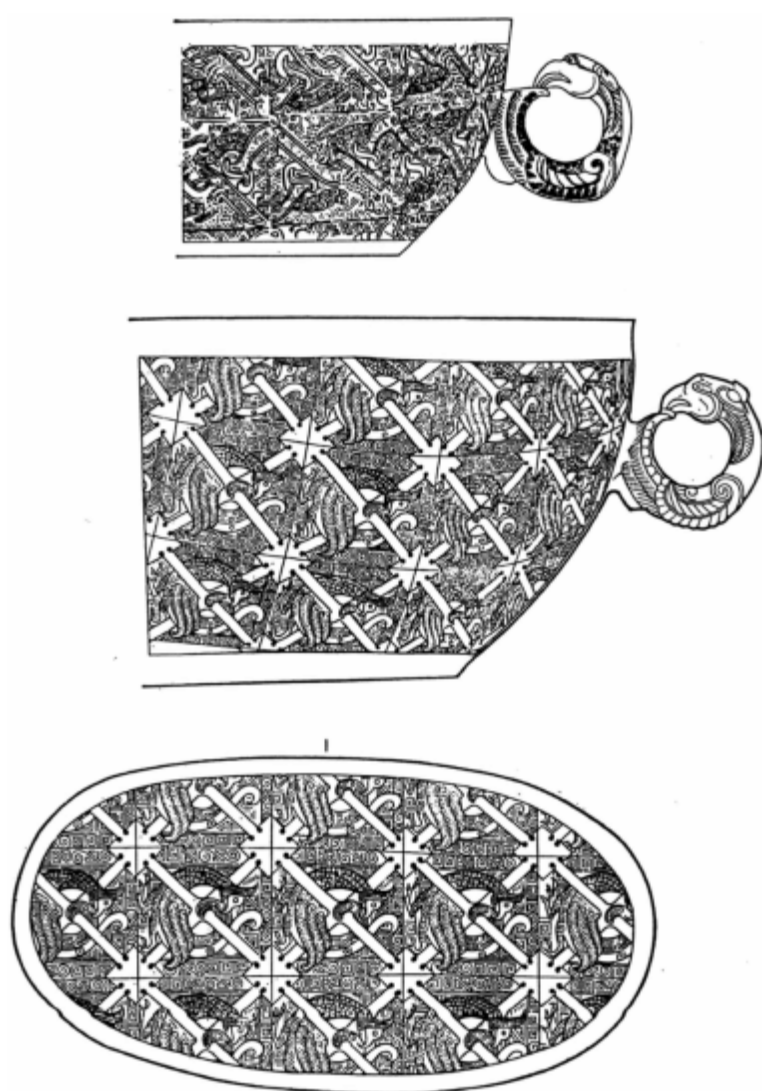


Figure 4.18: Mancheng (Hebei) M1:4284, 4286, gilded bronze.
(*Mancheng*, vol. 1, 61, fig. 41:1, 42:2–3.)

The M1:4284 décor is closely related to that of a circa fourth century BC bronze *bianzhong* bell from Zangjiazhuang (Zhucheng, Shandong) M5 ([Figure 4.19](#)), also comparing to the more simple, abstract décor of an incense burner from the same site.²⁵⁷ Based on this comparison, Mancheng M1:4284 may indeed constitute genuinely Middle Warring States work.²⁵⁸ Further viewed in comparison to the brazier G40 from the tomb of the King of Nanyue, the Mancheng M1:4284 cup and any identical pieces may be accepted as genuinely old (Middle Warring States). Mancheng M1:4286 and its like then may be seen as Early or Middle Western Han products based on this earlier

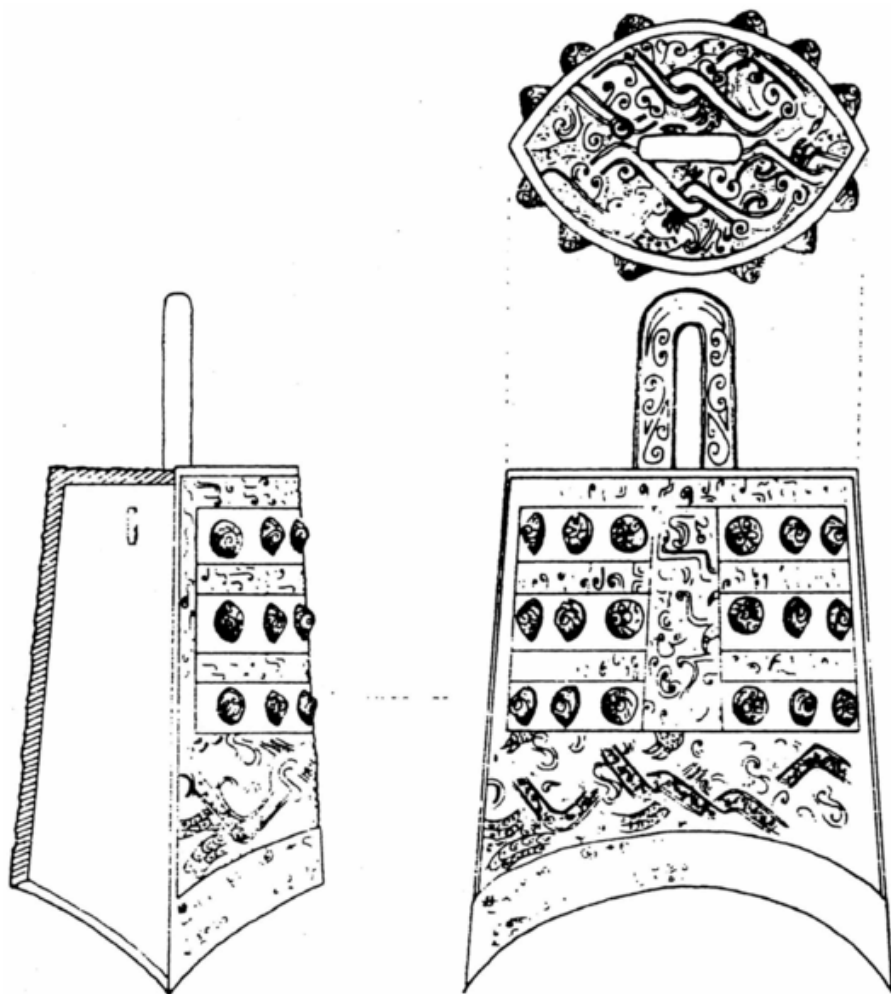


Figure 4.19: Zangjiazhuang (Zhucheng, Shandong) M5, ca. 4 c. BC, bronze *bianzhong* bell. (Shandong Zhuchengxian, “Shandong Zhucheng Zangjiazhuang,” WW 1987.12, 47, fig. 1.)

Nanyue G40

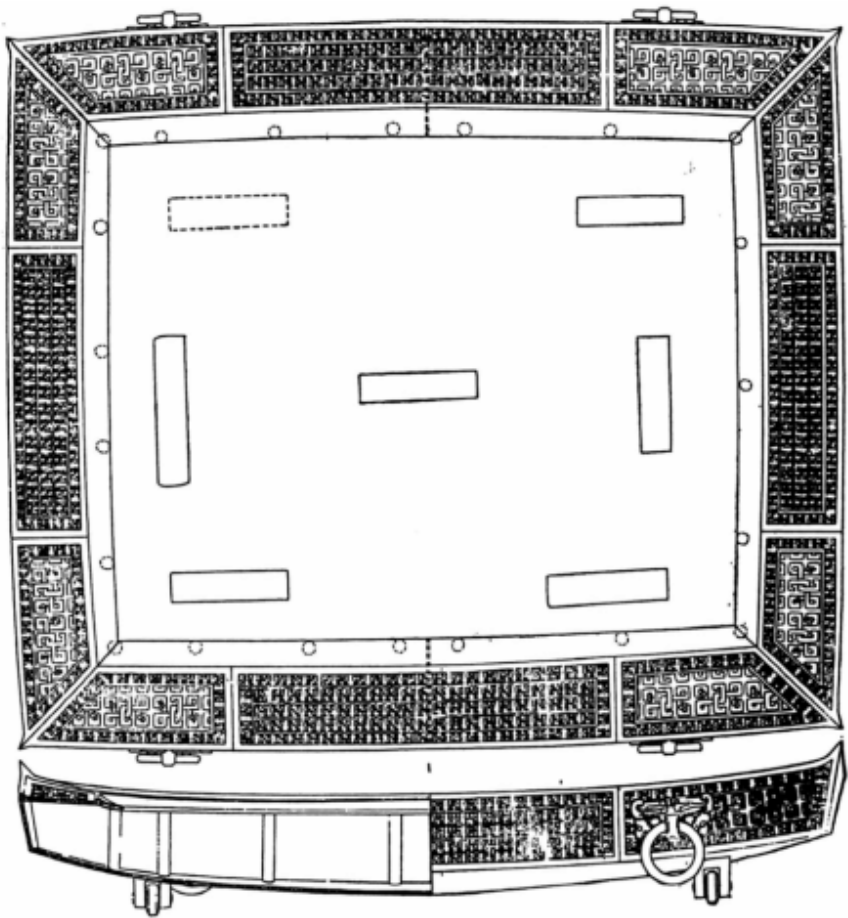
On the Nanyue G40 brazier (Figure 4.8), décor (minus the concentric triangle ground) similar to Mancheng M1:4284 appears on the outer wall of the brazier. These walls are capped by bands of squared interlocking motifs reminiscent of stylized animal heads on elongated necks. This interlocking pattern is attested on Early Warring States Chu bronzes such as the carriage fittings from Gaozhuang (Huaiyin Municipality, Jiangsu) M1,²⁶⁰ where the interlock bands are dotted

rather than filled with triangulated spirals as on Nanyue G40. The latter are more reminiscent of Early Warring States Jin décor: of this same type, but with distinct animal heads terminating each interlock, and squared or triangulated spirals filling the interlock band.²⁶¹ The two décors of the G40 brazier may therefore be taken as contemporaneous, even though the fittings extending over the side of the brazier at each corner (like reinforcement clips) match Han décors of feline heads elongated and viewed from above (as Mancheng M1:2035, 2028, 2226, etc.).²⁶² The G40 brazier could have been reassembled from circa fifth century BC and Western Han pieces. There seems no reason to doubt the authenticity of the decorated pieces making up the body.

A Chu *nao* bell, Baoshan M2:356, dating to the late fourth century BC (ca. 316 BC) may provide an indication of the source of this decorative pattern.²⁶³ The bottom of this piece carries a décor of clawed legs with scale patterns and curved bands filled with concentric triangles and irregularly scalloped semi-ovals, giving the impression of a dismembered, tangled bird or dragon. A circa fifth century BC ceramic mold for bronze casting from the state of Jin site of Houma (Shanxi) depicts a twisted dragon-like creature with small wings accentuating its elbows while large wings descend from near its head; large claws and both the scale and dot patterns are visible.²⁶⁴ These examples imply a northern Chinese origin for the décor, which came to be depicted in abstract form both in the north and in Chu. Therefore, Nanyue G40 demonstrates northern and southern influence.

Nanyue G41

In contrast, the brazier Nanyue G41, while recalling preimperial work, must be an Early–Middle Western Han product in the Warring States style (Figure 4.20A).²⁶⁵ The outer walls of this brazier bear two patterns: the first, repeated felines executed in the Late Springs–Autumns and Warring States manner with elongated bodies and heads turned to face the rear; the second, an abstract interlocking of vertical S-forms consisting of broad bands of dots. The latter recalls the broad bands of interlace widely used on Middle and Late Springs and Autumns work of both north and south²⁶⁶ combined with the Chu and southeastern use of small dots to fill a decorative pattern.²⁶⁷ The Chu dots, however, are in sharp relief, while the Nanyue G41 echo is quite flat. Flat dots are used to fill pattern bands in the north, as in the Jin site of Shangma (Houma Municipality, Shanxi) M1004:1.²⁶⁸



A



B

Figure 4.20: A) Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) G41, bronze brazier; B) Baijia (Handan, Hebei) M57:43, Middle Warring States, bronze *pan* basin. (*Nanyue*, vol. 1, 283, fig. 196 [A]; Baijia (Handan, Hebei), KG 1962.12, 622, fig. 12 [B].)

Despite the consistency in the date of the motifs used, I have found no early example of the animal with turned head used as a compact,

overall pattern, as it is on G41. The closest comparison is with the Middle Warring States Yan bronze serving platter *pan* M57:43 from Baijia (Handan, Hebei; [Figure 4.20B](#))²⁶⁹ and the bronze *ding* M57:2 of the same site,²⁷⁰ both of which bear a décor of densely placed animal forms with S-shaped or loosely spiraled serpentine bodies and feline-like heads. Because, to my knowledge, no genuine Eastern Zhou prototype exists for the specific décor used on Nanyue G41, this brazier must be considered an Early–Middle Western Han product making use of earlier convention.

Altogether, then, only two Mancheng *hu*, M1:5019, M1:5014, the Mancheng M1:4286 cup and its series, and the Nanyue G41 brazier appear to have been made by Han artisans in imitation of preimperial work. Of these few cases, none is preponderantly southern in décor. We may thus conclude that while Han décors may draw on preimperial usage, imitation as such was extremely rare and, in vessels at least, no one region of Warring States China was favored. As limited as it was, the imitation of earlier work implies that preimperial bronzes remained in circulation during the Han, providing models for this imitation. The Han burial of such early work is much more widespread than Han imitation of such work, and occurs over a wide range of social rankings. The limited direct influence of these heirlooms does much to underscore Han departure from Bronze Age convention and hence from Bronze Age cultural values as well.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

Over the last five decades, an enormous amount of archaeological material dating to the Han dynasty has been unearthed throughout China and neighboring territories associated – through trade or colonial rule – with the Han. By its sheer volume and variety, this data has allowed glimpses into Han culture that could not be imagined from the perspective of the dynastic histories or other received texts, whose concerns generally center on important personages and models of social behavior. At the same time, the volume of archaeological data has itself made interpretation difficult. We have tended to look either regionally, such as at the cliff tombs of Sichuan or the stone carvings of Jiexiang (Shandong), or by social class, such as in the structure or contents of princely tombs. When I began my research, the conflicting conclusions I found in archaeological reports, particularly regarding the dating of Han artefacts, led me to identify the need for a single chronological framework that could explain available data regardless of geographic or social origin. Such a framework needed to be as objective as possible, eliminating or allowing explanation of conflicting data, and to allow incorporation of additional data as it became available. Clearly, creation of this framework had to depend on the basic archaeological theorem that, in the absence of indications to the contrary, identical objects may be assumed contemporaneous. Once dated, these may in turn provide cross-dating to artefacts associated with them. The problem, however, lies in the identification of appropriate objects and, for Han China, the viability of the associated positive dates: What is the positive date and what does it imply? And what, in the premodern, preindustrial age, may be considered “identical”? Each of these questions is complex and can only be answered subjectively. In order to clarify the impact each assumption has on the resulting framework – and hence, on analysis – I have tried to provide as much transparency of data and interpretation as possible.

Through trial and error, I found that only vessels of *hu*, *guan*, and *ding* types offered the consistency and clarity required. Thus, the chronological framework came to be constructed of a selection of these. In addition to enabling further analysis, the framework itself yields substantial information. Through the details of vessel type, distribution, development, and equally narrow questions immediately

tied to the pieces dated within the framework, three areas are of particular concern to me here: the interaction of different regions within Han China, the influence of the preimperial past on the material culture of the Han, and Han interaction with the foreign. Examination of these larger questions reveals a fluid, continuous dialogue within Han culture, the resolution of which yields something at once related to the Chinese past and, significantly, new and creative. Han archaeological material, perhaps because of the uniformity that can be seen within many areas of data, is generally interpreted as emerging from the political reorganization of the late Bronze Age in largely linear fashion: bronze vessels establish the principle vessel forms and applied decorative patterns; tomb structure follows from the compartmented box with increasing incorporation of architectonic features to the embodiment of domestic architecture for the dead; and tomb décor progresses toward a standardized iconography. When placed in a viable chronological context, however, Han material loses that veneer of linear development and emerges as a complex creation that responds to imperatives we cannot identify.

For the Han, we have a number of positively dated sites and, particularly, date-inscribed objects. The implications of these vary widely, and dates can only rarely be interpreted at face value. Tombs that include inscriptions noting unambiguously the date of death and burial or of tomb construction (that is, dates utilizing era names that are clearly attached to the tomb in which they are found) are generally straightforward. However, dates may be written in terms of local, rather than central, governments or be recorded according to references in use before era names were adopted by Wudi. In these cases, the date itself poses problems of interpretation. Even when they specify the date of death or burial, dates which are found on manuscripts or other objects within the tomb, rather than integrated into the building materials of the tomb itself, may pose problems if there is no corroborating identification of the deceased. As in the case of Nancaizhuang (Yanshi, Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M3, memorials could conceivably have been included in the tombs of descendants or other individuals and would therefore not apply to the tomb in which they are found. We cannot tell if Fei Zhi, died AD 169, was indeed among the multiple, fragmented bodies found in Nancaizhuang M3. In any case, identification of the deceased by means other than *in situ* inscriptions of any kind is always problematic: the dynastic histories cannot provide an exhaustive listing of dignitaries and, in any case, are of help only in the case of the most prominent men: names are repeated, and local legend, no matter how old, is only hearsay.

Once the interpretation of a positive date applying directly to a tomb has been settled, use of the tomb itself for the purposes of dating has proven unreliable. This becomes clear when the dates derived from structural comparisons are contrasted with those developed from the chronology of vessels presented here. The resulting conflicts can only be resolved through the use of vessels as the means of dating. It thus becomes clear that tomb structure did not progress in linear fashion from the preimperial box form to the typically Han architectonic structure, whether uni- or multi-chambered. Indeed, despite a trend in preimperial burials to recreate within the tomb various aspects of living space, such as through the inclusion of windows, doors, and roofs within the burial structure, I find no precedent in burial structures or living architecture for the most salient features of the Han architectonic tomb: the use of vaulting and domes, although some barrel vaulting occurs in pre-Han kilns. These structural elements appear to have been adopted for the tomb alone through intercultural contact with India or cultures farther west such as those of the Near East, Afghanistan, and Rome, whose architecture made common use of them. Because they were not adopted for public buildings in China, the Han did not need to solve technical problems of scale, but could produce the relatively small spans suited to tombs. In this way, the Han tomb creates the approximation of a living space incorporating a form not otherwise used. From its selective adoption, I assume that the Han must have associated some religious meaning with vaulting, with implications we cannot yet understand. It is not clear when vaulting was introduced into China, nor that use of the dome necessarily came later. Thus, at present, neither feature can serve as even a broad chronological indicator.

Just as structure fails to provide chronology, so too does another distinctive feature of Han tombs: the mural. Where the tomb in question is adequately dated, as at +Hanwang (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu; AD 86), it is tempting to use this décor as a chronological guide. The reuse of blocks of décor, as at Feicheng (Shandong) and Songshan (Jiaxiang, Shandong) M3, would not, in itself, prevent chronological analysis. However, comparison of the décors, again from the standpoint of the vessel chronology presented here, demonstrates that not only the same subject matter and often general composition but even the same style of execution may occur in tombs of significantly different dates, as at the shrine of Wu Liang (Jiaxiang, Shandong), AD 151, and Balimiao (Yanggu, Shandong) M1, circa AD 174. Thus, even locally, tomb décor does not prove reliable for narrow dating. Further, a significant fund of decorative elements basic to Han iconography does indeed stem from Chinese Bronze Age tradition, but this itself resulted from foreign influence, to which the

Han continually incorporated additional foreign exchange. However, neither the initial dates nor the precise means by which these exchanges occurred can now be retraced, thus precluding use of iconographic elements even in broad *terminus post quem* dating. Their significance lies instead in what they indicate about the nature of Han culture as a whole: as with tomb structure, the artisans who created the new vocabularies certainly emerged from Bronze Age Chinese tradition and made use of it, but in the most striking areas of new development, found what they needed in foreign cultures from the Classical West through South and Central Asia.

Despite the necessity of using objects as the primary means of establishing date, the unambiguously dated object itself presents unexpected complications. Attempting to create a narrow chronology through any positively dated object without further discrimination rapidly creates contradictions in dating which in turn can only be resolved by recognizing that not all objects changed form at the same speed. This would seem obvious, except that it affects not only broad classes of objects – such as weapons and tools where we would not expect rapid change unless there were an underlying change in function or because of some technical advance, and ornaments, whose forms and décors prove to be surprisingly long-lived – but even a number of vessel types, including basins, bowls, ladles, *zun* (for heating alcohol), *yan* double-boilers, and so on. Even within the broad classes of *hu*, *guan*, and *ding* – which I have adopted here as generally providing reliable data – some forms, most conspicuously the egg or cocoon *hu* and the garlic-topped *hu*, remained in production essentially unchanged for so long a period that they cannot provide a narrow date. We are left, therefore, with a typology consisting of a selection of *hu*, *guan*, and *ding*, at present numbering 545 vessel forms, which provides the dating for approximately one thousand tombs. This typology may be expanded indefinitely, using the same principles of positive and cross-dating, or amended as needed in light of future discoveries. By its nature, it emphasizes commonality, rather than exceptionalism or regionalism. Although different regions of Han China are necessarily represented to differing degrees because of the availability or usability of data, the resulting typology is national, rather than regional, and depends on material from all strata of society, as long as some datable material was included in burial.

For cross-dating to succeed, the positive date must be found in a closed context. This has led me to focus on burials rather than the emerging data from habitation and other sites. It becomes evident, however, that the tomb is not always, in fact, fully closed. Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1037 provides indication of reburial,

meaning that opportunity existed to introduce a new set of goods into the tomb. Subsequent burial of a spouse or other family members, even in box tombs, as at Bicun (Hunyuan, Shanxi) M1 and Dongyang (Xuyi, Jiangsu) M7, created a similar opportunity. In these cases, it may eventually be possible to isolate two separate dates for associated material. At present, however, that degree of distinction has not been possible and one date is generally assumed to prevail for the entire tomb.

Use of vessels from tombs does not limit the typology to the dating of burials. Indeed, it would appear that much of the material placed within the tomb was not made for burial in imitation of items used by the living (*mingqi*), although such certainly occurred, but instead constituted objects of daily life buried as needed. This is particularly evident in the case of manuscripts, where the division between living and dead is clear from the standpoint of production: we have, on the one hand, the intellectual library of Mawangdui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M3 and the career notes of the deceased of Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) +M11 and, on the other, letters of introduction to the underworld hierarchy in Huchang (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) +M5 and deeds of land in the tomb of +Liu Yuantai (Ganquanshan [Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu]). The land deeds, however, appear to refer to real land utilized for burial. Their declaration was obviously significant to both the living and the dead. As in its structure, the tomb thus blends the real (utilized in life) and the representational (for the purposes of the afterlife alone). In the same way, vessels in tombs may at times include *mingqi*, but there seems no reason not to accept most ware as having been produced for the living. Inscriptions provide some evidence of living use, as in the identification of previous owners or of purchase by various household departments whose active use of the piece is likely, as in the Physician's basin M1:5176 from Mancheng (Hebei)¹ and the Liang Family of Mali *dìng*, Mancheng M1:4101.² The designation of *mingqi* stems most commonly from the size of some pieces, where small items deemed miniaturizations are assumed to represent their standard-sized counterparts, as in Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M39:8 (*guan* 18).³ Although smaller than the other *guan* 18, the Songzui example, with a height of 11 centimeters, is not so much smaller than Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M24:3,⁴ at 17 centimeters, 13.5 centimeters at the mouth, or Yunxian (Hubei) M304:1,⁵ at 15 centimeters, 12.8 centimeters at the mouth, as to warrant designation as a miniaturization. Indeed, as long as the vessel remains functional, its size need not indicate simulacrum. Furthermore, surface treatment with materials recognized today as toxic is highly unlikely to have played any part in determining the function of vessels.⁶ Thus, the use

of lacquer on cookware or lead-based glazes in general does not serve to identify a piece as *mingqi*. Comparison of forms from tombs to those from habitation sites, in particular, should provide greater clarity. Certainly, the Han did not make as complete a distinction between the worlds of the living and the dead as we do today.

Analysis of the vessels in the typology and the associated tombs reveals no particular regional continuity with preimperial China and no area where the material culture of imperial Qin seems to have produced a particularly marked degree of continuity within Han culture. We often suppose that imperial Qin vessel forms, not all of which occur during the Han, recur during the first phase of the new dynasty to be replaced as the Han gathered momentum. Instead, these shapes, together with those of Chu, may be seen to have exercised a marked influence on Han vessel form throughout the dynasty. The continued presence of original preimperial bronzes throughout the Han in graves of widely ranging social status attests to the availability of earlier work as potential models for potters and other vessel craftsmen. Nonetheless, although imitations of early bronzes were made, still in bronze, as luxury objects – as occasionally seen at Mancheng (Hebei) +M1 and the tomb of the +King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) – such direct copying was rare. The greatest influence of the preimperial bronze was instead in the reinterpretation of their formal tendencies, such as the shape of the vessel body. In this context, Han artisans utilized past forms in the production of new vessel shapes, perpetuating and transforming the earlier aesthetic. In the process, we witness the collection of early bronzes by individuals who could not have intended to use them to establish sociopolitical legitimation, in addition to those for whom the bronzes still retained some of their Bronze Age authority – as, undoubtedly, in the collections of the Western Han King of Nanyue or indeed of the masters of Mancheng (Hebei), the latter as imperial relatives who at times received gifts such as the M2 Changxin Palace lamp from imperial relatives in Chang'an. The appearance of early bronzes in modest tombs such as Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M1 and Sanlidun (Lianshui, Jiangsu) suggests that these vessels continued to be recognized as valuable, but clearly that value was not restricted by class.⁷ This last point indicates that the Bronze Age, while still readily visible during the Han, no longer had much social significance. What had been symbols of power and, at least, of wealth, had become more broadly integrated into society and had seemingly become a matter of aesthetic and, perhaps, some historical value.

The preimperial division of Chinese culture into northern

(eventually, Qin) and southern (Chu) shifted during the Han so that the influence of each of these major regions on Han vessel forms, in particular, may be seen throughout metropolitan China. During the Han, the southern frontier shifted farther south, beyond Chu, to the regions of the maritime south: Guangxi, Guangdong, Guizhou, and Fujian, which I designate as the Far South. At the same time, the most characteristic marks of Han Far South regionalism – that is, vessels with a characteristic downward-sloping profile – did not develop in that region. Instead, they were among vessel forms used throughout China during the Bronze Age from the Early Shang onward. Their subsequent adoption in the Far South attests to the generalized continuity of Bronze Age forms found throughout the Han, more than to continued historical contact between the Han Far South and the Eastern Zhou Yue states of the Lower Yangzi. Even as this Far South profile became characteristic, however, the Han Far South remained firmly part of national Han tendencies. The Far South profile may be characteristic of its named region, but it is by no means dominant there. This suggests that its appearance and continued utilization represents an ongoing aesthetic choice, not regional isolation.

In the matter of regionalism, as in the creative integration of the past, one profound transformation visible in the Han is the replacement of bronze as the preferred medium of creativity in vessel production by not only ceramic but also, specifically, earthenware. This would explain the truly national distribution of some of the most popular vessels in my typology (such as *hu* 101; *guan* 98). The use of different clays, often with different firing temperatures, in the production of these shapes suggests local production based on models originally made in other regions. The rare occurrence of stoneware – or even more rarely, porcelain – is distributed not only in Zhejiang, associated during the Han with high-firing kilns, but scattered throughout much of Han territory, including in Guangdong and Shandong. While interregional trade in high-fired ware is likely, high-firing kilns may subsequently be discovered in Jiangsu and throughout regions where high-fired versions of forms not closely associated with Zhejiang are found. In context, the distribution of vessel forms seems to indicate that some may have been developed in earthenware and recopied either experimentally or as a more luxurious variant in higher-firing clays, rather than the reverse. This means that specifically earthenware, not high-fired ware, replaced bronze as the preferred creative medium of vessel development. Hence, a lower-cost material replaced development in high-cost media. This would have allowed not only wider adoption and development of forms because of lower cost but also greater ease of production, and hence experimentation, as lower-firing clay was readily available throughout

the country and was technically far less difficult to work. This development in itself signals a new openness and freedom independent from preimperial devotion to bronze as both a physical and cultural medium. The assumption of new status by earthenware heralds what I call the Age of Ceramics.

Here again, Han material culture emerges as highly creative, constituted at will from whatever elements met the need, with tremendous awareness of and openness to not only the Chinese past but also to cultures covering vast areas of the ancient world. For me, the most important aspect of this view of the Han is the unknown: at this time, neither archaeological nor text-based material provides any indication of the need we see fulfilled by, for instance, the dome. The free creativity represented by the dome unexpectedly illuminates all of Han culture: it places Han intellectuals in an open, dynamic, well-connected culture, rather than in an inward-turning, narrowly self-referential culture. I cannot address the implications of this openness beyond material culture, but for me, it changes profoundly the context in which we interpret the Han.

Chronological Listing of Dated Han Sites

+ indicates a positive date.

* indicates a site or tomb attributed to the non-Chinese.

The letters below, followed by a number, are frequently used in conjunction with site names to identify components of the site under discussion:

M: tomb

K: pit

T: trench (as on a habitation site)

Y: kiln

Z: cache

Object inventory numbers are given after the tomb, pit, trench, or kiln number, preceded by a colon or hyphen.

Note that the Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) has its own inventory system: areas within this single tomb are designated by letters, followed by an object inventory number (A: front chamber; B: small eastern chamber; C: small western chamber; D: principal chamber; E: eastern chamber; F: western chamber; G: rear treasury).

Terminology

Pit grave: A pit whose top opens directly into an entrance shaft/ramp or the surface of the ground.

Catacomb grave: A pit dug under the surface of the ground (not open to the surface), placed to one side of an entrance shaft; also termed “lateral chamber.”

Box tomb (compartmented or simple/unicameral): A construction within the grave in the form of a box containing the coffin (if there is one), body, and any burial goods.

Architectonic tomb (multicameral or simple/unicameral): A construction within the grave containing the coffin (if there is one), body, and any burial goods and having characteristics of

architectural constructions used for the living. In its simple form, it consists of a single chamber.

Huangchang ticou: A reinforcing exterior wall built of wood beams stacked transversely relative to the outer walls of the tomb. The tomb itself is usually a compartmented box with a central chamber or compartment surrounded by a series of compact chambers and passageways. The term may apply to a similar structure of stone or brick.

Coffered ceiling: Ceiling constructed of layers of stone framing the center of the ceiling to form usually concentric recessed squares of graduated size, from wide to narrow, with the widest as the lowest layer. In profile, this form resembles, inverted, a series of concentric steps leading to a central depression. I have used the term “coffered” both for *diese* and *zaojing*, which seem to apply to structures in which the graduated squares are rotated by 45° relative to one another, and for *lu* (“box”), which appears to indicate a squared recess without rotation.

Waist pit: Pit dug into the floor of the grave approximately below the waist of the deceased (i.e., in the middle of the grave).

Note: The presence of coins or other burial goods on a site and the presence or sex of skeletal remains may not be indicated below.

Ca. 217 BC

Fangmatan (Tianshui Municipality, Gansu) M5

Pit grave; wood box tomb. Tomb furnishings include a paper map.

Guan 1.

Mujiangfen (Yunmeng, Hubei) M2

Pit grave with tumulus; compartmented wood box tomb. Black lacquered coffin.

Guan 1.

+ Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) + M11, 29, 51

All: pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb.

M11 included a cow skull placed on top of the box tomb; burial goods yielded 1,100+ bamboo slips, including yearly records (*Biannian ji* [綸年記]) running approximately from 306–217 BC (that

is, from the first year of the reign of King Zhao to the thirtieth year, presumably of Qin Shihuang). These records mention several first names in the context of official careers, but that of “Xi” (喜) is most frequent. According to these records, Xi was age forty-six in 217 BC; the occupant of M11 was found to be a man of about forty-five years old. The excavation report therefore concludes that the occupant of M11 is likely to have been the Xi of the manuscripts and that his date of death is likely to have been 217 BC.

+ M11: *Guan* 1.

M29: *Guan* 1.

M51: *Guan* 1.

Yunxian (Hubei) M301

Pit grave with shelf.

Guan 1.

Ca. 210 BC

+ Miyang (Henan) M3

Tumulus; no entrance ramp; rectangular pit grave, lined with green clay and charcoal. Two wood box tombs, each with coffin. No skeletal remains. Lacquered pieces include inscriptions of “Second Little Wife” (*er xiao fei* [二小妃]), which seems to confirm the assumption of a double burial (man, woman). Several lacquer pieces and a bronze *ding* are inscribed with dates of production or acquisition, including (on the lid and again on the body of the *ding*) year 28, year 33, both of dates of acquisition; and year 35, year 37, both dates of production (on two different round lacquer boxes). These dates are assumed to belong to Qin and therefore interpreted as corresponding to 219 BC (year 28), 214 BC (year 33), 212 BC (year 35), and 210 BC (year 37). No national pre-Wudi Han date extends as high numerically. Although the Miyang M3 inscriptions indicate the enfeoffment of the owner of these objects, the modesty of the tomb and perhaps the obscurity of the title of enfeoffment suggest to me that use of a local calendar is unlikely. A Qin date for the objects is therefore reasonable. Clearly, my adoption of the latest of these positive dates serves only as a *terminus post quem* for the tomb.

Guan 2.

Ca. 186 BC

+ Mawangdui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan)

+ M2

Tumulus, terraced entrance ramp; pit grave sealed with white clay and charcoal; compartmented wood box tomb. The occupant has been identified as a man of about 50. Tomb robbed repeatedly. Burial goods include gilded bronze seals with tortoise tops (“the seal of the Marquis of Dai” [*Daihou zhi yin* 軟侯之印], “Chancellor of Changsha” [*Changsha chengxiang* 長沙丞相]), a jade seal naming Li Cang (利蒼), jade *bi* discs, articles whose inscriptions refer to the Marquis of Dai. Burial of the Marquis of Dai, Li Cang, Chancellor of Changsha, enfeoffed in 193 BC (dates provided by the dynastic histories). The tumulus of Mawangdui M1 (ca. 168 BC) intrudes on that of M2 on the western side, confirming that M2 is earlier than M1.

Ca. 180 BC

+ Nanling (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) Burial Goods Pit K14

One of twenty rectangular pits in three rows next to a large, unopened tomb (tumulus currently measures 560 m in circumference, 29.5 m in height). The pits are generally wider at the top than at the bottom, lined with bricks, an earthenware coffin, or a wood plank box. The unopened tomb nearby has been associated by tradition with the Empress Dowager Lü, whose date of death (per the dynastic histories) is therefore assumed to date the burial goods pits. However, objects from the burial goods pits (most prominently, sacrificed animals, including rhinoceros and giant pandas) apparently do not provide clear reference to the Empress Dowager; even if the tomb, when opened, proves to be hers, the nearby pits could be of later date.

Hu 1.

Ca. 173 BC

Dafentou (Yunmeng, Hubei) M1, 2, 3

All: pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb. M1 includes inventory of furnishings. M3 includes cattle teeth.

M1: *Hu* 4; *Guan* 2, 7, 9; *Ding* 1, 3.

M2: *Ding* 4.

M3: *Guan* 17, 19.

Fangmatan (Tianshui Municipality, Gansu) M1, 12, 13

All: pit graves; wood box tombs. M1 furnishings include a wood map.

M1: *Guan* 16.

M12: *Guan* 9.

M13: *Guan* 16.

Fenghuangshan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M8

Pit grave sealed with clay; compartmented wood box tomb including doors. Lacquered coffin, red inside, black outside. Coffin bound with ropes. Hemp mats on lid. Remains of silk hangings. Cups and bowls placed largely in rear compartment. Inscribed bamboo slips.

Guan 8, 11, 13.

+ Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M12, + 18, 24, 28, 29, 35

M12: pit grave; wood box tomb (may be compartmented or simple). Coffin.

+ M18: pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb. Coffin lacquered red inside, black outside. Burial goods include one wood *bi* disc and inscribed wood inventory slips dating to “year seven,” interpreted by the excavators as belonging to the reign of Wendi. I have accepted this interpretation because it coincides with my vessel comparisons. This argument becomes circular, however, as it depends on the date assigned to Zhangjiashan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M136.

M24, 35: pit grave. (Traces of) coffin.

M28: pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb; architectonic features (doors, windows). Two separate coffins, lacquered red inside, black outside. Burial goods include 396 *banliang* coins.

M29: may have entrance ramp; pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb; architectonic features (doors, windows). Coffin.

M12: *Guan* 16.

+ M18: *Hu* 3; *Guan* 13; *Ding* 5.

M24: *Hu* 2.

M28: *Guan* 10, 17.

M29: *Guan* 7.

Litun (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu)

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave.

Hu 4; *Ding* 2.

Mujiangfen (Yunmeng, Hubei) M1

Tumulus; pit grave lined with green clay; compartmented wood box tomb. Black lacquered coffin. The excavation report considers the burial to date to the Late Warring States/Qin.

Guan 9, 19.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M20, 105, 78M97, 78M103, 78M105

M20: pit grave with or without entrance ramp.

M105, 78M97, 78M103, 78M105: pit graves with no entrance ramp (M105 cut into rock). The excavation report cites coinage found in 78M97 and 78M105 without specification of type.

M20: *Guan* 13.

M105: *Ding* 3.

78M97: *Guan* 10, 11.

78M103: *Guan* 12.

78M105: *Ding* 3.

Shangjiao (Lintong, Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M18

Entrance ramp; pit grave with catacomb rear chamber, niche; wood box tomb. Coffin. No bones found in tomb. Burial goods include a jade *bi* disc (broken).

Guan 4.

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M3, 14, 18, 19, 22, 24, 25, 28, 33, 39, 44, 45, 47, 49

All: pit graves, some with a clay seal over the grave; compartmented wood box tombs with doors. In M47, a cow skull had been placed on top of the box; M44, M45, a dog skull; M46, a horse skull and hooves. The box in M45 had been covered in reed mats. Furnishings include

jade *bi* discs in M47 and a Middle/Late Warring States bronze *hu* in M3, an Early Warring States bronze *ding* in M25, and a Late Springs and Autumns/Early Warring States bronze *lei* in M47.

M3: *Guan* 6, 19; *Ding* 1.

M14: *Guan* 8, 15.

M18: *Guan* 15.

M19: *Guan* 17.

M22: *Guan* 19.

M24: *Guan* 18.

M25: *Guan* 17.

M28: *Guan* 5, 19.

M33: *Guan* 8.

M39: *Guan* 4, 6.

M44: *Guan* 16.

M45: *Guan* 8, 16.

M47: *Guan* 7.

M49: *Guan* 14, 16.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M11

Pit grave; wood box tomb.

Guan 4.

Wangjiatai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M15

Pit grave; wood box tomb. Furnishings include inscribed bamboo slips. The excavation report considers the burial to date to the Qin.

Guan 19.

Yangjiashan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M135

Tumulus; pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb with doors. Double coffin, lacquered red inside, black outside. Furnishings include a bamboo slip inventory. The excavation report considers the burial to date to the Qin.

Hu 2; *Guan* 6, 13; *Ding* 3.

Yunxian (Hubei) M230, 304, 305

All: pit graves with shelf.

M230: *Guan* 7.

M304: *Guan* 18.

M305: *Guan* 5.

+ Zhangjiashan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M127, + M136

Both: tumulus; pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb. Coffin lacquered red inside, black outside. Both tombs include bamboo slip manuscripts.

Date of M136 given in these bamboo slips as “year seven,” assumed by excavators to be that of Wendi. The excavation report compares the tomb to Fenghuangshan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M168, dated to 167 BC. Nonetheless, the date of Zhangjiashan M136 remains conjectural; so, therefore, does that of Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M18.

M127: *Hu* 3; *Guan* 2; *Ding* 4.

+ M136: *Guan* 7, 13.

Ca. 172 BC

+ Shuanggudui (Fuyang, Anhui) M1, + M2

Both: tumulus; entrance ramp; pit grave lined with charcoal; compartmented wood box tomb with doors, box exterior lacquered black. Coffin lacquered red inside, black outside; coffin platform. M1 burial furnishings include thirty-three *banliang* coins, grey earthenware copies of musical instruments (nine graduated bells [*bianzhong*], five bells suspended from highly decorative loops [*bo*], twenty chimestones), bamboo manuscripts. M2 includes three seal imprints reading “Assistant of the Household of Ruyin” (*Ruyin jia cheng* [女陰家丞]). Tombs robbed.

Identification of the deceased as the Marquis of Ruyin from inscriptions on bronze and lacquer objects in the tomb. Inscribed lacquers include dates of production, ranging from “the initial year” to “year eleven.” Although these inscriptions all note production specifically for the Ruyin treasury (e.g., “Marquis of Ruyin... made by [name] for the Ruyin treasury, year [numbered]”), the excavation report interprets these dates according to a national calendar. For the years before the institution of era names, a year 11 occurs under Gaozu (196 BC), under Wendi's initial period (169 BC), and under

Wudi (130 BC). If, however, we read the inscribed dates of vessel production as consistently reflecting a local calendar, year 11 could refer equally well to 191 BC, ca. 154 BC, or 123 BC. To be consistent with both the data from Ruyin and parallel inscriptions from Mancheng (Hebei), these dates would need to be read as reflecting the local calendar. M1 yielded three different types of divination boards, including one based on the position of Jupiter. This board notes that “winter solstice at noon on the *xinyou* (辛酉) day of year 7” (*qi nian xinyou rizhong dongzhi* [七年辛酉日中冬至]), a date that excavators interpret as referring to Wendi year 7 (173 BC). Although, like the other inscribed objects, the divining board could be an heirloom, it would seem that divination would require current dates. This suggests to me that the deceased is likely to be the first marquis, Xiahou Ying, the Marquis Wen of Ruyin, d. 172 BC.

Shuanggudui M1 is apparently paired with Shuanggudui M2, the latter being at least slightly earlier in date (the mouth of M1 opens into the tumulus of M2). Both tombs had been robbed. M2 objects inscribed with a date of production are contemporaneous with those from M1 and follow the same pattern of inscription. Excavators assume that M1 belonged to the marquis, M2, to his wife. Note, however, that one lacquered eared cup (*erbei*) from M1 is inscribed as belonging to the household of the wife (*furen she* [夫人舍]). I suggest therefore that M2 is the tomb of the marquis, while M1 is that of his wife. In this case, the date of the marquis’ death used here as a positive date for M1 is in fact only a *terminus post quem*.

The excavation report excludes the first Marquis of Ruyin because textual evidence notes his burial outside the eastern gates of the capital, not in the territory of Ruyin. This tradition, however, seems to stem not from the dynastic histories per se, but from a note from the Tang historian Sima Zhen, *Shiji suoyin*, citing a work named *Bowu zhi*.¹ Nonetheless, having excluded Xiahou Ying and reading the inscribed date of “year 11” as national, the nearest date of death would then be that of the second marquis, Zao, Marquis Yi of Xia, d. 165 BC. The third and fourth marquis, Si, who died in 133 or 132 BC, and Po, d. 115 BC, are excluded by the excavators because Shuanggudui M1 does not conform to Wudi-era burials and because Po committed suicide after being accused of conspiracy. Both reasons are essentially circular and cannot be adopted here.

While attribution to the household of the Marquis of Ruyin is logical, it remains possible that neither tomb belongs to the marquis himself.

Ca. 168 BC

Bicun (Hunyuan, Shanxi) M1

Tumulus; entrance ramp (23 m x 2.8 m); pit with shelf; compartmented wood box tomb with doors. Coffin lacquered red on the inside, black ground with red figures on the outside. Double burial (man and woman).

Hu 3, 9.

Fenghuangshan (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M2, 5

Both: pit graves.

M2: *Hu* 10.

M5: *Hu* 6; *Ding* 6.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1101

Pit grave; wood box tomb. Furnishings include one glass *bi* disc.

Ding 6.

+ Mawangdui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1, + M3

Both: tumulus; stepped entrance ramp; terraced pit grave lined with charcoal and white clay; compartmented wood box tomb. M1: four nested coffins, described from the outermost to the innermost: 1) plain black lacquer, 2) black lacquer ground with multicolored décor, 3) red lacquered ground with colored décor, and 4) red lacquer. The latter was lined with silk and hemp cloth; its lid was covered with a painted silk banner. M3: three nested coffins, lacquered red inside and black outside. The innermost was lined with painted silk; its lid was covered with a painted silk banner.

The furnishings of both tombs include an inventory on wood slips; M3 contained numerous manuscripts on silk (30+) and bamboo, including maps (610+ slips). The tumulus of M1, which intrudes on M2 (186 BC), also intrudes on that of M3, making M1 at least slightly earlier. Robbers' holes into M1 do not seem to have penetrated the burial; furnishings number more than 1,400 objects, including clay

imitations of *banliang* and *yingcheng* (Chu) coins. M3 yielded more than a thousand items. Both tombs included objects inscribed with “the household of the Marquis of Dai” and seal impressions of the “Chancellor of Changsha.”

The occupant of M1 (a woman approximately 50 years old) is identified from a seal as Xin Zhui, wife of Li Cang, Marquis of Dai (“Concubine Xin Zhui” [*Qie Xin Zhui* 妾辛追]). The occupant (man; approximately 30 years old) of M3 is believed to have been a son of Li Cang; according to the tomb inventory slips, he died in year 12 (of the initial period of Wendi). Since Li Cang's heir, Li Xi, died in year 15 (165 BC), according to the dynastic histories, site excavators assume this to be a different son. Given the reasonably firm context established by M2, the date of M3 appears to be safe.

M1: *Hu* 6–9; *Guan* 20, 21; *Ding* 10, 11.

Wuzuofen (Guanghua, Hubei) M4

Entrance ramp; pit grave lined with charcoal and white clay; compartmented wood box tomb. Coffin lacquered black inside and out.

Hu 7.

Xiangbizui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1

Tumulus; entrance ramp; terraced pit grave; *huangchang ticou* wood tomb with doors. Triple coffin lacquered red inside and black outside; décor in red on exterior top of outer lid. Robbed. Burial furnishings include three jade *bi* discs, including one placed on the lid of the second coffin, sixteen clay imitation *banliang* coins, 200+ relatively high-fired earthenware imitations of *ying* (Chu) coins, eighteen earthenware *bianzhong* bells.

Guan 12, 21; *Ding* 4.

Xuanbitang (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M1, 2

Both: tumulus; entrance ramp for M1; pit graves. M2 furnishings include one soapstone (talc) *bi* disc.

M1: *Hu* 10; *Guan* 20; *Ding* 8.

M2: *Hu* 6; *Guan* 21; *Ding* 7, 9.

Yunxian (Hubei) M221

Pit grave with a shelf.

M221: *Hu* 7; *Ding* 5.

Ca. 167 BC

+ Fenghuangshan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) + M168

Pit grave sealed with green clay; compartmented wood box with doors. Two coffins lacquered black inside and outside. Man, approximately 60 years old. Apparently not robbed. Tomb furnishings include 101 *banliang* coins, jade *bi* discs, a jade seal inscribed with the name “Sui” placed in the mouth of the deceased, and a tomb inventory (sixty-seven bamboo slips). The occupant is identified by wood slip inventories as the Grandee (*dafu*), Sui, with a date of death in year 13. Of emperors before Wudi and his initiation of era names, only Wendi reigned at least thirteen years. This date therefore seems reasonably secure, although a Wudi date of 128 BC, just prior to the retroactive introduction of era names, is also conceivable.

Hu 11, 12; *Guan* 13, 22, 23.

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M6, 33, 37

M6, 33: pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb; architectonic features (doors, windows). Coffin lacquered red inside, black outside. Burial goods include bamboo inventory slips in M6 and two jade *bi* (one broken) in M33.

M37: pit grave; (traces of) coffin. Burial goods include one *banliang* coin.

M6: *Hu* 12; *Guan* 9.

M33: *Hu* 11; *Guan* 8.

M37: *Guan* 23.

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M10

Pit grave.

Guan 23.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M34

Pit grave; wood box tomb.

Guan 23.

Ca. 164 BC

Fangmatan (Tianshui Municipality, Gansu) M14

Pit grave; wood box tomb.

Guan 25.

+ Fenghuangshan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) + M9

Pit grave sealed with green-grey/white clay; compartmented wood box tomb. Coffin. Burial goods include inscribed bamboo and wood slips. One of these wood slip manuscripts is a report from Wan, the Sub-Prefect (*shoucheng* [守丞]) of Anlu, to a superior official; the latest date recorded in this report is year 16. Given the length of imperial reigns prior to the creation of era names, this date would only fit Wendi's initial years, at 164 BC, or potentially Wudi, 125 BC. Although I have treated the Wendi date as positive, in fact it can serve only as a *terminus post quem*.

Guan 25.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) 78M91

Pit grave with entrance ramp.

Guan 24, 25.

Suizhou (Hubei)

Pit grave.

Hu 12, 13; Guan 11, 25–28; Ding 12.

Zhongzhoulu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) habitation site

Guan 24.

Ca. 162 BC

+ Huxishan (Yuanling, Hunan) + YHM1

Tumulus; entrance ramp, entrance blocked with piled stones; two chambers opening off of ramp; pit grave sealed with white clay; ramp and grave surrounded by platform ramps and stairs; depth of grave from surface of ground is 12.97 m. The burial pit itself measures 9.5 m by 7.2 m, with a height of 3.27 m. Compartmented wood box tomb plus wood annex box (wood boards labelled in lacquered script). Two nested coffins; top of inner coffin lid bears lacquered décor. Burial goods include more than 1,300 bamboo manuscripts; a jade, loop-top seal inscribed “Wu Yang;” twelve earthenware chimes; one jade *bi* disc (broken). The name of Wu Yang in association with the place name Yuan, inscribed on lacquer pieces in the tomb, seems to point to Wu Yang, the Marquis of Yuanling, enfeoffed in 187 BC, died in 162 BC.

Hu 14.

Ca. 160 BC

+ “Anyi Palace” (Hongdong, Shanxi) isolated find

Inscription provides date of manufacture in year 4, interpreted as 160 BC. Because the year indicated is supplemented by the month and the cyclical day (in this case, *jiazi* [甲子]), greater precision is possible than with the year alone. Even among pre-era name reigns, only during Huidi, the Empress Dowager Lü, and the later period of Wendi did the third month of the fourth year include a *jiazi* day. The excavation report reasons that the vessel's place of production, Anyi Palace, must have been one of the sites hosting the emperor on tour. Neither Huidi nor the Empress Dowager Lü are felt to have made such tours; the date is therefore deduced as belonging to Wendi. Anyi Palace itself is not known from the dynastic histories. Thus, although obviously a positive date, the interpretation of the date is necessarily speculative; 160 BC seems plausible.

Ding 13.

Dianshan (Mianyang Municipality, Sichuan)

Pit grave sealed with green clay; wood box tomb. Bamboo mat remains on lid of box.

Ding 13.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M8

Pit grave with or without entrance ramp.

Ding 13.

Yunxian (Hubei) M308

Pit grave with shelf.

Guan 3; Ding 13.

Ca. 154 BC

+ Bojishan (Tianqi, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) + XBM3

Tomb cut into limestone hill. Tumulus reinforced at base with stone enclosure; entrance shaft blocked by layers of stone; pit grave with stone floor; two niches blocked by wood boards; compartmented wood box tomb; coffin. Tomb robbed. Separate annex pit on foundation of stone; two walls of the pit constructed of piled stones; pit covered with stone slabs. Robbed. Pit contained earthenware servant figures. Tomb furnishings include earthenware vessels coated in black lacquer; nine earthenware chimes; a gold seal with tortoise top reading “Zhi, the Marquis of Wanqu” (*Wanqu hou Zhi* [宛胸侯執]). According to dental analysis, the deceased was approximately 30 years old. Identification of the deceased as one of the aristocrats participating in the Rebellion of the Seven Kingdoms in 154 BC seems reasonable, given the form of the seal (establishing him as a member of the upper aristocracy), in association with the form of the *hu* classified here (establishing a relative date); Zhi's date of death is not known specifically, but the dynastic histories report his execution when the rebellion was crushed. A date of approximately 154 BC has therefore been adopted.

Hu 14.

Ca. 153 BC

+ Fenghuangshan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) + M10

Pit grave sealed with green-grey or white clay; compartmented wood box tomb. Man. Burial goods include a wood seal carved on two sides, reading “Zhang Yan” and “Zhang Bo” (the latter presumably a style), wood and bamboo manuscripts, including an inventory. The latter (on wood slips) provides the date of death/burial and identification (Zhang Yan, grandee of Pingli). For the excavators, interpretation of the date of “year four [*illegible*] ninth month *xinhai* (辛卯) day” hinges on the unclear character, which they believe to be *hou* (後, “after”), indicating that this ninth month was the last month of the year. In pre-era name reigns, the ninth month was the last month of year four only during Huidi (191 BC) and Jingdi (153 BC). Excavators dismiss the possibility of Huidi on the grounds that Fenghuangshan M9 yielded a document with a date interpreted as year 16 of the initial period of Wendi's reign. Any dating of M10 by reference to M9 is specious unless objects found in both tombs suggest contemporaneity. There is, a priori, no reason that Fenghuangshan M10 could not date to 191 BC. Lacking other evidence, however, I have provisionally accepted the excavators' estimation of 153 BC.

Ca. 141 BC

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M3

May have entrance ramp; pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb; architectonic features (doors, windows). Coffin. Burial goods include an Early Warring States *ding*.

Hu 2; *Guan* 13, 22, 31.

+ Yangling (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) Burial Goods Pits

Pits; wood internal structure. Burial goods pits accompanying tomb of Jingdi; date of death provided by dynastic histories. Although the tomb has yet to be opened, earthenware eaves tiles from buildings on the site, together with seal imprints on the county seat also on the site, are inscribed with the name of Yangling. The attribution therefore seems secure. The date of the emperor's death would undoubtedly be approximately that of the burial goods pits, although these could conceivably be earlier or later.

Guan 29–32.

Zixing (Hunan) M200

Tumulus; pit grave.

Guan 30.

Ca. 138 BC

Daiye (Laixi, Shandong) M2

Tumulus; pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb. Double coffin, lacquered red inside, black outside, outermost coffin exterior with décor. Tomb furnishings include three jade *bi* discs.

Ding 14.

+ Gaoyao (Sanqiao, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) cache, + bronze #11

Inscribed with date of production (“year 3”). Although the inscription includes the place of production (Yangzhai), as well as the place of origin for the ores (Kunyang), neither helps significantly isolate the date. Nor does association of the cache with the imperial park of Shanglin allow correlation with any particular Western Han emperor. Chen Zhi notes that after Wudi, Yangzhai became known as a *yi* (邑), rather than a county (*xian* [縣]), and that its administrator would then have been designated as a *zhang* (長, “chief”), rather than a *shouling* (守令), as he is called on this *ding* (Gaoyao [Chen Zhi], *KG* 1963.2, 81). As Huang Zhanyue has pointed out, this information does not provide rationale for a Wudi-era dating (Gaoyao [Huang Zhanyue], *KG* 1963.4, 198–199). I have adopted an early Wudi-era dating, interpreting “year 3” as “*jianyuan* (建元) year 3” or 138 BC; such dating is completely arbitrary.

Ding 14.

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M46

Pit grave lined with green clay; wood box tomb.

Ding 14.

Wuzuofen (Guanghua, Hubei) M1

Pit grave lined with charcoal and white clay; compartmented wood box tomb. Coffin lacquered black inside and out.

Ca. 137 BC

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M5, 9

M5: pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb; architectonic features (doors, windows). Double nested coffins, of which the outer is lacquered black inside and out and the inner, black outside, red inside.

M9: pit grave; wood box tomb (may be compartmented or simple). Coffin. Burial goods include Late Springs and Autumns *hu* for heating (*jiaohu*).

M5: *Ding* 15.

M9: *Ding* 15.

+ Unnamed tomb near Maoling (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) Burial Goods Pit, + K1:025

Bronze *ding* lid inscribed with date of production (“year 4”); body, with a date of 135 BC (“year 6”). Assuming that the lid came from the same form of vessel (although it may not have), I have used the earlier date for this *ding* as a whole. Interpretation of the “year 4” date as 137 BC depends on the attribution of burial goods pit to Princess Yangxin, sister of Wudi. See “Unnamed tomb near Maoling (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) Burial Goods Pit” (ca. 110 BC).

Ding 15.

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M1

Pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb.

Ding 15.

Ca. 136 BC

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M17

Pit grave; wood box tomb (compartmented or simple). Coffin.

Hu 10; *Guan* 35.

+ Hongtushan (Juye, Shandong) + M1

Tumulus; entrance ramp with four sacrificed horses, wood horses, carriages; cave tomb paved with stone, water channels; compartmented box tomb of small stone blocks with doors, inscribed. Not robbed. Over one thousand objects found, including 526 bronzes, jade nose and ear plugs, a jade mouthpiece, twenty-eight jade *bi* discs.

The site excavators assume that the tomb's structure and size, as well as the volume of burial goods, indicate a king's burial. In the early Western Han, the region of Juye was part of the kingdom of Liang; in 144 BC, this was divided into five small kingdoms, with Juye belonging to Shanyang. In 136 BC, after the King of Shanyang died without an heir, Shanyang was reduced to the level of a commandery. In 97 BC, the area of Juye became part of the newly-created kingdom of Changyi. Within this context, the excavators exclude the first king of Liang (Liu Wu, King Xiao of Liang, r. 168–144 BC) on the grounds that the dynastic histories claim that he was buried in Dang, farther south in Liang. Liu Ding, King Ai of Shanyang (r. 144–136 BC), son and successor of King Xiao, is excluded because his kingdom is felt to have been too small to have merited such a sumptuous burial. The excavators attribute the site to Liu Bo, King Ai of Changyi (r. 97–87 BC), reasoning that, regardless of the size of his kingdom, as Wudi's son by his favorite, Lady Li, this king would have had a rich burial.

Until the site is fully published, any identification remains speculative. The painted inscription of “year 15” on one of the stones of the tomb is also problematic. Assuming that no characters are missing and that the inscription was intended as it appears to read, “year 15” could refer either to a national calendar (assuming there were not yet any era names, it would fit only Wendi's initial years, i.e., 165 BC) or a local calendar. If the latter, only the length of the reign of King Xiao of Liang would accommodate fifteen years (i.e., 154 BC). However, publication of excavations at Mangdangshan (Shangqiu and Yongcheng Municipalities, Henan) persuasively links them with King Xiao (which, incidentally, fulfills the written historical tradition of the location of King Xiao's tomb).² We may imagine that the Hongtushan tomb was begun under King Xiao, although ultimately not used by him – and perhaps not intended for him. If I were to date Hongtushan solely on the basis of its published objects, I would offer a date of ca. 160 BC via *dīng* 13; *hu* 14 provides a date of ca. 162 BC. These dates coincide with a 165 BC reading of “year 15” (i.e., interpretation of the date according to a national calendar), but do not constitute evidence that such a reading is correct. Excluding King Xiao, I have provisionally attributed the tomb to the next local king, Liu Ding, King Ai of Shanyang. Such a choice is, however, arbitrary.

Jiangshan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu)

Vertical shaft; pit and catacomb graves separated by cut stone slabs. Double burial: elderly man in the pit grave, elderly woman in the catacomb grave. Remnants of lacquered coffin. Burial goods include one *banliang* coin.

Guan 31, 37; Ding 14.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M39

Pit grave with shelf; wood box tomb.

Hu 15; Guan 18; Ding 14.

Yunxian (Hubei) M307

Pit grave with shelf.

Hu 8, 10; Ding 16.

Ca. 132 BC

+ Burial goods pits of the King of Qi (Wotuo [Zibo Municipality, Shandong]) K1-5

Pits include wood box structure. Tomb located but not excavated. Burial goods total more than 12,100 pieces and include a shallow basin in silver with gilded décor, dated by inscription to year 33, which appears likely to be 214 BC. Association with the Han kingdom of Qi is confirmed by several objects inscribed with the titles of Qi officials, such as the Office of Offerings/Food (*Qi siguan* [齋食官]). These titles, together with the sheer number of objects, give credence to a royal attribution. Without a royal attribution, I would date the site to ca. 136 BC on the basis of *guan 37* (dated via Hongtushan [Juye, Shandong]) or to ca. 137 BC on the basis of *ding 15*. I have therefore identified the site with the king whose date of death is closest to these object dates: Shou, King Yi of Qi, d. 132 BC. Identification naturally remains speculative pending evidence from the tomb itself.

K1: preponderance of vessels.

K2: 30 sacrificed dogs.

K3: preponderance of armaments, musical instruments.

K4: 13 horses, 4 carriages, 2 dogs.

K5: armaments, personal items.

Hu 16–18; *Guan* 37, 38; *Ding* 10, 14, 15

Ca. 122 BC

Anzhangzi (Lingyuan, Liaoning) M3

Cist grave.

Guan 43.

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M27

May have entrance ramp; pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb; architectonic features (doors, windows). Coffin.

Guan 29, 43.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1010, 1026*, 1028, 1040, 1048, 1056, 1065, 1066, 1069, 1070, 1075, 1082, 1083, 1084, 1085, 1088, 1097, 1105, 1107, 1121, 1139, 1142, 1143, 1145, 1148, 1152, 1177, 1180, 1181, 2058

M1010: pit grave.

M1026*, 1028, 1040, 1048, 1056, 1065, 1066, 1069, 1070, 1075, 1082, 1083, 1084, 1085, 1097, 1105, 1107, 1121, 1142, 1145, 1148, 1152, 1180: pit graves; wood box tomb. M1026* has a waist pit. M1028 tomb floor lined with small stones.

M1088, 1177, 1181, 1139, 1143, 2058: entrance ramp; pit grave; compartmented wood box (M1088, 1177, 2058, 2060 with architectonic features and second story).

Tomb furnishings include jade seal with no inscription (M1010, M1097); bronze seal with loop top, no inscription (M1066); jade seal with no inscription, jade *bi* disc (M1097); jade seal inscribed “Li Jia,” jade *bi* disc (M1180); bronze seal inscribed “Liang Fen” and “[Your] Servant, Fen” (M1070); bronze seal inscribed “De Zhi” and “[Your] Servant, Zhi” (M1148); jade *bi* discs (M1048, M1145, M1177).

M1010: *Ding* 26.
M1026*: *Guan* 46.
M1028: *Guan* 51.
M1040: *Guan* 56.
M1048: *Guan* 43.
M1056: *Hu* 21; *Ding* 8.
M1065: *Hu* 23; *Guan* 39.
M1066: *Guan* 50; *Ding* 22.
M1069: *Guan* 61; *Ding* 21.
M1070: *Guan* 61.
M1075: *Ding* 22.
M1082: *Guan* 61; *Ding* 28.
M1083: *Hu* 21.
M1084: *Guan* 53.
M1085: *Guan* 49.
M1088: *Guan* 42.
M1097: *Guan* 41, 48, 62.
M1105: *Guan* 58.
M1107: *Guan* 59.
M1121: *Guan* 39, 42.
M1139: *Guan* 63.
M1142: *Hu* 23.
M1143: *Guan* 62.
M1145: *Hu* 19.
M1148: *Guan* 48.
M1152: *Guan* 45, 48.
M1177: *Hu* 22; *Guan* 57, 58, 61.
M1180: *Hu* 19; *Guan* 54, 63.
M1181: *Guan* 40.
M2058: *Hu* 21.

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M9

Pit grave.

Hu 23; *Guan* 53, 57, 61.

Huoshan (Anhui) M1, 2

Pit graves lined with charcoal and green clay; compartmented wood box tombs. M1 burial goods include a Middle Warring States (ca. early fourth century BC) bronze *ding*.

M1: *Hu* 23.

M2: *Hu* 23; *Guan* 36; *Ding* 19.

Linjiangzhi (Chongqing Municipality, Sichuan)

M4

Pit grave; wood (compartmented?) box tomb.

Guan 39.

Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M1, 2

Both: tumulus; entrance ramp; pit grave lined with green clay (M1) or fire-hardened green clay, additional white clay (M2); compartmented wood box tomb, on top of which roof tiles were found in M2. Nested coffins (two in M1, two in M2); lacquered black outside, red inside, except for inner coffin of M2, lacquered all black. A pit south of the entrance ramp of M1 contained carriage components. Both tombs robbed.

Tomb furnishings include for M1: wood slip inventory, two jade *bi* discs, an uninscribed jade seal, two bronze mirrors and a wood disc carved in imitation of a mirror, nine sacrificed humans in seven accompanying pits with wood boxes under the burial chamber (one 13 year old boy, six women between the ages of 19 and 26, two adult women each with her own lacquered coffin); M2: a gold ingot, a loop top jade seal with no inscription, a loop top jade seal inscribed “*furen*” (wife), three jade *bi* discs, a bronze crossbow mechanism, the impression of a seal from the Bailiff of the Household (“*jia sefu yin*”), which the excavators feel identifies the occupant of M1 as a government minister, presumably governor of the prefecture, one sacrificed human (age 20) in accompanying pit with wood box under the burial chamber.

M1: *Hu* 15; *Guan* 39, 41, 46, 48; *Ding* 24, 27.

M2: *Hu* 19; *Guan* 44, 45, 47, 52, 53, 55, 61.

Luogang (Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong)

M3, 4

M3: pit grave (badly damaged).

M4: pit grave; wood box tomb.

M3: *Guan* 42, 59, 61.

M4: *Guan* 43, 46.

+ Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong])

Built into a rocky hill; entrance shaft; pit grave with two catacomb

side chambers; architectonic multicameral red sandstone block tomb, flat roof, painted walls and ceiling in central chamber. Double coffin lacquered red inside, black outside. Tomb not robbed. Occupant in a jade suit with silk threads. Identification as Zhao Mo, second king of Nanyue (posthumous title “Wendi”), based on seals including jade seals inscribed “Zhao Mo” (趙昧) and (with a hybrid dragon-tiger top) “seal of the Emperor” (*di yin* [帝印]); a gold seal with a dragon top inscribed “seal of the Emperor Wen” (*Wendi xing xi* [文帝行璽]). Date of death established from the dynastic histories.

The tomb yielded fifteen sacrificed people and more than 10,400 objects, including sets of bronze bells (fourteen *niuzhong* [suspended from a loop], five *yongzhong* [suspended from a shank], eight *goudiao* [勾鐃, placed with the mouth of the bell facing up]), extensive weaponry, and 4,385 ink pellets. Four sacrificed women were placed in the east side chamber, with three gilded bronze seals with a tortoise top inscribed “Seal of the Left Wife,” “Seal of the Chief Wife” (on two seals); an ivory seal with a tortoise top inscribed “Zhao Lan”; a gold seal with a tortoise top inscribed “Seal of the Right Wife.” The latter two were found in a lacquered coffin.

The west side chamber contained seven sacrificed people: three age 20, sex unknown; one adult; a 40 year old woman; one 30–35 years old, sex unknown; a young adult. These were without coffins. The chamber also contained remnants of a painted banner, six jade *bi* discs, five glass *bi* discs. The front chamber included two sacrificed people, one with a carriage, the other with musical instruments and a bronze seal topped by a tortoise inscribed “Seal of the Prefect of Jinggang.” This chamber also yielded three jade *bi* discs.

A burial goods pit outside the entrance to the tomb included one sacrificed person; the tomb entrance ramp, another.

The main burial included forty-seven jade *bi* discs and one hundred thirty-nine earthenware *bi* discs. Burial goods include four bronze *ding* ranging in date from the Late Springs and Autumns to the Late Warring States, two Late Springs and Autumns bronze basins (*jian*), and two Early Warring States jars (*pou*), two Middle Warring States bronze braziers and a *fanghu* (square *hu*) of the same date.

Hu 20, 21, 23; *Guan* 4, 39, 40, 41, 43–7, 49, 51–3, 56, 59–63;
Ding 2, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M10, 25, 78M92

M10, 25: pit grave with or without entrance ramp (M10 with

entrance ramp).
78M92: pit grave.
M10: *Hu* 24; *Guan* 39.
M25: *Ding* 17.
78M92: *Ding* 28.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M9, 10, 41

M9: pit grave.
M10, 41: pit grave (M41 with shelf); wood box tomb.
M9: *Ding* 15, 18.
M10: *Guan* 39; *Ding* 18, 28.
M41: *Ding* 28.

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M7, 136

M7: pit grave; (wood) coffin.
M136: entrance shaft; catacomb; wood coffin.
M7: *Ding* 28.
M136: *Ding* 18.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M48*, 51*, 71

M15*, 51*: tumulus; pit grave; waist pit. Remains of wood coffin.
M21*, 48*: pit grave; waist pit.
M71: pit grave; waist pit; shelf. Remains of wood box tomb, wood coffin.
M15*: *Guan* 52.
M21*: *Hu* 49.
M48*: *Guan* 59.
M51*: *Ding* 22.
M71: *Ding* 25.

Yuantaizi (Chaoyang Municipality, Liaoning) EM119

Pit grave; wood box tomb. Coffin; man. Grave goods include a jade seal inscribed “Zhang Gao.”

Ding 18.

Ca. 119 BC

+ **Mancheng (Hebei) + M1:4108**

Although Mancheng M1 is positively dated to 113 BC, the Mancheng *zhong* (鍾, broad-bellied vase) M1:4108 is inscribed with a date of production of “year 36.” Reference in the inscription to the Palace Treasury of Zhongshan as being responsible for manufacture suggests that this date is given according to the local calendar, running from the year of Liu Sheng's investiture as King of Zhongshan in 154 BC. “Year 36” therefore corresponds to 119 BC.

Hu 25.

Ca. 119-103 BC

Period defined by *hu* 25, of which Mancheng (Hebei) M1:4108 carries an inscribed production date of 119 BC, while Xingping (Shaanxi) finds carry inscribed production dates of 103 BC.

Beiguan (Yangyuan, Hebei) M1

Tumulus; remnants of above-ground (?) structure in the form of tubular and flat roof tiles found in the entrance ramp; stone lined pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb.

Hu 25.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1173

Entrance ramp; pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb. Grave goods include one jade seal with loop top inscribed “Sa.”

Hu 25; *Guan* 46.

Huoshan (Anhui) M3

Pit grave lined with charcoal and green clay; compartmented wood box tomb. Coffin lacquered black outside, red inside.

Hu 23, 25; *Ding* 14.

Liangnanzhuang (Rongcheng Municipality, Shandong) M1

Pit grave cut into rock; brick box tomb. Burial goods include two jade *bi* discs.

Hu 25; *Ding* 29.

Nancheng Eastern Suburbs (Jiangxi) M14

Pit grave.

Hu 25.

Wuzuofen (Guanghua, Hubei) M3

Pit grave lined with white clay; compartmented wood box tomb with architectonic elements including second story, setting on eight wood horses. Coffin lacquered black inside and out. Tomb furnishings include one jade *bi* disc, one jade *yuan* (環) disc, bamboo inventory slips.

Hu 25; *Ding* 15.

Ca. 118 BC

Defined by the presence of ca. 118 BC *wushu* coins in tombs whose vessels were otherwise dated to ca. 122 BC. *Guan* 64 is not attested earlier and is therefore dated to ca. 118 BC.

Guishan ([originally, Xiaoguishan,] Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1

Entrance shaft; catacomb (into hillside); stone slabs separate shaft from chamber; multicameral architectonic. Coffin lacquered black outside, traces of red. Double burial (man and woman). Burial furnishings include eight jade *bi* discs and about 200 earthenware *bi* discs; two gold ingots, more than 600 earthenware imitation gold ingots; 832 ca. 118 BC *wushu* coins. Connection of the burial with the Western Han royal house of Chu is established by inscriptions on various objects, including “Private Treasury of Chu” (*Chu siguan* [楚私官]) on a bronze weight, “Office of the Imperial Kitchens” (*yu siguan* [御食官]) and “Office of the Household of Queen Wen” (*Wenhou jia guan* [文后家官]) on a bronze *ding*, “Senior Princess Bing” (*Bing zhang wengzhu* [丙長翁主]) on a bronze *hu*. However, the station and identity of the people buried here cannot now be ascertained. I assume that the tomb need not belong to a king of Chu. Xuzhou bowuguan, “Xuzhou Hanshan Xi Han mu,” (WW 1997.2, 42), in fact attributes the site to the Senior Princess Bing.

Hu 24; *Guan* 64; *Ding* 17, 27.

Xunyang (Shaanxi)

Tumulus; pit grave. The presence of ca. 118 BC *wushu* coins raises the date from ca. 122 BC to ca. 118 BC. Burial goods include an Early

Warring States bronze *hu*.

Ding 17.

Ca. 113 BC

Anzhangzi (Lingyuan, Liaoning) M2

Pit grave; jar coffin (length 85 cm, width 30–60 cm) consisting of a red earthenware vessel and a grey earthenware lid. Child, 6–7 years old.

Guan 67.

Daijialou (Qingzhou Municipality, Shandong) M46

Pit grave with shelf.

Hu 31.

Dajiangkou (Shupu, Hunan) M3, 8

M3: Entrance ramp; pit grave. Burial goods include four soapstone *bi* discs.

M8: Pit grave; two horizontal wood beams. Burial goods include two soapstone *bi* discs, twelve *wushu* coins (no specification of which of two mintings).

M3: *Hu* 25; *Guan* 65, 66.

M8: *Ding* 32.

Fangmatan (Tianshui Municipality, Gansu) M6

Pit grave; wood box tomb.

Guan 74.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1095, 1144

Both: pit grave; wood box tomb. Burial goods include one jade *bi* disc (M1144).

M1095: *Hu* 26.

M1144: *Hu* 31.

Huoshan (Anhui) M4

Pit grave lined with charcoal and green clay; compartmented wood

box tomb. Coffin lacquered black outside, red inside.

Hu 25, 27; *Ding* 18.

Jiagezhuang (Tangshan Municipality, Hebei) M3, 17

No description of tombs.

M3: *Guan* 69.

M17: *Guan* 72.

+ Mancheng (Hebei) + M1, 2

Both: cave tombs; entrance shaft; catacomb grave with architectonic structures cut into the limestone of the hill. M1: central and two side chambers have wood structure with tiled roof, all wood lacquered red or red-brown. The rear chamber is of stone slabs. M2: the central chamber is of wood with tiled roof; the rear chamber is of stone slabs. The groin vaulted rear chamber noted by the excavation report for M1 refers only to the natural formation of the cave roof. The occupants of M1 and M2 wore jade burial suits with gold wires. M1: double nested lacquered coffin (remnants of red lacquer); M2: lacquered coffin inlaid with twenty-six jade *bi* discs and eight jade plaques on the outside, lined with one hundred ninety-two jade plaques inside. Neither tomb robbed.

Burial goods include for M1: twenty-five jade *bi* discs, jade plugs/plaques for the eyes, nose, ear, mouth, anus, four jade seals (two surmounted by a tiger hybrid, with no inscription; one surmounted by a tiger hybrid, inscribed “Private Seal;” one with a flat top inscribed “seal”), forty gold ingots, Middle Warring States bronze cups, six carriages, sixteen horses, eleven dogs, one deer; for M2, nineteen bronze seals (several with pictorial stamps; one surmounted by a tortoise; one inscribed “Dou Wan” [竇綰]/“Dou Junxu”), twenty-nine gold ingots, two stone and two earthenware imitation gold ingots; two Late Warring States bronze *hu*, four carriages, seventeen horses, a small carriage.

M1: man, identified as Liu Sheng (劉勝), King Jing of Zhongshan (中山靖王), enfeoffed in 154 BC, based on numerous inscriptions on objects referring to the household of the royal family of Zhongshan. Specific attribution to Liu Sheng is supported by the dates inscribed on a number of objects. Of the kings of Zhongshan, only Liu Sheng's reign was long enough (forty-three years) to encompass these object dates (years 32–39). We assume dating to be according to a local calendar, given that no pre-era name emperor reigned for thirty-two to thirty-

nine years. M2: identified as Dou Wan, wife of Liu Sheng, through the inscription on a plain bronze seal reading “Dou Wan” and “Dou Junxu” (竇君須, her cognomen, *zi* [字]). M2 yielded a seal impression reading “[Prefect] Invocator of Zhongshan” (*Zhongshan cisi [ling] [中山祠祀 (令)]*). The name of this office was changed to “Prefect Ancestral Temple Invocator” (*miaosi ling [龐祀令]*) by Wudi in 104 BC, giving a *terminus ante quem* date of 104 BC for the burial.³

+ M1: *Hu* 8, 9, 15, 25–31; *Guan* 64, 67, 68, 70, 71, 73, 74; *Ding* 30–32.

M2: *Hu* 28; *Guan* 67–69, 72.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M36, 38, 40

All: pit grave with shelf; wood box tomb.

M36: *Guan* 69.

M38: *Hu* 27.

M40: *Hu* 28; *Ding* 28.

Yuantaizi (Chaoyang Municipality, Liaoning) EM48, WM11

All: pit grave; wood box tomb (no box in EM48). Two coffins (EM48); three coffins (WM11), one man, two women.

EM48: *Guan* 69.

WM11: *Guan* 67, 69, 71.

Ca. 110 BC

(+)Unnamed tomb near Maoling (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) burial goods pit + K1

Catacomb burial goods pit. Goods include objects inscribed “Household of Yangxin” (*Yangxin jia* [陽信家]). Location of the pit and associated tomb near Maoling, the tomb of Wudi, suggests that the individual to whom this burial belongs may well have been closely associated with Wudi. This leads me to accept, at least tentatively, attribution to a sister of Wudi, who herself held the title Yangxin. She is more commonly known by the title of her first husband, the Marquis of Pingyang; she later married the general Wei Qing, enfeoffed as the Marquis of Changping. Interpretation of the inscribed dates (which include “year 3,” “year 4,” “year 5,” “year 6,” here understood as 138 BC, 137 BC, 136 BC, 135 BC) depends on their

attribution since the dates are given as a year number, without identification of the point of reference for the base year. Since it is impossible to identify the year of the Princess' investiture as Yangxin, the dates cannot be rendered in terms of her tenure (i.e., by a local calendar). I have therefore accepted interpretation according to the national calendar and the early reign of Wudi; when era names were subsequently instituted, this period became *jianyuan* (建元). This solution is, however, essentially arbitrary. The year of the princess' death is unknown. Feng Zhou projects a date of about 110 BC (KGYWW 1989.6, 86), which I have adopted here but which is also essentially arbitrary. Until the associated tomb is excavated, however, attribution and hence dating of the burial goods pit remain conjectural.

Hu 15; Ding 15.

Ca. 103 BC

+ Xingping (Shaanxi) finds

Found near Maoling, two bronze *hu*, each inscribed with a production date of 103 BC.

Hu 25.

Ca. 87-74 BC

Date defined by the presence of ca. 87–74 BC *wushu* coins, together with material considered earlier in date. This date is therefore only a *terminus post quem*.

Guishan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2

Multicameral architectonic tomb carved into rock cliff (catacomb); internal wood structures with ceramic roof tiles. No trace remains of any coffin or body. Burial goods include earthenware imitation of gold ingots, earthenware imitations of jade *bi* discs, jade *bi* discs, eight *wushu* coins (ca. 87–74 BC). Tomb robbed repeatedly.

Excavators initially assumed that the tomb must belong to one of the kings of the Western Han kingdom of Chu. In a KGB 1985.3 postscript to the initial excavation report, a silver, tortoise-topped seal inscribed “Liu Zhu” is said to have been found in the tomb (by an electrician who reported the find after the fact). On the basis of this

seal, the tomb has been attributed to Liu Zhu, King Xiang of Chu, r. 128–117 BC. *KG* 1997.2 further reports a stone block, used to barricade entrance to the tomb, as carved with an inscription contrasting contemporary burial practices with those of the time of Liu Ying, King Yi of Chu, d. 175 BC; the inscription provides no other name and no date. The seal would seem conclusive, if the tomb's burial goods did not include what appear to me ca. 87–74 BC *wushu* coins; importantly, these coins are not identified as intrusive, as are a Wang Mang era coin and a celadon bowl. The Guishan M2 excavators recognize (*KGXB* 1985.1, 130) these *wushu* as belonging to the Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) type I:2 (*Shaogou*, 224, f. 99), dated to Zhaodi (87–74 BC).⁴ This type, they note, was subsequently redated to ca. 118 BC after its discovery in the Mancheng (Hebei) tombs (i.e., Mancheng *wushu* type II; *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 210, f. 140 [M1]; 332, f. 225:2 [M2]). However, in Mancheng type II, the *wu* character is broader than on the Guishan M2 pieces and, indeed, than on some of the Shaogou type I:2 examples (*Shaogou*, 218, f. 94:2). The narrower version remains dated broadly to Zhaodi, through comparison to a date-inscribed mold (from 75 BC; *Shaogou*, 224). This form likewise corresponds to Guojia wenwuju, *Zhongguo guqian pu*, 129, f. 10:2, dated generally to Zhaodi. Thus, the *wushu* force a date no earlier than 87–74 BC for Guishan M2. It remains possible that both the Liu Zhu seal and the *wushu* coins could be intrusive. It is also conceivable that the tomb constitutes a family mausoleum; there is no reason to view the tomb as belonging to a king. In the absence of any evidence, all theories are essentially speculative. Under the circumstances, I am not prepared to adopt any specific attribution of the site.

Ca. 70 BC

Anqiu (Shandong)

Brick tomb, unreconstructable.

Hu 36.

Baimashi (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IM3, IM5, IM6, IM9, IM15, IM20, IIM4, IIM7, IIM8, IIM14, IIM15

IM3, IM6, IM9, IM15, IM20, IIM4, IIM7, IIM8, IIM14: pit grave with shelf.

IM5: pit grave; brick architectonic tomb with stamped bricks.

IIM15: pit grave with shelf, lined with green clay; wood box tomb

(traces only).
IM3: *Hu* 39; *Guan* 79.
IM5: *Guan* 84, 105.
IM6: *Guan* 83, 109.
IM9: *Guan* 82.
IM15: *Hu* 53.
IM20: *Ding* 40.
IIM4: *Guan* 109.
IIM7: *Hu* 42.
IIM8: *Guan* 109.
IIM14: *Hu* 43; *Guan* 82, 109.
IIM15: *Guan* 83, 85.

Bijiashan (Suining, Sichuan) M1

Cave tomb; burial chamber lined with interlocking bricks; barrel vaulting; stamped bricks. Robbed. Burial goods may include Western Han and/or ca. AD 24 Eastern Han *wushu* coins. No distribution is provided in the excavation report. If the tomb proves to have ca. AD 24 *wushu*, the date would then change accordingly.

Hu 52.

Changzhou (Jiangsu)

Tomb destroyed.

Hu 46, 50; *Guan* 93, 101, 102; *Ding* 33.

Chenghu (Wuxian, Jiangsu) old wells

Guan 93.

Daijialou (Qingzhou Municipality, Shandong) M21

Pit grave with shelf, partially brick lined.

Hu 39.

Datagang (Dayong, Hunan) DM62

Multicameral brick architectonic tombs; barrel vaulting likely (no specifications); stamped bricks possible (no specifications).

Guan 93.

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) 79M22, 87M3,

87M12, 89M27, M12

Note: M12 published in *KG* 1990.4 appears to be the same as 87M12 published in *KG* 1993.4.

All except M12: pit graves, but structural descriptions are not given.

M12: tumulus; pit grave with shelf; compartmented wood box tomb.

79M22: *Hu* 35; *Guan* 98.

87M3: *Guan* 97.

87M12: *Hu* 35; *Guan* 90.

89M27: *Hu* 32.

M12: *Hu* 32, 34; *Guan* 90, 98.

Dongjiazhuang (Laixi, Shandong) M1, 2

M1: pit grave.

M2: pit grave; wood box tomb.

M1: *Ding* 38.

M2: *Hu* 35, 45; *Guan* 98.

Dongquanhe (Laiwu Municipality, Shandong)

Tomb destroyed. Burial goods include fragments of a jade burial suit, jade *bi* discs, jade mouthpiece.

Hu 45; *Ding* 39.

Dongyang (Xuyi, Jiangsu) M5, 6, 7

All: entrance ramp; pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb. Coffin lacquered red inside and out. M6: lid of chamber carved; M7: double burial (man and woman). Burial goods include wood slip manuscripts (M7), stone ear and nose plugs (M5), jade ear and nose plugs, eye covers, and mouth piece (M7).

M5: *Hu* 34; *Guan* 95.

M6: *Hu* 34.

M7: *Hu* 35, 39; *Guan* 92.

Dushan (Weishan, Shandong) M3, 4, 5

All: pit grave; stone box tomb. M4 furnishings include *banliang* coins.

M3: *Hu* 41, 53; *Ding* 45.

M4: *Hu* 45; *Ding* 47.

M5: *Hu* 43.

Tomb of Fanshi (Jiaxiang, Shandong)

Multicameral stone architectonic tomb. Identity of occupant established by seal inscription (*Fanshi zhi yin* [範式之印]).

Hu 35, 36, 39.

Fenghuangshan (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan)

M1, 4, 8

All: pit graves. M4: burial goods include 150 clay imitation gold ingots and some three hundred clay coins.

M1: *Guan* 75–77; *Ding* 33.

M4: *Hu* 51; *Guan* 94.

M8: *Guan* 76.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1067, 1077, 1100, 1125, 2044

M1067, 1077, 1100, 1125: pit grave; wood box tomb.

M2044: entrance ramp; pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb.

M1067: *Hu* 27, 41.

M1077: *Guan* 109.

M1100: *Guan* 101.

M1125: *Guan* 78, 101.

M2044: *Ding* 36.

Guduiwang (Dingyuan, Anhui) M8

Brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

Hu 35; *Guan* 106.

Guolufang (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M11

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave.

Hu 37; *Guan* 88.

Haizhou (Lianyungang Municipality, Jiangsu)

Pit grave; two compartmented wood box tombs. May have been

covered with painted/decorated silk banner/cloth. Double burial (man, woman). Coffins lacquered black outside with red décor, red inside. One coffin bound with silk cords (to lower it into the tomb?); ornaments nailed to lid. Identified as tomb of Shi Qi-X (侍其X, ? *character unreproducible, pronunciation unknown*) from inscription on a silver seal. Grave goods include wood slip inventory.

Guan 90.

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M4, 8

Both: pit grave. M4 burial furnishings include a jade seal inscribed Xu Jia, a gold seal inscribed Ru Xin.

M4: *Guan* 101, 102; *Ding* 24.

M8: *Hu* 54; *Guan* 92, 102.

Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M1, 2

Both: tumulus; entrance ramp (with steps in M1); pit grave lined with charcoal; wood box tomb. Lacquered coffin; M1, 2: black outside, red inside. M2: double burial (man, woman). Grave goods include two jade *bi* discs, a Late Springs and Autumns bronze *fanghu* (square *hu*), two Middle Warring States bronze *hu* (M1); jade eye pieces and nose plugs (M2). M1: bronze vessel inscribed “Cao Jun;” M2: lacquer vessel inscribed “Cao Jin.” These inscriptions suggest the burial of a man and wife (“Jun” indicating the wife).

M1: *Hu* 35; *Guan* 91, 97; *Ding* 37, 41.

M2: *Hu* 32, 35, 36; *Guan* 91, 98.

Heshanmiao (Yiyang, Hunan) M18

Entrance ramp; pit grave.

Ding 48.

Huaihua (Hunan) M10

No description of tomb.

Hu 51; *Ding* 44.

Huainan (Anhui)

Pit grave lined with white clay; compartmented wood box tomb

assumed from uniformity of burials at the site. Local residents had plundered the tombs; only eight items were recovered. It is impossible to determine from which (and how many) burials they came.

Hu 53.

Houloushan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) XHM1

Tumulus; vertical entrance shaft; two catacomb grave chambers, partially lined with white clay; stone box tomb with architectonic elements (doors). Fragments of red and black lacquer coffin. Occupant wrapped in a jade burial suit, including jade mouth piece. Burial goods include one jade *bi* disc.

Hu 41, 51; Ding 34, 46.

Houma (Shanxi) M4

Entrance ramp; multicameral brick architectonic tomb.

Hu 46; Guan 94; Ding 45.

+ Huchang (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1, + 5

M1: pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb with architectonic elements including two stories; panels painted on plaster ground with pictorial scenes and banners. Coffin lacquered black outside, red inside.

+ M5: pit grave; two wood boxes (compartmented with carved pattern in the case of the man occupant's box). Double burial (man, woman). Coffins lacquered red inside, black outside.

+ M5 occupant identified as Wang Fengshi from bronze loop-top seals, wood slip document providing date of death, and “Wang” inscribed on a lacquer eared cup (*erbei*). Burial furnishings include wood slip inventories, journals, introduction to the Lord of the Underworld, and other documents, clay imitation gold ingots, clay imitations of coins, fifty-three *wushu* coins including ca. 73 BC mintings, and three bronze loop-top seals inscribed “Your servant, Fengshi” (*Chen Fengshi* [臣奉世]); “The seal of Wang Fengshi” (*Wang yin Fengshi* [王印奉世]) and “The seal of Wang Shaosun (Youngest Grandson)” (*Wang yin Shaosun* [王印少孫]) on each of two sides,⁵ with Shaosun presumably a cognomen (*zi*); and “Personally sealed by the Lord Xinyuan” (*Feng Xinyuanjun zi fa* [封信原君自發]).

M1: *Guan* 93.

+ M5: *Hu* 39; *Guan* 92, 98.

Tomb of Huo He (Haizhou [Lianyungang Municipality, Jiangsu])

Pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb. Double burial (man, woman). Coffins lacquered black outside, red inside. Identity of Huo He established by the inscription on a bronze seal. Lacquered box stamped “Qiao Family.” Burial furnishings include wood slip inventory.

Hu 35.

Jinqueshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M9, 28, 31, 32, 33

All: pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb. M9, 28: coffin, lacquered black outside (M28 with red décor), red inside. M9, 31, 33: banner placed over coffin. Burial furnishings include jade mouth piece and nose plugs, illegible wood slips (M28).

M9: *Hu* 40; *Guan* 86; *Ding* 45.

M28: *Guan* 99.

M31: *Hu* 41; *Ding* 45.

M32: *Hu* 39.

M33: *Guan* 87.

Kuishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu)

Pit grave lined with stone and charcoal, sealed with hard red clay; compartmented stone box tomb. Burial goods include a jade mouth piece.

Guan 103; *Ding* 35.

Lancheng (Zaozhuang Municipality, Shandong) M3

Stone box tomb.

Hu 46.

Laoshan (Qingdao Municipality, Shandong) M1, 2

M1: pit grave; brick and stone box tomb.

M2: Pit grave; box of stone slabs and small rocks.

M1: *Hu* 32, 35.

M2: *Hu* 56.

Leigutai (Xiangyang, Hubei) M1

Pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb. Double nested coffin; outer coffin lacquered black inside and out; inner coffin lacquered black outside, red inside.

Hu 51; *Ding* 48.

Longshou Military Base (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M13

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave with brick paved floor.

Hu 43.

Mashan (Xinjin, Liaoning)

Entrance ramp; pit grave lined with shells; traces of wood box tomb.

Ding 49.

Mishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1

Pit grave cut into hillside, lined with hard red clay, pottery shards; compartmented stone box. Burial goods include jade cicadas.

Hu 43, 51.

Muchengyi (Dalian Municipality, Liaoning) Eastern Tomb

Brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting (corridor); gothic corbelled vaulting (chamber).

Ding 38.

Nanchang Eastern Suburbs (Jiangxi) M3, 4, 5

All: pit grave.

M3: *Hu* 34, 35.

M4: *Hu* 52.

M5: *Ding* 33.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M5, 28, 97, 132

M5: entrance shaft; catacomb grave; wood box tomb. Coffin. Robbed. Burial goods include one *banliang* coin.

M28: entrance ramp with shelf and annex chamber; pit grave, entrance blocked by wood boards (at two levels); wood box tomb. Coffin. Robbed. Burial goods include horse bones in annex chamber and one *banliang* coin.

M97: entrance shaft; catacomb grave; niche. Traces of coffin. Burial goods include one *banliang* coin in grave fill.

M132: entrance ramp with catacomb annex chamber; catacomb grave; double wood box tomb. Coffin. Double burial. Robbed.

M5: *Ding* 50.

M28: *Hu* 53.

M97: *Ding* 50.

M132: *Hu* 53; *Ding* 39.

Panmiao (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M6A, 7, 15, 18B, 19, 24, 27, 32, 47, 50

All: pit grave (very crowded together).

M15, 19, 24, 47, 50: stone and brick box tomb. M15: woman, approximately 30 years old; M24, 47: man, 35–40 years old.

M6A, 18B, 27, 32: brick box tomb. M6A: man (?), approximately 50 years old (?); M18B: man, age 25–30; M27: child of around 8 years old, young woman (?).

M6A: *Guan* 81.

M7: *Guan* 87.

M15: *Guan* 107; *Ding* 50.

M18B: *Guan* 108.

M19: *Guan* 86.

M24: *Hu* 54.

M27: *Guan* 108.

M32: *Hu* 54.

M47: *Hu* 54; *Guan* 87.

M50: *Hu* 54.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 3M1, 3M2, 3M46, 3M60, 3M74, 5M1, GM95, GM202

All: pit graves.

3M1, 3M2: entrance ramp; wood box tomb. Burial goods include a bronze seal reading “Private Seal of Wang Guang.”

5M1: entrance ramp; pit grave lined with small stones, pottery tiles or shards, and charcoal; compartmented wood box tomb. Burial goods include a bronze loop-top seal inscribed “Private Seal of Wang Zhu” and a loop-top bronze seal with a pictorial inscription (both in 5M1).

3M1: *Hu* 25; *Ding* 39.

3M2: *Hu* 53.

3M46: *Ding* 37.

3M60: *Guan* 106.

3M74: *Hu* 35.

5M1: *Hu* 23; *Ding* 36.

GM95: *Hu* 42.

GM202: *Hu* 32.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M3, 9, 35

M9: entrance ramp; pit grave (with water channel).

M3: *Hu* 39.

M9: *Ding* 38.

M35: *Hu* 41.

Qie Mo Shu (Hanjiang [Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu])

Tumulus; entrance ramp; pit grave; wood compartmented box tomb. Coffin lacquered black outside, red inside. Occupant wrapped in a figured glass burial suit with gilded copper threading. Grave goods include a silver seal surmounted by a tortoise inscribed “Qie Mo Shu” (Concubine Mo Shu) and six jade *bi* discs.

Ding 33.

Qilidian (Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu)

Pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb with doors. Double burial (man, woman). Coffins lacquered black outside, red inside.

Hu 35; *Guan* 98.

Qingfengling (Linyi Municipality, Shandong)

Pit grave; brick box tomb (large bricks joined by mortise and tenon) with stamped décor.

Hu 41.

Qinguang (Zaoyuan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M9

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick box tomb.

Hu 42.

Qingyunshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M2

Pit grave. Stone coffin (carved).

Hu 41; *Guan* 81, 86; *Ding* 45.

Sanjiaoyu (Tianchang, Anhui) M6, 10, 12, 17, 18

All (inadequate descriptions): pit grave. Some with wood box tomb; some double burials (man, woman).

M6: *Hu* 44; *Ding* 41.

M10: *Hu* 36; *Guan* 96, 98; *Ding* 54.

M12: *Guan* 97.

M17: *Hu* 32; *Guan* 98.

M18: *Guan* 103; *Ding* 33.

Sanlidun (Lianshui, Jiangsu)

Cist tomb. Remnants of coffin (?) lacquered dark brown with décor in red. Burial goods include two stone *bi* discs and four jade *bi* discs, two Middle Warring States gold- and silver-inlaid bronze *hu*, a Middle/Late Warring States *zun* (for heating alcohol) of gold-, silver-, and turquoise-inlaid bronze, an uninscribed bronze knife-shaped coin, Western Han *wushu* coins.

Guan 93.

Shamaosi (Lianyungang Municipality, Jiangsu) LSM1

Pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb inside brick box. Lacquered coffin with bronze appliqué ornaments. Grave goods include four jade *bi* discs, nose plugs.

Hu 32, 33; Guan 98.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M168

Catacomb grave.

Guan 108.

Shizhuan (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 25

M10: tumulus; pit grave; stone box (carved) inside of brick box tomb.

M11, 15, 16: pit grave; stone box tomb (worked stone; M16, carved). M11 burial goods include nine Western Han *wushu* coins.

M13: tumulus; pit grave; stone box tomb.

M25: no description.

Shizhuan appears to be, at least in part, a family burial. A seal in M10 identifies the occupant as Zheng Guang; seals in undated tombs M7, 21 indicate members of the same family.

M10: *Guan 87, 99.*

M11: *Hu 54, 56; Ding 47.*

M13: *Guan 99.*

M15: *Ding 50.*

M16: *Hu 52, 54.*

M25: *Hu 54.*

Simutang (Dayong, Hunan) SM11

Multicameral brick architectonic tombs; barrel vaulting likely (no specifications); stamped bricks possible (no specifications).

Hu 51.

Taolou (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M3

Pit grave cut into natural stone with two platforms of piled stones.

Hu 45; Ding 36.

Tianbaodun (Suzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M27

Pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb. Double burial (man,

woman). One coffin lacquered black outside, red inside; another lacquered red inside and out. Grave goods include one jade *bi* disc.

Hu 35, 51; *Guan* 89, 98.

Tianchang (Anhui) M2, 6, 9

M2: pit grave; wood box tomb.

M6, 9: tumulus; pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb with architectonic features (doors, windows, two stories, architectural detail on walls). Coffins lacquered black outside, red inside.

M2: *Ding* 45.

M6: *Hu* 32, 47.

M9: *Hu* 35; *Guan* 98.

Tuanshan (Zhangji, Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 89YTM1, 90YTM3, 90YTM4

All: pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb surrounded by layer of green clay. 89YTM1: openwork screen, lacquered black, below box lid. Décor on downward-facing surface in red lacquer on black ground with gold and silver appliqué ornaments. 89YTM1, 90YTM3, 90YTM4: coffin lacquered black outside, red inside. 89YTM1: Adult woman, approximately age 40; 90YTM3: woman, approximately age 30; 90YTM4: woman (?), approximately 23–25 years. No indications of robbery.

Burial goods include: 89YTM1, a loop-top bronze seal inscribed “She An,” more than 10,000 clay imitation *banliang* coins, nine argillaceous earthenware imitation bells (*bianzhong*), twelve argillaceous earthenware imitation chimestones, lacquerware inscribed “Dongyang,” “King” (*wang* [王]), “Central [Palace] Kitchens” (*zhong chu* [中廚]), “Outside Kitchens” (*wai chu* [外廚]); 90YTM3, lacquerware inscribed “Central [Palace] Kitchens,” “Outside Kitchens.”

The excavators suggest that the four graves of Tuanshan (I have not dated 90YTM2), situated in a row with 89YTM1 being the largest and best-furnished, belong to women buried in association with the nearby tomb of Miaoshan, of which a destroyed tomb at Danshan is also thought to be a satellite. The Tuanshan lacquer inscriptions are reasonably understood to refer to a local kingdom (i.e., references to the offices of the kitchens); however, which kingdom is unclear: Jing, Wu, Jiangdu, or Guangling, as is its precise relation to the women of Tuanshan. The absence in the Tuanshan tombs of *wushu* coins, first minted in 118 BC, convinces the excavators that the site must be

earlier than this date. Jing appears to be too early (201–191 BC), while Wu ended in the Rebellion of the Seven Kingdoms (156 BC). Presumably because Guangling was reestablished only in 117 BC, it is considered too late. This leaves the kingdom of Jiangdu and, hence, Miaoshan is attributed to Liu Fei, King of Jiangdu, d. 127 BC, while the burials at Tuanshan are considered to belong to his household. Until Miaoshan has been excavated, this line of reasoning is entirely arbitrary. In addition, the lack of *wushu* at Tuanshan does not necessarily reflect the site's date.

89YTM1: *Hu* 44, 48, 50; *Guan* 101, 103, 104; *Ding* 36, 39.

90YTM3: *Hu* 41; *Ding* 36.

90YTM4: *Hu* 44; *Ding* 36.

Wafenyuan (Jingsha Municipality, Hubei) M1

Tumulus; pit grave; wood compartmented box tomb. Coffin lacquered black outside, red inside. Tomb furnishings include an uninscribed bronze seal with tiger top.

Ding 35.

Wangtuanzhuang (Lianyungang Municipality, Jiangsu)

Pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb. Double burial (man, woman). Coffins lacquered black outside and inside.

Hu 35.

Water Treatment Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M55

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave; annex pit chamber with interlocking brick floor and brick barrel vaulting.

Hu 42; *Guan* 98; *Ding* 42.

Wulantaogegai (Hangjin Banner, Inner Mongolia) isolated finds

Isolated finds #2, #18: *Hu* 46.

Xiadu (Yixian, Hebei) M36

Pit grave.

Yandaishan (Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) YYM1

Tumulus; pit grave lined with light-colored clay; compartmented wood box tomb. Double burial (man, woman). Coffins lacquered black outside, red inside.

Hu 38, 39; *Guan* 89, 98.

Yangzhou (Jiangsu) M1-9

The excavation report makes no distinction between M1-9 in much of the material described and illustrated.

M1-5: compartmented wood box tomb.

M6-9: pit grave.

Grave goods include a jade mouthpiece and earplugs, a two-sided bronze seal inscribed “Wan Ying” and “Seal of Wan Changsun (the Oldest Grandson),” reading “Changsun” as a cognomen (*zǐ*), all from M4.

Hu 39, 44; *Guan* 82, 100, 101, 103; *Ding* 35 (specified M1, 2).

Yaozhuang (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M101

Pit grave; compartmented wood box. Double burial (man, woman). Coffins lacquered black outside, red inside. Burial furnishings include extensive lacquer inventory, uninscribed bronze seals topped by a fantastic deer (gilded) and tortoise.

Hu 34–6; *Ding* 37.

Yinqueshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M3, 4, 6

All: pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb. Coffins lacquered black outside, red inside. M6: double burial (man, woman). Burial goods include a jade mouth piece (M4).

M3: *Hu* 41.

M4: *Hu* 50.

M6: *Guan* 95; *Ding* 38.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M108*

Pit grave; waist pit.

Guan 101.

Yuantaizi (Chaoyang Municipality, Liaoning) EM62

Pit grave; wood box. Coffin; man.

Guan 80.

Zhaowan (Baotou Municipality, Inner Mongolia) M42

Tumulus; pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb. Burial furnishings include jade eye covers and nose plugs.

Ding 38.

Zhou Family Cemetery (Jinqueshan [Linyi Municipality, Shandong]) M10, 11, 14, 15

All: pit grave (with shelf for M15); compartmented wood box tomb. M14: fragments of painted banners. M14: coffin lacquered black outside and in, gold foil ornaments, gilded nails, décor painted on ends of coffin. Grave goods include bronze seals inscribed “Seal of Zhou Kuanxin” (M11) and “Zhou Kuanzhi”/ “Zhou X” (周X, ? *character unreproducible, pronunciation unknown*) (M14). These, together with a seal bearing the name Zhou Shaoweng/Zhou Sui from M12 (not datable), suggest a family burial plot. M10 burial goods include one earthenware and one glass *bi* disc.

M10: *Hu* 35; *Ding* 49.

M11: *Guan* 107, 108.

M14: *Hu* 41; *Guan* 87.

M15: *Guan* 80.

Zifangshan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1, 2

M1: pit grave; remnants of lacquered coffin.

M2: entrance shaft; catacomb grave with shelf, entrance blocked

with stone. Remnants of coffin lacquered black and red.

Grave goods include three jade *bi* discs, jade nose and eye covers (all: unspecified distribution between M1-3).

M1: *Guan* 93, 100.

M2: *Hu* 44, 45; *Ding* 43.

Zixing (Hunan) M33, 470

Both: tumulus; pit grave (M33 with entrance ramp).

M33: *Guan* 105.

M470: *Guan* 76.

Ca. 69 BC

+ Shizishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu)

Tomb cut into limestone hillside (cave tomb). Entrance ramp, off of which is dug an accompanying burial, originally with a wood interior structure (disintegrated); multicameral cave tomb, some chambers unfinished; stone blocks reinforce some walls, bar entrances; some chambers had wooden doors framed by hollow bricks with stamped décor (e.g., chamber E4, Wang and Ge, *Xuzhou Shizishan Chuwang ling*, 110–11). Two lacquered coffins with lids inlaid with jade (found in chambers E5 and W5); and, in chamber E6, a platform presumably intended to hold a coffin. Robbed. Associated with six annex pits containing earthenware warriors, horses, servants (2,300+ pieces total reported for the four pits initially found, *WW* 1986.12; additional annex pits reported in Wang and Ge, *Xuzhou Shizishan Chuwang ling*, 19). The burial off of the entrance ramp includes a jade pillow, jade *bi*, and *banliang* coins, and a loop-top bronze seal reading “The Inspector of the Office of Offerings” (or “of Food,” *siguan jian yin*), which is assumed to identify the deceased. The skeletal remains in this burial have been identified as a man approximately 40 years old. Burial goods for the principal tomb include twenty-four white or green jade *bi* discs (ten broken); jade ear and nose plugs; a 4,000-piece jade burial suit; nineteen stone chimes; 176,000 *banliang* coins; nineteen different seal imprints of the chancellors and officials of the different counties incorporated within the Han Kingdom of Chu; eight different seal impressions of officials of the kingdom of Chu; five silver tortoise-topped seals bearing the titles of Chu officials. Remains of a skull, thigh, tail bone, and ribs are assumed to represent the master of the tomb, a man 35–37 years old. Three teeth were also found (in chamber E4), determined by analysis to belong to an individual of

about 30 years old. On the basis of the coffins and human remains, the master of the tomb is assumed to have been buried with three sacrificed humans: the man buried off of the entrance ramp, and two women. Chamber E4 is said to have belonged to a woman because of the jade dancers found in that room; another woman is supposed to have been buried in chamber E5, although no rationale is given. The paucity of human remains and the disturbance of tomb furnishings by robbers make these claims difficult to ascertain. There may, for instance, have been more individuals buried within the tomb; in addition, they may have been buried at different times, rather than sacrificed.

The presence of the seals or seal impressions of Chu officials indicates that the master of the tomb was likely to have been of high rank in Chu; the seal impressions of the officials of subordinate counties gives credence to the idea that Shizishan belonged to a king (or, potentially, queen) of Chu. However, this evidence is complex. While some of the counties named on the seals and in the seal impressions belong to Chu before its reduction in size in 155 BC in punishment of the king for his alleged affair with the Empress Dowager Bo (*SJ*, 50:1988; *HS*, 36:1924). This reduction in territory, and hence in revenues, led King Wu to join with the kingdom of Wu in the short-lived Rebellion of the Seven Kingdoms in 154 BC. Chu was subsequently reduced as planned. If we are to view the counties named in the Shizishan seals and seal impressions as subordinates of Chu, therefore, we must assume that the seals date to before 154 BC. However, some of the counties named never belonged to Chu, even at its greatest geographic extent, but to neighboring communities such as Pei (i.e., the county of Xiao [*WW* 1998.8, 12; see *HS*, 28A:1572]).⁶ Some of the places named on the seals remain unrecognized (Haiyi and Beipingyi are given as unknown in Shizishan [Geng Jianjun], *KG* 2000.9, 81; the county of Zhao is listed as unknown and one place-name, initially rendered as Gong, has an unrecognized graphic, according to Wang Kai [Shizishan], *WW* 1998.8, 47; I would add Guyang [*KG* 1998.8, f. 15:10], which I do not find in the *Hanshu*). Since we know that not all the localities named on the seals belonged to Chu, there is no basis for assigning these unknown places to Chu (as opposed to the theory advanced in *KG* 1998.8, 15). The inclusion of non-Chu counties forces me to conclude that the seals demonstrate some relationship, as yet undiscovered, more complex than that of fealty. I would suggest that officials from a wide area either attended the funeral or sent seals or other tokens simply as marks of respect, with no implication of fealty. From this perspective, counties once part of Chu could be represented in these burials even if these areas were no longer under the authority of the kingdom. The reduction of

Chu territory in 154 BC thus need not inform our interpretation of the seals.

Another feature of the seal evidence is that the official title of [Prefect] Invocator of Chu (*Chu cisi [ling]*), which occurs on one seal (WW 1998.8, 46), came into use only in 144 BC.⁷ Shizishan therefore cannot date to before 144 BC. Of the many Chinese archaeologists who have addressed these issues, only Huang Shengzhang (KG 2000.9) dates the site accordingly. All other debate on the attribution of the site ignores some portion of the seal evidence and agrees on a date no later than 154 BC.⁸ The deliberate damage to many of the seals deposited in the tomb raises further questions, but does not appear immediately to be related to the question of chronology.

The object comparisons established below suggest to me that both the principal burial and the accompanying burial of the Inspector of the Office of Offerings date to ca. 70 BC. On the assumption that the principal burial belongs to a king, I would propose an identity of Liu Yanshou, who committed suicide in 69 BC after a thirty-two-year reign.⁹ The length of his reign raises questions about the age of the supposed master of the tomb (35–37 years old). Assuming that the age projection (as well as my attribution) is accurate, it would seem that this skeleton is not that of the king. Since it seems unlikely that the Inspector of the Office of Offerings would have been buried in the entrance ramp before the king was buried in the principal tomb, I have adopted a ca. 69 BC date for the former, as well.

Burial off of entrance ramp: *Hu* 41.

Principal tomb: *Hu* 51; *Guan* 67.

Ca. 55 BC

+ Dingxian (Hebei) + M40

Square wall around the funerary compound; tumulus; entrance ramp; pit grave; two chambers supposed (collapsed); wood *huangchang ticou* tomb. Five nested coffins, the first lacquered red, the others lacquered black; silk hangings were placed over the lid of the third coffin. The occupant was wrapped in a jade burial suit with gold threads. Tomb robbed and damaged by fire. Burial goods include one jade *bi* disc; jade nose plugs, eye covers, mouth piece, and ear plugs; thirteen horses, three carriages; bamboo manuscripts. Transcripts of the manuscripts are not provided, but are said to include a record of daily activities for the visit to the imperial court of King Liu'an in 56 BC.

On the basis of the jade burial suit with gold threads, together with

the size and structure of the tomb, excavators assume the burial to be that of a regional king (i.e., of Zhongshan). Taking the date of 56 BC noted in the bamboo manuscripts as a *terminus post quem*, the tomb occupant is identified as Liu Xiu, King Huai of Zhongshan, d. 55 BC, in the WW 1981.8 report. A report in WW 1976.7 proposes instead Liu Xing, King Xiao of Zhongshan, d. 8 BC, arguing that Liu Xiu was too distant a relative of Xuandi to be offered a gold-wired jade suit for burial. Although an aristocratic attribution for the tomb seems likely, both suggestions of specific identity are speculative. I have provisionally accepted attribution to the earlier king, as closer to the manuscript *terminus post quem*; this, too, is arbitrary.

Hu 57, 58; Ding 51.

Liangnanzhuang (Rongcheng Municipality, Shandong) M2

Pit grave cut into natural stone; brick box tomb. Black lacquered coffin.

Hu 57; Ding 52.

Ca. 51 BC

Chengbei (Hexian, Anhui)

Pit grave lined with charcoal and white clay; compartmented wood box tomb. Three nested coffins, lacquered black outside, red inside.

Hu 41, 44; Guan 100; Ding 53.

Chôngbaengni (Teihakuri) (Pangyori, P'yôngyang, Democratic People's Republic of Korea) habitation site [Han dynasty Lelang commandery]

Objects include a bronze *hu* inscribed with a date of 41 BC.

Ding 53.

+ Gaoyao (Sanqiao, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) cache, + bronze #12

Inscribed with date of production.

Ding 53.

Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M3

Tumulus; entrance ramp with steps; pit grave lined with charcoal; wood box tomb. Lacquered coffin (color not specified). Grave goods include jade mouth piece and nose plugs. From inscriptions, this appears to be a family plot.

Hu 34, 38, 39, 49; *Guan* 92, 95; *Ding* 53.

Qilingang (Nanyang Municipality, Henan) M8

Entrance ramp; terraced pit grave (pit with multiple encircling steps) lined with green clay; wood box tomb. Coffin lacquered black outside, red inside.

Hu 51; *Ding* 53.

Ca. 45 BC

Beiyingzi (Liangcheng, Inner Mongolia) M8

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave. Double burial (man and woman).

Hu 59.

+ Dabaotai (Beijing Municipality) + M1, M2

Both: tumulus (M2 overlaps M1); entrance ramp with horse and carriage pit (for M1, containing three carriages and thirteen horses; not robbed; for M2, remains of three carriages and ten horses; pit robbed and burned); pit grave lined with charcoal and white clay; wood multicameral *huangchang ticou* tomb (M1, attested; M2, assumed). M1: three nested coffins lacquered black outside, red inside, except for the innermost coffin (all black). The occupant of M1 was wearing a jade burial suit. The occupant of M2 was a woman, age 20–25 years. Both tombs had been robbed; M2 had been burned. Burial goods include M1: three jade *bi* discs, 300+ *wushu* coins (ca. 118 BC, ca. 87–74 BC, ca. 73 BC),¹⁰ broken lacquer box inscribed with an inscribed date (“year 24”);¹¹ M2: jade ear plugs, two jade *bi* discs, sixty *wushu* coins (not clearly shown).

The structure of the tomb and the use of a jade burial suit for M1 lead excavators to assume a royal burial; the *wushu* coins, all interpreted as of ca. 118 BC minting, provide a broad *terminus post quem*, while the date from the lacquer box indicates the minimum length of the king's reign (twenty-four years). Textual records describing the burial place of Liu Dan, King La, r. 117–80 BC, exclude

Dabaotai. This leaves Liu Jian, King Qing of Guangyang, r. 73–45 BC, to whom the excavators therefore attribute M1. The attribution is feasible, but remains unascertainable.

+ M1: *Hu* 59; *Guan* 113, 114; *Ding* 54.

M2: *Guan* 110, 113, 115, 116.

Jiagezhuang (Tangshan Municipality, Hebei) M27

No description of tomb.

Guan 104, 116.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M42

Pit grave; wood box tomb.

Guan 114.

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M22

Pit entrance shaft; catacomb grave; wood coffin.

Hu 59.

Xiadu (Yixian, Hebei) M32, 35

Both: pit grave (M32 covered with boulders).

M32: *Hu* 59.

M35: *Guan* 111, 112, 114.

Ca. 26 BC

+ Youyu (Shanxi) cache

Inscribed with a date of production of 26 BC.

Ding 55.

Ca. 18 BC

+ Gaoyao (Sanqiao, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) cache

Cache of twenty bronzes, of which nineteen bear inscriptions. Several of these include the date of production, ranging from 97 BC to 18 BC.

The cache as a whole is here dated to the latest inscribed year of production.

Ding 14, 53.

Ca. AD 4

Dongdongshan ([formerly Shiqiao,] Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2

Cave tomb (corridor, chamber cut into limestone hill). Dates of ca. 101–69 BC are proposed in the excavation report on the assumption that the occupant of the adjacent Shiqiao M1 (with a jade burial suit and two jade *bi* discs) was king of this region (Chu), a kingdom disbanded in 69 BC. None of the published material allows dating of M1. M2 yielded bronzes inscribed Zhaoguang Palace, known under this name from 101 BC– AD 8; thereafter, Wang Mang changed the name. Inscriptions include: Queen of Chu (*Chu wanghou* [楚王后]), “the wash basin of Lady Zhao” (*Zhao ji xipan* [趙姬沐盤]), “*zhong* [jar] belonging to Lady Zhao of Mingguang Palace” (*Mingguang gong Zhao ji zhong* [明光宮趙姬鍾]), “kitchens of the royal family” (*wangjia shangsi* [王家尚食]). These seem to identify the occupant as the lady (“concubine”) Zhao. Grave goods include jade nose and ear plugs.

Hu 14; *Ding* 37, 39, 40, 56.

+ Ju'n'an (Shandong) isolated find

Inscribed with a date of production of AD 4.

Ding 56.

Ca. AD 5

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1113, 1116

Both: pit grave; wood box tomb. Burial goods include two jade *bi* discs (M1116).

M1113: *Hu* 60.

M1116: *Hu* 60; *Guan* 61, 119.

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M7

Pit grave.

Hu 60; *Guan* 117, 118; *Ding* 21.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M11

Tumulus; entrance shaft; catacomb grave; hollow brick compartmented box tomb.

Hu 60.

+ Xupu (Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) + M101

Pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb. Double burial (man, woman). Coffins lacquered brown outside, red inside. Grave goods include wood and bamboo manuscripts, including a memorial with date of death, as well as stone mouth and eye pieces, ear and nose plugs.

Hu 35, 36; *Guan* 92, 93, 98, 117.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M119*

Pit grave; waist pit.

Hu 60.

Ca. AD 7

Date defined by the presence of ca. AD 7 *daquan wushi* coins in the tomb; vessels are of earlier date. No potentially later vessels have been identified. The date is therefore only a *terminus post quem*.

Baimashi (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IM2

Entrance ramp; pit grave; brick architectonic tomb, barrel vaulting, stamped bricks. Burial goods include seventy-six *daquan wushi* coins.

Guan 84, 109.

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) 87M6

Pit grave. Burial goods include ten *daquan wushi* coins.

Guan 91.

Fenghuangshan (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan)

M6

Pit grave. Burial goods include twenty *daquan wushi* coins.

Guan 117.

Qianyang (Baoji Municipality, Shaanxi)

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; painted décor. Double burial (man, woman). Burial goods include fifty-eight *daquan wushi* coins.

Ding 53.

Yeling (Gongxian, Henan)

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb, barrel vaulting, carved stone entrance doors. Burial goods include three *daquan wushi* coins.

Hu 35; *Guan* 98.

Zixing (Hunan) M333

Tumulus; pit grave. Burial goods include ca. 73 BC *wushu* and *daquan wushi*.

Guan 105.

Ca. AD 9

Date defined by the presence of a ca. AD 9 *xiaoquan zhiyi* coin in Wunüzhong (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM461, which overrides the date otherwise provided by *guan* 94 and provides dating for vessels not identified as earlier forms. This date is therefore only a *terminus post quem*.

Tomb of Bu Qianqiu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan)

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave; multicameral architectonic tomb of hollow brick and small solid brick, painted wall décor, stamped brick décor, barrel vaulting. Remains of two wood coffins; double burial (man, woman). Identity of occupant as Bu Qianqiu from a square, loop-top bronze seal. Burial goods include sixty-seven ca. 118 and ca. 73 BC *wushu*.

Hu 62–5; *Guan* 126, 128, 129; *Ding* 59, 64.

Ermutang (Dayong, Hunan) RM5

Multicameral brick architectonic tomb; probably with barrel vaulting.

Guan 122.

Fenghuangshan (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M9

Pit grave.

Guan 122, 124.

Ganzhou (Jiangxi)

Pit grave; brick architectonic (?) tomb (roof collapsed); stamped brick décor.

Guan 124.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2009

Pit grave; wood box tomb.

Hu 61.

Huaihua (Hunan) M6

Tumulus; entrance ramp; pit grave. Grave furnishings include soapstone *bi* discs.

Hu 62.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1, 11, IM337

M1: entrance ramp; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting on main chamber. (Two) coffins; double burial; deceased in extended position. Burial goods include twenty-nine Western Han *wushu* and 1,462 *moguo wushu* (outer edge removed).

M11: entrance ramp; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; doors and surrounding of hollow brick, stamped décor; barrel vaulting. Remains of two wood coffins; double burial (man, woman). Burial goods include 393 ca. 118 BC *wushu* coins.

IM337: entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral

architectonic tomb; upper walls curve inward, but roof flat in entry hall; barrel vaulting in northeast chamber; flat roof in north chamber; entrance hall, northeast, north chambers of brick; remaining four chambers are unlined dirt. Burial goods include two bronze coins (rusted).

M1: *Hu* 64.

M11: *Hu* 63, 64; *Guan* 99, 123, 126; *Ding* 58.

IM337: *Hu* 32, 33, 35, 62, 64; *Guan* 98, 120, 126; *Ding* 60, 69.

Jiulishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1

Pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb; and catacomb grave; wood box tomb. Double burial (man, woman). Burial furnishings include one jade *bi* disc, four stone *bi* discs, one *banliang* coin.

Hu 43; *Guan* 125.

Luoyang Post and Cable Office (Henan) IM372

Entrance ramp; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting. Double burial (man, woman). Burial goods include 124 ca. 118 and ca. 73 BC *wushu* coins (bronze), one *wushu* in iron.

Hu 63–5; *Guan* 109, 123, 126; *Ding* 61, 64.

“Painted Tomb” (Luoyang Municipality, Henan)

Identified as Old City of Luoyang M61 (*KGXB* 1964.2, 107).; identified as M61 in the Wangcheng Park in *Wenwu jinghua* 3; identified as Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M61 in Luoyangshi, *Luoyang Han mu bihua*.

Entrance ramp; brick and hollow brick multicameral architectonic tomb; pitched roof with flat top (main chamber), barrel vaulting (all other chambers); stamped brick décor; wall paintings; openwork carving on brick. Double burial (man, woman). Burial goods include one *banliang* coin and 187 ca. 118 and ca. 73 BC *wushu* coins.

Hu 64; *Guan* 126, 128, 129; *Ding* 63.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M30

No description of tomb. Burial goods include four ca. 118 BC *wushu*.

Guan 124, 125.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M2, 49,

50, 58, 82, 84, 102, 105, 125, 134, 159B, 175, 312, 410, 412, 413, 632, 1026

M2, 159B, 175, 312, 410, 412, 413: tumulus; entrance shaft; catacomb grave; hollow brick compartmented box tomb.

M102, 125, 632: tumulus; entrance shaft; catacomb grave; multicameral brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

M49, 50, 58, 82, 84, 105, 134: tumulus; entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

Burial goods include a bronze loop-top seal in M74, inscribed “Private seal of Guo Zhong,” and M410, inscribed “Bin Qin.” M1026 yielded a glass mouth piece. All tombs except M159B, 412, 413, 1026 included Western Han *wushu* coins.

M2: *Hu* 62.

M49: *Hu* 63.

M50: *Hu* 64.

M58: *Ding* 59.

M82: *Hu* 61.

M84: *Hu* 64.

M102: *Hu* 64.

M105: *Ding* 57.

M125: *Hu* 64; *Guan* 124; *Ding* 62, 63.

M134: *Ding* 58.

M159B: *Guan* 124.

M175: *Hu* 36, 62.

M312: *Guan* 120.

M410: *Guan* 127.

M412: *Guan* 126.

M413: *Guan* 127.

M632: *Hu* 65.

M1026: *Guan* 127.

Shixing (Guangdong) M10, 19

Both: pit grave.

M10: *Guan* 121.

M19: *Hu* 61; *Guan* 117, 121, 124.

Tianzhuangtuo (Ninghe, Tianjin Municipality)

Pit grave. Burial goods include forty-five ca. 118 BC *wushu* coins.

Guan 126.

Weixiao (Dayong, Hunan) WM1

Multicameral brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting. Double burial (man, woman).

Guan 124.

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M69

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave; contiguous catacomb burial goods pit. Remains of wood coffin.

Ding 64.

Wulipai (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M012

Entrance ramp; pit grave.

Guan 122.

Wunüzhong (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM461

Entrance ramp; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; groin vaulting in front chamber; barrel vaulting in other chambers. Burial goods include 491 *daquan wushi* and one *xiaoquan zhiyi* coins.

Hu 65; *Guan* 94, 120, 124, 126; *Ding* 57.

Xin'an (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M11

Brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting. Burial goods include two uninscribed bronze coins and three ca. 73 BC *wushu* coins.

Guan 124; *Ding* 57.

Xincun (Yanshi, Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1

Entrance ramp; pit grave; hollow brick multicameral architectonic tomb; flattened barrel vaulting (interlocking long bricks); painted wall décor; stamped brick décor. Tomb robbed. *Guan* 126 pictured in wall painting (Col. Pl. 1:2).

Guan 128.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M26*

Pit grave; waist pit.

Zhongzhoulu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M801

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave.

Guan 129.

Zixing (Hunan) M2, 19, 116, 218

All: tumulus; pit grave. M116, 173: two contiguous pits. M116: with entrance ramp. M19 grave goods include *daquan wushi* coins.

M2: Hu 59; Guan 124.

M19: Guan 124.

M116: Guan 121.

M218: Guan 104, 121.

Ca. AD 10

Date defined by the presence of ca. AD 10 *dabu huangqian* coins in tombs with vessels of earlier date. Vessel forms not found earlier are then dated to ca. AD 10. This date, however, can serve only as a *terminus post quem*.

Chengguanzhen (Fangcheng, Henan)

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; stone doors, post, lintel (carved); barrel vaulting (interlocking bricks); stamped brick décor. Burial goods include four *daquan wushi* and one *dabu huangqian* coins. Note that tomb fill includes Springs and Autumns and Warring States pottery shards.

Hu 52; Ding 65, 66.

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) 89M28

Pit grave. Burial goods include a jade *bi* disc, ca. 118 BC *wushu*, *daquan wushi*, and *dabu huangqian* coins.

Hu 35; Guan 93, 98.

Jinzhai (Mianxian, Shaanxi) 78HJM5

Brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting (of wedge-shaped bricks); stamped brick décor. Fragments of red lacquer coffin (?). Burial goods

include eighty-three *daquan wushi* and sixteen *dabu huangqian* coins.

Hu 52; *Ding* 37.

Longshou Military Base (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M8

Entrance shaft; two catacomb chambers with brick paved floor.

Ding 65.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M2

Brick architectonic tomb (?); barrel vaulting (?). Red lacquered coffin. Burial goods include 324 Western Han *wushu*, fifty-one *daquan wushi* and five *dabu huangqian* coins.

Note that the *wushu* classifications are unclear and no tomb-specific inventory of subtypes is provided. At least one example, whose published rubbing is difficult to read (*KGXB* 1976.2, 142, f. 34:6), could possibly date to ca. AD 24. If this example were indeed Eastern Han and were found in M2, the date of M2 would naturally move to ca. AD 24.

Guan 93.

Ca. AD 14

Date defined by the presence of ca. AD 14 *huoquan* coins in tombs with earlier vessels. However, *ding* 67–9 were not found in earlier tombs and are therefore identified as dating to this period. This date is therefore only a *terminus post quem*.

Changshanzhen (Jiangyin Municipality, Jiangsu) isolated find

Ding 69.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) unnumbered tomb

Brick architectonic multicameral tomb; stone doors; door between entrance hall and front chamber is ceramic; barrel vaulting in entrance hall; groin vaulting in front chamber; pitched roof over flat ceiling (hollow bricks) in rear chamber; stamped brick (hollow);

painted bricks (hollow). Tomb robbed. Burial goods include 240 ca. 118 BC *wushu*, seven *qidao wubai*, 435 *daquan wushi*, 139 *xiaoquan zhiyi*, and seven *huoquan* coins.

Hu 63–66; *Guan* 123, 124, 126; *Ding* 68, 69.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M38, 45, 62, 74, 135, 136A

M38, 45, 74, 135: tumulus; entrance shaft; catacomb grave; multicameral brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

M62, 136A: tumulus; entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

Burial goods include a bronze loop-top seal in M74, inscribed “Private seal of Guo Zhong.” M38 contained a *huobu* coin; M45, 62, 74, 135 yielded coins of unspecified types dating to the Wang Mang era (ca. AD 7–14).

M38: *Guan* 120.

M45: *Hu* 65.

M62: *Hu* 62.

M74: *Guan* 126, 127, 129; *Ding* 62.

M135: *Ding* 62.

M136A: *Ding* 67, 68.

Xiadu (Yixian, Hebei) M34

Pit grave.

Guan 129.

Ca. AD 18

+ Tomb of (the consort of) Lord Feng (Tanghe [Nanyang Municipality, Henan])

Entrance ramp; multicameral architectonic stone tomb, carved stone décor; brick barrel vaulting in front chambers, covered by a flat roof over the two front side chambers, flat roof in rear chambers, front-central chamber with brick groin vaulting in a pointed arch (here termed *sijiao zuanjianshi* [四角鑽尖式]). In my estimation, this could be termed brick and stone *huangchang ticou* tomb because of the corridor surrounding the inner chambers and because of the flat stone roof encompassing the rear chambers. A number of stones from the

outer chambers are oddly sized, presumably to meet structural space requirements while preserving as much as possible of the images carved on these stones (*KGXB* 1980.2, 246, f. 10). (None of these stones was inscribed.) At least part of one image (an elephant) was lost (*KGXB* 1980.2, 251, f. 21:1, right-hand side). In itself, such resizing demonstrates that the stones were carved before being placed in the tomb, but need not indicate reuse of the stones. The authors of the excavation report identify the tomb occupant as the wife (*ruren*) of Lord Feng, the Grand Administrator (*dayin*) of Yuping, based on inscriptions in the tomb (*Yuping dayin Feng jun ruren* [郁平大尹馮君孺人]). They note, however, that the character *ren* is unclear and could be read as *jiu*; Rujiu would then be understood as a (male) first name, belonging to Lord Feng. I am inclined to interpret the inscriptions as referring to a man, but this is a subjective choice. The date of burial is provided in the inscription. Vessels not included in typologies.

Ca. AD 24

Date defined by the presence of ca. AD 24 *wushu* coins in tombs whose vessels are otherwise dated to earlier periods. Vessels not identified as earlier are accordingly classified as belonging to this period. This date, therefore, serves only as a *terminus post quem*.

Beiyongzi (Liangcheng, Inner Mongolia) M11, 21, 22

M21, 22: entrance shaft; catacomb grave.

M11: entrance shaft; catacomb grave; wood chamber consisting of upright branches packed with stones.

M11: *Guan* 135.

M21: *Guan* 134.

M22: *Guan* 133.

Ershidian (Huainan Municipality, Anhui)

Pit grave. Furnishings include eight Western Han *wushu* and two ca. AD 24 *wushu* coins.

Hu 35; *Guan* 95.

Huaihua (Hunan) M8, 11

No description of tombs. Burial goods include soapstone *bi* discs.

M8: *Ding* 70.

M11: *Hu* 71; *Ding* 70.

Jinqueshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M27

Pit grave.

Ding 70.

Laoshan (Qingdao Municipality, Shandong) unnumbered double burial

Pit grave; compartmented stone box tomb. Double burial (man, woman). Burial goods include a jade mouth piece and a bronze loop-top seal reading “Seal of Jie Ding” and one string (approximately one hundred coins) of *wushu* dating to both Western and Eastern (ca. AD 24) Han.

Hu 34, 35, 38.

Nanchang Eastern Suburbs (Jiangxi) M1, 15

M1: entrance ramp (stepped); pit grave. Burial goods include 1 jade *bi* disc and nine probably ca. 118 BC *wushu* coins.

M15: pit grave.

M1: *Guan* 134; *Ding* 24.

M15: *Hu* 71; *Guan* 100, 130.

Panmiao (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M6B

Pit grave; brick box tomb. Woman, approximately 35 years old.

Guan 135.

Pengshan (Sichuan) M153

Cave tombs, often with pillars; may be multiple burials; may have stamped brick décor.

Guan 132.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 3M58, 3M70, 6M50, 8M37, GM73, GM112, GM159, GM188, GM232, TQM158

All: pit graves.

GM188: two entrance ramps; brick box tomb lined with small

stones; wood box tomb.
3M58: *Hu* 68; *Guan* 130.
3M70: *Hu* 69.
6M50: *Hu* 69.
8M37: *Hu* 69.
GM73: *Guan* 133.
GM112: *Hu* 67.
GM159: *Hu* 68; *Ding* 49.
GM188: *Hu* 67.
GM232: *Guan* 131–133.
TQM158: *Hu* 67.

Qianjingtou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) CM1231

Entrance shaft; catacomb tomb; brick multicameral architectonic tomb with one dirt chamber; angled roof (hollow bricks pitching inward from the walls but flat across the span); stamped brick décor; paintings. One ceramic plaque inscribed in red (paint/ink). Burial goods include 223 *wushu* coins not differentiated as to type; rubbings on WW 1993.5, 11, f. 23, suggest ca. 118 BC (center), ca. 73 BC (left), and possibly ca. AD 24 (right). Although rubbings can be difficult to read, I have accepted this last example as ca. AD 24. If it is not, then *guan* 134 and all sites dated through this form (including Qingjiangtong CM1231) would be dated to ca. AD 9.

Hu 62, 64; *Guan* 126, 127, 129, 134; *Ding* 60.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M34

Pit grave cut into natural rock. Burial goods include 191 *wushu* coins dating to the Western and Eastern (ca. AD 24) Han.

Hu 52.

Qinchuan Machinery Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M6

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave. Burial goods include *wushu* coin said to date to ca. AD 24.

Ding 46.

Sanfengou (Yangyuan, Hebei) M1, 3, 4

All: tumulus; entrance shaft; catacomb grave; wood box tomb. Coffin

lacquered black outside, red inside.

M3: double burial (man, woman).

M4 burial goods include *wushu* coins identified in the report as ca. 118 BC; the rubbing in WW 1990.1, 13, f. 25:2 appears to be ca. AD 24. This coin was not used to date the tomb.

M1: *Hu* 70.

M3: *Hu* 70; *Guan* 135.

M4: *Hu* 70.

Shangmiangao (Pinglu, Shanxi) PXSM1

Tumulus; pit grave lined with stone; wood box tomb. Double burial (man, woman). Burial goods include a bronze seal with loop top reading “Zhao Qi.” Three *wushu* coins were found on the site; their distribution among the tombs is not given. The date of minting is said to include ca. AD 24, hence the excavators’ dating of the site as Late Western-Early Eastern Han. I have accepted the presence of ca. AD 24 *wushu* coin(s) in PXSM1; otherwise, the date of this tomb and other sites dependent on *guan* 133, 135, and 136 would be ca. AD 9.

Hu 67, 68; *Guan* 133, 135, 136.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M91, 108, 112

M91: tumulus; brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting. Two coffins. Double burial (man, woman). Burial goods include two *wushu* coins said to be ca. AD 24 (which have not been used for dating this tomb).

M108, 112: pit grave; wood box tomb. Two coffins. Double burial (man, woman). M112 burial goods include forty-four Western Han *wushu* coins.

M91: *Guan* 132.

M108: *Guan* 134.

M112: *Guan* 88, 136.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M31

Tumulus; entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; groin vaulting; barrel vaulting. Burial goods include one Wang Mang-era coin and one ca. AD 24 *wushu* coin.

Hu 65.

Tianma-Qucun (Quwo and Yicheng, Shanxi) M3

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting. Robbed. Two *huobu* and one *huoquan* coins were found in the robber's hole.

Guan 132.

Wulantaogegai (Hangjin Banner, Inner Mongolia) M6

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave. Burial furnishings include a jade mouth piece and seventy-eight *wushu* coins dating to ca. 118 BC and ca. 73 BC.

Guan 136.

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M24, 28

Both: entrance shaft (pit); catacomb grave. Wood coffin.

M24: *Hu* 69.

M28: *Hu* 69; *Guan* 134.

Xianshan (Xiangfan Municipality, Hubei)

Finds presumed to come from a destroyed grave.

Hu 53, 68.

Ca. AD 43

+ Hantanpo (Wuwei, Gansu)

Entrance ramp; pit grave. Two coffins. Burial goods include legal/administrative manuscripts on wood slips noting a date of AD 43. Although I have adopted it as the burial date, it serves only as a *terminus post quem*. Vessels from this tomb not otherwise classified are assumed to date to this period.

Hu 72, 73.

Ca. AD 61

+ Tongshan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu)

Six carved stones from destroyed tomb; from the carved memorial inscription, the date of death appears to have been AD 42, while the

memorial stone was set in place in AD 61.

Ca. AD 63

+ Pengshan (Sichuan) + M682

Cave tomb; may have pillars, stamped bricks. May be multiple burial. Brick inscribed with date.

Guan 134, 135, 137, 138; *Ding* 71.

Ca. AD 65

Beijingzi (Liangcheng, Inner Mongolia) M12

Entrance ramp; catacomb grave. Coffin. Double burial. Burial goods include two *wushu* coins.

Guan 165.

Bijiashan (Suining, Sichuan) M5, 6

Both: cave tombs. Robbed. Burial goods may include Western Han and/or ca. AD 24 Eastern Han *wushu* coins. No distribution is provided in the excavation report.

M5: *Guan* 153.

M6: *Guan* 156.

Chôngbaengni (Teihakuri) ([originally, Taedonggangmyôn M4,] Pangyori, P'yôngyang, Democratic People's Republic of Korea [Han dynasty Lelang commandery]) M151

Brick architectonic tomb; probably groin vaulting; stamped bricks.

Guan 151.

Dajiangkou (Shupu, Hunan) M4

Pit grave.

Ding 80.

Datagang (Dayong, Hunan) DM9

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

Guan 147, 169.

Dayi (Sichuan)

Pit grave lined with white clay (inscribed?) with red ink. Fragments of a coffin (?) lacquered in red, black, and yellow.

Hu 82, 86; *Guan* 138, 151, 152, 164; *Ding* 44.

Fuling (Sichuan) M1

Pit grave. Burial goods include one jade *bi* disc.

Guan 153.

Gaozhuang (Dilu, Hebei)

Large tumulus; tomb destroyed. The site yielded a number of bronzes inscribed “Changshan”; of these, the lid of a *ding* was also inscribed with dates “year 29” and “year 30,” presumably in reference to the calendar of the King of Changshan. Initially founded in 188 BC, the first three kings remained only briefly in office (the second king briefly becoming emperor under the Empress Dowager Lü) and the kingdom was abolished in 188 BC (*SJ*, 17:815–20, 824–5). It was reestablished in 146 BC for Liu Wu, son of Jingdi, who took office in 145 BC. He died in 114 BC and was succeeded by his son, who was quickly removed from office (*SJ*, 17:849–50, 867; *HS*, 14:417). The years 29 and 30 must therefore belong to the reign of King Xian, Liu Wu, and correspond to 117 BC and 116 BC, when the *ding* was received in transfer (*xiao jian* [效見]). A bronze brazier made to hold an eared cup (*erbei*) is also inscribed with “year 29.” Such dated references to Changsha would suggest that the Gaozhuang burial be associated with someone from that kingdom's government. However, the ceramics found have no early counterparts. I conclude that the inscribed bronzes, as well as the tomb's Late Warring States *hu*, are likely to be heirlooms.

Hu 69; *Guan* 149; *Ding* 27, 42, 56.

Guangyan (Zhungar Banner, Inner Mongolia) habitation site [Qin and Han city] with cemetery

Guan 149, 151.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1014, 1068, 1175, 2062, 4039, 5035, 5036

M1014: pit grave.

M1068: pit grave; wood box tomb.

M1175, 2062: entrance ramp; pit grave; compartmented wood box tomb.

M4039, 5035, 5036: brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; stamped brick décor possible.

Burial goods include two jade seals reading “Chen Yan” and a lacquer seal reading “Xin Yan” (M1175); 4 jade *bi* discs (M1175); one glass *bi* disc (M1068); soapstone *bi* discs (M2062).

M1014: *Guan* 143, 146.

M1068: *Guan* 143, 147.

M1175: *Hu* 77; *Guan* 41.

M2062: *Hu* 75.

M4039: *Guan* 176; *Ding* 88.

M5035: *Guan* 170.

M5036: *Hu* 77; *Ding* 81, 83.

Guijiayuanzi (Zhaotong Municipality, Yunnan) M1

Tumulus; entrance ramp; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting. Double burial (man, woman).

Hu 77; *Guan* 148, 149.

Guolufang (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M5, 6, 9, 10

All: entrance shaft; catacomb grave.

M5: *Guan* 165.

M6: *Guan* 145.

M9: *Guan* 153, 155, 162, 163.

M10: *Guan* 145, 156, 157, 162.

Huaershan (Xinjin, Liaoning) M1-7

Objects pictured in the excavation report come from any of the site's seven graves and are not identified by tomb number; therefore dating of specific tombs is impossible.

Pit graves lined with stones and shells, sides lined with wood, wood

lid.

Hu 51, 54, 56, 70; *Ding* 73.

Huaihua (Hunan) M4, 12

No description of tombs. M4 burial goods include soapstone *bi* discs.

M4: *Ding* 79.

M12: *Hu* 75.

Jingshi (Duanjiacheng, Huayin, Shaanxi) Han state granary

Guan 161.

Lijiataozi (Tongxin, Ningxia) TLM1

Pit grave; wood box tomb. Three coffins. Burial goods include marine cowrie shells, *huoquan* and *wushu* coins. Robbed.

Guan 165.

Longshou Military Base (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15

M2, 3, 10, 11: entrance shaft; catacomb grave.

M4: entrance ramp; catacomb grave, entrance blocked by bricks; brick flooring in central part of chamber. Robbed.

M9: entrance shaft; catacomb grave; wood box tomb. Coffin. Robbed. Burial goods include thirteen *banliang* coins.

M14: entrance shaft; catacomb grave; wood box tomb (blocking entrance to catacomb). Coffin.

M15: entrance ramp; pit grave; wood box tomb. Coffin. Two boxes for burial goods. Burial goods include nine *banliang* coins. Tomb robbed.

M2: *Guan* 170.

M3: *Guan* 148.

M4: *Guan* 165.

M9: *Hu* 74; *Guan* 139; *Ding* 74.

M10: *Guan* 144, 148; *Ding* 76.

M11: *Guan* 163.

M14: *Hu* 75; *Guan* 139.

M15: *Guan* 157.

Luoning (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M4

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; groin vaulting over main chamber.

Hu 76; *Guan* 149, 161.

+ Majiashan (Xindu, Sichuan) M1, 2, 4, + 5, 12

All: cave tombs. M4, 5: stamped bricks used to block entrances. + M5: five ceramic coffins. M12: single chamber; two ceramic coffins. M1, 5, 12: multiple burials. + M5 included a brick inscribed with the date the brick was set in place (*cha*), hence of construction.

M1: *Hu* 81; *Guan* 148.

M2: *Guan* 148.

M4: *Guan* 145.

+ M5: *Guan* 148, 166.

M12: *Guan* 148.

Mianzhu (Sichuan) M2

Pit grave lined with white clay; wood plank flooring. M1 within the same pit.

Guan 167.

Mishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M4

Pit grave cut into hillside. Burial goods include jade cicadas.

Ding 73.

Mozuizi (Wuwei, Gansu) M6

Entrance shaft blocked near entrance to grave and at entrance to grave by large blocks of stone; catacomb grave. Two wood coffins. Double burial (man, woman). Burial goods include twelve *daqian wushi* coins, wood and bamboo manuscripts.

Hu 57; *Guan* 158.

Nanchang Eastern Suburbs (Jiangxi) M13

Pit grave.

Nanguan (Zhengzhou Municipality, Henan) M159

Entrance shaft (pit); catacomb grave; hollow brick compartmented box tomb with architectonic elements (doors); stamped brick décor.

Hu 80; *Guan* 163.

Nanshanli (Dalian Municipality, Liaoning) M4, 5

M4: brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting (corridors); groin vaulting with gothic arch (chambers). Upper portions of vaulting have collapsed. One woman, four men in front chamber; one man in rear chamber. Tomb robbed.

M5: brick architectonic tomb. Man.

M4: *Guan* 131, 136, 142, 156.

M5: *Hu* 83.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M2, 3, 7, 10, 14, 16, 39, 49, 51, 58, 62, 77, 84, 89, 92, 99, 152, 162, 164

M2, 3: entrance shaft with shelf; catacomb grave; wood box tomb. Coffin. Robbed. M2 burial goods include two jade nose stoppers, forty earthenware imitation gold ingots. M3 burial goods include two jade nose stoppers, eight earthenware imitation gold ingots.

M7, 77, 152, 164: entrance shaft; catacomb grave (in M152, 164, entrance blocked with wood boards); wood box tomb. Coffin. M77, wood box for burial goods. M164 not robbed. M164 burial goods include two bronze loop-top seals, one uninscribed, one with two sides inscribed (Chen [last name] Dang and *chen* [your servant] Dang).

M10: pit grave.

M14: entrance shaft; catacomb grave, entrance may have been blocked with wood boards. Robbed.

M16, 99: entrance shaft with shelf; catacomb grave, entrance blocked by wood boards; traces of wood box tomb. Traces of coffin. Robbed. M99 burial goods include a bronze seal (inscription undecipherable), two *banliang* coins.

M39, 84: entrance shaft with niche, catacomb grave. Coffin (M84,

traces of coffin and iron nails). M39: sacrificed dog; burial goods include one jade *bi* (broken), twenty-two *banliang* coins.

M49, 162: entrance shaft; catacomb grave (M49, with niche). Coffin (M162, wood fragments suggest coffin); M49, wood box for burial goods. Burial goods include sixty (M49) or two *banliang* coins (M162) and two earthenware imitation gold ingots (M49). M162 robbed.

M51: entrance shaft; catacomb grave. Two separate coffins, the bottom of which was covered with grass and wood ash. Robbed. Burial goods include three *banliang* coins.

M58: entrance ramp with shelf; pit grave with shelf, entrance blocked by wood boards; wood box tomb. Coffin. Robbed. Burial goods include two earthenware imitation gold ingots; one *banliang* coin in burial fill.

M62: entrance shaft; catacomb grave. Robbed.

M89: entrance shaft with catacomb annex; catacomb grave, traces of wood at entrance (originally blocking entrance?); shelf; remains of structure with wood posts and beams (wood box tomb?). Coffin? Robbed.

M92: entrance shaft with catacomb annex chamber (entrance blocked by wood boards); catacomb grave, entrance blocked by wood boards; two nested wood box tombs. Coffin with trace of color décor (green, red, white). Robbed. The initial excavation report considers this the tomb of a high official, mostly because of the imitation musical instruments found among the burial goods (five *yongzhong*, bells with attachment shafts; ten *niuzhong*, bells with attachment loops; nineteen chimes; all graduated in size, all made of earthenware). A sacrificed dog was found in the annex chamber. Burial goods include one *banliang* coin (broken).

M2: *Ding* 74.

M3: *Guan* 155; *Ding* 50.

M7: *Guan* 162.

M10: *Guan* 162.

M14: *Ding* 79.

M16: *Ding* 74.

M39: *Guan* 149, 163; *Ding* 50.

M49: *Guan* 162, 163, 165.

M51: *Guan* 162, 163.

M58: *Ding* 74.

M62: *Guan* 154.

M77: *Ding* 79.

M84: *Guan* 162.

M89: *Guan* 163; *Ding* 52.

M92: *Hu* 53; *Guan* 150, 162, 165; *Ding* 79, 82.

M99: *Hu* 74.

M152: *Guan* 163.

M162: *Hu* 83; *Guan* 162.

M164: *Guan* 162.

Panmiao (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M16

Pit grave; stone and brick box tomb.

Hu 78; *Ding* 50.

Pengshan (Sichuan) M161, 601, 684

All: cave tombs; may include pillars; may include stamped bricks; may be multiple burials.

M161: *Guan* 162.

M601: *Hu* 76; *Guan* 158, 159.

M684: *Guan* 148, 160.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 3M56, 3M63, 3M195, 4M86, 6M12, 6M15, 6M17, 6M147, 6M499, 9M20, 9M67, 9M93, 9M129

GM116: entrance ramp; pit grave; wood box tomb. Burial goods include a bronze loop-top seal inscribed “Seal of Dong Hong” (GM116).

3M56: *Guan* 163.

3M63: *Hu* 74.

3M195: *Hu* 74.

4M86: *Hu* 74.

6M12: *Ding* 82.

6M15: *Hu* 84.

6M17: *Guan* 163.

6M147: *Guan* 148.

6M499: *Hu* 84.

9M20: *Hu* 74.

9M67: *Guan* 134, 154.

9M93: *Guan* 163.

9M129: *Hu* 74.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M15

Entrance ramp; pit grave; water channel.

Hu 48, 86; *Guan* 167.

Qinchuan Machinery Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M7, 34, 35

M7: entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

M7: *Guan* 167, 170.

M34: *Guan* 170.

M35: *Guan* 156, 170.

Qinguang (Zaoyuan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M2, 7, 11, 13, 14, 15

M2: entrance shaft; catacomb grave, second catacomb grave (made for second member of couple interred); brick box (?) tomb in one grave only. Double burial (man, woman).

M7: entrance shaft; catacomb grave.

M11, 13: entrance shaft; catacomb grave.

M14: entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb.

M15: entrance shaft; catacomb grave floored in brick.

M2: *Guan* 148.

M7: *Guan* 167.

M11: *Hu* 79; *Guan* 148.

M13: *Guan* 148; *Ding* 74.

M14: *Guan* 148; *Ding* 76.

M15: *Guan* 148; *Ding* 76.

Sanfengou (Yangyuan, Hebei) M5, 9, 11

All: tumulus; entrance shaft; catacomb grave. M5: wood box tomb. Coffins lacquered black outside, red inside. Burial furnishings include a bronze seal reading "Private seal of Cheng Chao" (M11).

M5: *Hu* 70, 85.

M9: *Guan* 154.

M11: *Guan* 161.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M19, 64, 116,

M19: tumulus; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; groin vaulting (two chambers). Six people.

M64: tumulus; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; groin vaulting. Five people.

M116: tumulus; brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting. Four coffins, including two for children. Double burial (man, woman); secondary burial.

M155: catacomb grave; wood box tomb. Two coffins. Double burial (man, woman). Man in flexed position, woman in extended position.

M19: *Guan* 159.

M64: *Guan* 170.

M116: *Guan* 149.

M155: *Guan* 160.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M16

Tumulus; entrance shaft; catacomb grave; hollow brick compartmented box tomb.

Hu 74.

Shixing (Guangdong) M3, 13

Both: pit grave.

M3: *Guan* 170.

M13: *Guan* 169, 170.

Shuangrushan (Changqing, Shandong) M1

Tumulus surrounded by square wall; tomb built into low limestone hill, with additional stone walls; layer of clay and stones below tumulus, above tomb; entrance ramp with shelf along each side, burial goods pit and horse and carriage pit with internal wood structures (wood boxes) in entrance ramp; stone burial chamber surrounded by shelf; compartmented lacquered wood box tomb; three nested coffins, lacquered dark brown or black with red décor outside, red with black décor inside. Not robbed; a robbers' hole in the tumulus did not penetrate the tomb. Two-thousand-plus burial goods, including a jade face mask, jade orifice plugs, five jade *bi* discs, three ivory or bone *bi* discs, six large and one small gold ingots, twenty *wushu* coins; three large, one small carriage, seven horses in horse and carriage pit; one

small carriage in one compartment of the tomb box. A second tomb was built under the same tumulus; an excavation report is not yet available.

The size of the tomb (external dimensions of the tomb itself are 25 m north-south, 24.3 m east-west; the entrance ramp is estimated originally to have measured approximately 60 m long) and the wealth represented particularly by the gold ingots, calculated at a Han value of 200,000 coins (*Jibeiwang ling*, 169), lead excavators to attribute M1 to a regional king; assuming that the *wushu* found all date to ca. 118 BC and shortly thereafter (*Jibeiwang ling*, 19), this king is identified as either Liu Hu, King Wu of Jibei, who died in 97 BC after fifty-four years in office, or Liu Kuan, his successor (no posthumous title), who committed suicide after unsuccessful rebellion in 87 or 86 BC (*Jibeiwang ling*, 172, adopts the former date; *HS*, 14:403–4, suggests the latter). Wang Yongbo favors attribution to Liu Kuan on the grounds that the tomb appears to be unfinished, with only rough work done particularly on the entrance ramp (*Jibeiwang ling*, 172). The longer reign of Liu Hu would presumably have meant a more finished tomb.

As Wang Yongbo notes, the tomb has yielded no seals or other positive identification of the deceased. Although the excavation report identifies the site's *wushu* as ca. 118 BC mintings, *chice* issues, and mintings of the Three Offices (*sanguan* [三官]), the illustration provided on the lower right of the report's page 154 appears to me to include not only ca. 118 BC coins (items 1–2), but ca. 87–74 BC (Zhaodi issue, items 3, 5, 6) and ca. 73 BC (Xuandi issue, item 4), as well. Item 3 was found in the tomb fill; the other examples illustrated came from the coffin. A Xuandi coin would naturally force a later dating than Liu Kuan. I have dated the site strictly according to object comparisons, without making any attribution. The tomb may indeed be royal,¹² but, as currently published, I find insufficient evidence for such an attribution.

Guan 86, 87; *Ding* 77, 79, 80.

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M21, 35

Pit grave; remains of wood coffin (M21), compartmented wood box tomb (M35). Excavation report dates to Qin.

M21: *Guan* 139.

M35: *Guan* 148; *Ding* 73.

Suining (Sichuan) M6

Cave tomb; brick coffin. Double burial (man, woman).

Hu 77.

Tianchang (Anhui) M1

Wood box tomb. Coffin lacquered black outside, red inside.

Hu 78.

Tianlong (Pingba, Guizhou) M66

Tumulus; pit grave.

Guan 167.

Water Treatment Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M19, 51

M19: Entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting (interlocking bricks).

M51: Entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting (interlocking bricks).

M19: *Guan 155.*

M51: *Guan 142.*

Wolongsì (Baoji Municipality, Shaanxi) M8-16

One of M8-16: all ceramics are identified as coming from these tombs, without specification.

Entrance ramp; pit grave; brick architectonic tomb; vaulting (barrel or groin).

Hu 52; Guan 161, 168.

Wulantaogegai (Hangjin Banner, Inner Mongolia) M7, 9, isolated find

M7: entrance ramp; pit grave; wood chamber (posts and planks). Double burial (man, woman). Coffins lacquered red. Silk draped over exterior of chamber.

M9: entrance shaft; catacomb grave.

M7: *Hu 78; Guan 135, 146, 154.*

M9: *Guan* 154.
Find #1: *Guan* 156.

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M14, 21, 29, 54, 93

All: entrance shaft (pit); catacomb grave; M93, contiguous catacomb grave goods pit. Wood coffin.

M14: *Guan* 162; *Ding* 64.
M21: *Guan* 162.
M29: *Guan* 162.
M54: *Hu* 85.
M93: *Hu* 74.

Xiadu (Yixian, Hebei) M30

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; roof destroyed.

Hu 81.

Xianshan (Xiangfan Municipality, Hubei) M3

Pit grave. Double burial (man, woman). Burial goods include Late Springs and Autumns *ding*; jade loop-top seal inscribed “(Your) Servant, Zhao.”

Hu 75, 82; *Ding* 18.

Xianyang (Shaanxi) M34

Entrance ramp; pit grave; hollow brick box tomb.

Guan 148.

Xiaoshanzi (Ya'an, Sichuan) M5

Cave tomb.

Guan 148.

Xichang (Liangshan, Sichuan) M1, 101

M1: brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; stamped brick décor.
M101: entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick architectonic tomb.
M1: *Guan* 148.
M101: *Guan* 141.

Xicheng (Suizhou Municipality, Hubei) M1

Multicameral brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

Guan 142; *Ding* 75.

Yima ([New Municipality,] Henan) 84M5

Vertical entrance shaft; catacomb grave, brick flooring, niche.

Guan 151.

Yuantaizi (Chaoyang Municipality, Liaoning) WM7

Cist grave; wood box tomb. Double burial (man, woman).

Hu 85; *Guan* 134, 156.

Yunxian (Hubei) M302

Pit grave.

Guan 167, 171.

Zengjiabao (Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan) M1, 2

Distinction between M1 and M2 is not always made in attributing the site's ceramics.

Tumulus; brick and stone (doors, lintels, posts, inset panels in walls) multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting (interlocking bricks); stamped brick décor; carved stone décor; water channels.

M1 and/or M2: *Guan* 142, 148.

Zifangshan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M3

Pit grave. Grave goods include three jade *bi* discs and jade nose and eye covers (no distribution between M1-3 provided), a jade mouth piece (M3). Li Yinde, “Xuzhou chutu Xi Han yu mianzhaode fuyuan yanjiu,” *WW* 1993.4, 46; 47, f. 2 and Xuzhou bowuguan, *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan, Da Han Chuwang: Xuzhou Xi Han Chuwang lingmu wenwu jicui* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 2005), 346–7, identify a multi-piece jade face mask as belonging to Zifangshan M3.

Ding 72–4.

Zixing (Hunan) M11, 140

Tumulus; pit grave. M140 burial goods include ca. 118 BC *wushu*, *daquan wushi*, and *dabu huangqian* coins.

M11: *Guan* 156.

M140: *Guan* 139.

Ca. AD 67

Daijialou (Qingzhou Municipality, Shandong) M83

Pit grave.

Hu 92.

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) 87M2

Pit grave; brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

Hu 96; *Guan* 190.

Dongmenli (Liaoyang [Old] Municipality, Liaoning) M1

Tumulus; stone compartmented box tomb (multicameral stone slab tomb with flat roof) with some architectonic features (pillars); paintings on walls and ceiling. Man, woman, child (?).

Hu 78; *Guan* 173, 174; *Ding* 79.

Fangxin (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M1, 3, 4, 6, 7

All: tumulus; entrance shaft (pit); catacomb grave.

M3: wood box tomb.

M4, 6, 7: brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting (interlocking bricks).

M1: *Guan* 170.

M3: *Hu* 79, 88; *Guan* 167; *Ding* 86.

M4: *Guan* 148.

M6: *Hu* 91; *Guan* 148; *Ding* 77.

M7: *Hu* 92; *Guan* 148.

+ Ganquan (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) + M2

Tumulus; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting

(rhomboid bricks); stamped bricks. Roof collapsed; robbed. Two chambers are believed to have been “coffin chambers”; nonetheless, any coffin originally present has disintegrated without a trace. Excavators attribute the tomb to Liu Jing, King Si of Guangling, enfeoffed in AD 39 as Lord of Shanyang, promoted to King of Shanyang in AD 41, and transferred to be King of Guangling in AD 58, finally being ordered to commit suicide in AD 67, after having been involved in several plots against the emperor. This identification, although possible, remains tenuous.

Attribution to a king hinges on general factors, including the general quality of the few remaining objects found in the tomb (which include granulated gold ornaments¹³ and fragments of imported glass), the presence in the tomb of an uncarved tiger-topped carnelian seal, and the discovery of a tortoise-topped gold seal inscribed “Seal of the King of Guangling” (*Guangling wang xi* [廣陵王璽]), found some 100 meters from Ganquan M2. The tiger seal is held to be the prerogative of royalty; however, even if such a restriction were narrowly followed and only royalty held such seals, the tiger seal itself establishes neither the degree of royalty nor the sex of its owner. As for the gold tortoise-topped seal, the robbers of Ganquan M2 may indeed have dropped it, but there is no way to ascertain this.

Identification of Liu Jing, as opposed to another king of Guangling, is determined by the date provided by the inscription on a bronze lamp in the shape of a goose foot: “Shanyang Palace, tall bronze goose-foot lamp, made in the twenty-eighth year of *jianwu* [AD 52], number 12 in series” (*Shanyang di tong yanzu changdeng jianwu nianba nian zao bi shi'er* [山陽邸銅雁足長鐙建武廿八年造比十二]).¹⁴ Liu Jing's reign would be chronologically closest to the date of the lamp's production.

I have adopted the excavators' attribution, but it remains conjectural. The goose-foot lamp at least provides a *terminus post quem* for the tomb.

Hu 33, 93, 95, 96; *Guan* 176; *Ding* 78.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2001, 2050, 3009, 3023

M2001: pit grave.

M2050, 3023: pit grave; wood compartmented box tomb with architectonic features (second story).

M3009: pit grave; wood box tomb.

M5001: entrance ramp; pit grave; wood compartmented box.

M2001: *Guan* 176.

M2050: *Guan* 176; *Ding* 85.

M3009: *Guan* 175.

M3023: *Guan* 176.

M5001: *Ding* 88.

Hetoushan (Wuzhou Municipality, Guangxi) M1

Entrance ramp; pit grave.

Ding 81, 88.

Huaihua (Hunan) M5, 9

M5: tumulus; entrance ramp; pit grave. Grave goods include soapstone *bi* discs (M5).

M9: no description.

M5: *Hu* 59; *Guan* 183.

M9: *Guan* 183.

Huayang (Yuexi, Sichuan) cache

Guan 172; *Ding* 78.

Jiagezhuang (Tangshan Municipality, Hebei) M14

No description of tomb.

Guan 174.

Jingshan (Yishui, Shandong)

Entrance ramp; pit grave. Tomb of Xu Shu, identified from inscription on loop-top bronze seal. Burial goods include five pieces remaining from a stone burial suit, stone *bi* discs, and a Late Springs and Autumns *pan* (basin).

Hu 79; *Ding* 78, 80.

Lijiataozi (Tongxin, Ningxia) TLM2

Brick architectonic tomb; roof collapsed. Two coffins; double burial (man, woman). Burial goods include marine cowrie shells, *banliang*, *huoquan*, and *wushu* coins.

Guan 177.

Majiashan (Xindu, Sichuan) M3

Cave tomb; multicameral; stamped bricks (to block entrance). Four ceramic coffins.

Guan 178.

Maquan (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M1

Entrance ramp; brick architectonic tomb; wood box within tomb; barrel vaulting. Lacquered coffin with décor. Burial goods include two jade nose plugs, two jade *bi* discs, a bronze seal inscribed “Yuan Palace.”

Hu 87; Guan 148, 149, 181; Ding 56.

Meidai (Hohhot Municipality, Inner Mongolia) habitation site [Han city]

Hu 89; Guan 149.

Nanchang Eastern Suburbs (Jiangxi) M2

Entrance ramp; pit grave.

Guan 187.

Nanshanli (Dalian Municipality, Liaoning) M2

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; groin vaulting with gothic arches (in chambers); barrel vaulting (in corridors). Upper portions of vaulting have collapsed. Man in rear chamber; four children, four women, two men in front chamber. Tomb robbed.

Guan 151, 153, 181.

Ningbo (Zhejiang) Y1 “dragon” kiln site [kiln 1]

Hu 39, 96.

Ninggu (Anshun, Guizhou) M6

Pit grave.

Guan 185.

Niulingbu (Yishui, Shandong)

Brick architectonic tomb (badly damaged).

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) unnumbered tomb, M12, 120, 170

Unnumbered tomb: entrance ramp; pit grave; brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting (interlocking bricks).

M12: entrance shaft; catacomb grave; wood box tomb. Coffin. Robbed. Burial goods include two *banliang* coins.

M120: tumulus; pit grave with shelf, entrance blocked with wood boards; catacomb annex chamber with traces of wood structures; wood box tomb. Two separate coffins. Burial goods include earthenware imitations of musical instruments, each type graduated in size (fifteen chimes; three *yongzhong*, bells with attachment shaft; four *niuzhong*, bells with attachment loop); one earthenware imitation gold ingot; two *banliang* coins in grave fill. Robbed.

M170: entrance shaft; catacomb grave, entrance blocked by wood boards; double (nested) wood box tomb; air shaft; niche. Coffin. Burial goods include 162 *banliang* coins, three jade seals (two uninscribed) and one crystal seal, all with loop tops. The inscribed jade and crystal seals identify the deceased as Chen Qingshi. Robbed.

Unnumbered tomb: Hu 91; Guan 167, 179; Ding 84.

M12: Guan 150, 180.

M120: Hu 77, 87; Guan 165; Ding 76.

M170: Hu 93; Guan 177; Ding 41, 52.

Pengshan (Sichuan) M45

Cave tomb; may include pillars; may include stamped bricks; may include multiple burials. Ceramic coffin.

Guan 189.

Pingshan (Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1, 3, 4

All: pit grave; wood compartmented box tomb. Coffin lacquered red inside, brown out. M1, 3: double burial (man, woman). M3 burial goods include wood inventory slips.

M1: Hu 36.

M3: Hu 36; Guan 97, 98.

M4: *Hu* 36, 96.
M1 and/or M3: *Hu* 96.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 7M49

No description of tomb.

Hu 87.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M32, 33, 38, 78M110

M32: brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.
78M110: entrance ramp; pit grave into natural rock, rock slab lid.
M32: *Hu* 89, 94, 96; *Guan* 178, 182, 189.
M33: *Hu* 94.
M38: *Hu* 93.
78M110: *Hu* 96; *Guan* 188.

Qianxi (Guizhou) M12

Tumulus; stone architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

Guan 140, 182.

Qinchuan Machinery Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M2, 4

Both: entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

M2: *Guan* 177.
M4: *Hu* 91.

Qinguang (Zaoyuan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M4

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave.

Hu 91.

Sanjiaoyu (Tianchang, Anhui) M7

Pit grave; wood box tomb (?).

Hu 96.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M61, 77, 81*, 89, 107, 115, 122, 151

M61: tumulus; brick architectonic tomb; groin vaulting. Double burial (man, woman).

M77: tumulus; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting. Two coffins. Double burial (man, woman).

M81*, 151: catacomb grave; wood box tomb. M81* contained sheep/goat bones (skulls/hooves?).

M89: tumulus; brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting. Two coffins. Three people. Burial practices unclear; tomb robbed.

M107: catacomb grave; wood box tomb. Two coffins. Double burial (man, woman).

M115, 122: pit grave; wood box tomb. Two coffins. Double burial (man, woman). Burial unclear; tomb robbed.

Burial goods include a loop-top bronze seal reading “Private Seal of Ma Liang” and wood slip manuscripts (M115).

M61: *Hu* 93.

M77: *Hu* 93.

M81*: *Guan* 186.

M89: *Guan* 185.

M107: *Guan* 181.

M115: *Guan* 184–186.

M122: *Guan* 185, 187.

M151: *Hu* 87.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M30

Tumulus; entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; groin vaulting. Burial goods include a glass mouth piece.

Guan 180.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M14, 19

Entrance ramp; pit grave; brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; stamped brick.

M14: *Hu* 87.

M19: *Guan* 138, 181.

Tianlong (Pingba, Guizhou) unnumbered tomb, M69

Both: tumulus; pit grave.

Unnumbered tomb: *Guan* 175.

M69: *Guan* 176.

Wangjiawan (Ansai, Shaanxi)

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; groin vaulting (main chamber). Double burial (man, woman).

Guan 180.

Wulantaogegai (Hangjin Banner, Inner Mongolia) M3, isolated find

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave.

M3: *Hu* 89.

Isolated find #3: *Hu* 92.

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M1

Pit grave. Coffin.

Hu 91.

Xianyang (Shaanxi) M36

Entrance ramp; pit grave; hollow brick architectonic tomb; pitched roof; stamped brick décor. Double burial (man, woman).

Hu 91; *Guan* 148.

Xicun (Xixian, Anhui) M1

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

Hu 96; *Guan* 100, 146.

Xijian (Shangxian, Shaanxi)

Brick architectonic tomb (badly damaged); barrel vaulting; stamped brick. Double burial (man, woman).

Guan 148, 175.

Xin'an (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M2, 14

Both: brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

M2: *Hu* 95.

M14: *Guan* 189; *Ding* 87.

Xuwen (Guangdong) M4

Inadequate description of location (thirty-four tombs at Huafeng, twelve at Hongkan, five at Binlangguo) and of structure (likely to be brick architectonic tomb, barrel vaulting, but brick and stone architectonic tomb or pit grave, stone box tomb also possible).

Guan 175.

Yinqueshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M5

Pit grave; wood compartmented box tomb. Coffin lacquered black outside, red inside.

Hu 42, 95.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M124

Tumulus; entrance ramp; pit grave; shelf; two water channels. Niche for burial goods. Iron nails from wood coffin.

Guan 175.

Youyu (Shanxi) cache

Objects include two bronze *zun* inscribed with production date of 26 BC (one of which is here *ding* 36).

Ding 55, 76, 77.

Zhangjiaguaizi (Wulong, Sichuan)

Pit grave.

Guan 182.

Zhaoxian (Nanchang Municipality, Jiangxi) M2

Brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

Hu 96.

Zixing (Hunan) M6

Tumulus; pit grave.

M6: *Guan* 178.

Ca. AD 73

Pingshuo (Shanxi) GM210

No description of tomb.

Hu 97.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1008

Tumulus; entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; no data on roof.

Hu 97; Guan 161.

+ Tomb of Yao Xiaojing (Yanshi [Luoyang Municipality, Henan]) + 90YCBDM1

Entrance ramp; brick and stone multicameral architectonic tomb; one chamber catacomb, with no brick (therefore assuming remainder of tomb is in pit grave); barrel vaulting; carved stone décor. Three coffins. Name of deceased and presumed date of death inscribed on a brick found among the burial goods. Burial goods also include one ca. AD 24 *wushu* coin. Since the brick does not appear to have been structurally part of this tomb, it may possibly not in fact pertain to the person buried here; in the absence of other data, we will assume that the brick does indeed belong.

Hu 97.

Ca. AD 76

+ Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5028, + 5041

M5028: brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting (M5028: stamped brick décor possible).

+ M5041: brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; dome.

Stamped brick décor possible. M5041: date of construction inscribed on brick. Burial goods include jade eye pieces and nose plugs (M5041).

M5028: *Ding* 89.
+ M5041: *Ding* 83, 89.

Ca. AD 80

Chongan (Fujian) habitation site [Han city]

Hu 20; *Guan* 40, 42, 43, 49, 51, 175, 198.

Fuling (Sichuan) M2

Pit grave.

Guan 162, 191–4, 196, 197; *Ding* 76.

+ Guangzhou (Guangdong) M3031, 4021, 4026, 4036, 5043, 5059, + 5060

M3031, 4021, 4026: entrance ramp; pit grave; wood compartmented box with architectonic features (second story).

M4036: brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

M5043, 5059, + 5060: brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; dome. + M5060: date of construction inscribed on brick.

Stamped brick décor possible. Burial goods include a stone *bi* disc in M3031.

M3031: *Guan* 194.
M4021: *Guan* 194.
M4026: *Guan* 195.
M4036: *Guan* 195.
M5043: *Guan* 198.
M5059: *Guan* 194.
+ M5060: *Hu* 77; *Guan* 195, 198; *Ding* 83, 90.

Guanshan (Shunde, Guangdong) GM1

Pit grave.

Ding 90.

Heshanmiao (Yiyang, Hunan) M17

Entrance ramp; pit grave.

Guan 198, 199.

Lequn (Zhaoping, Guangxi) M6

Tumulus; entrance ramp; pit grave; wood box tomb. Coffin.

Guan 194.

Tongshiling (Beiliu, Guangxi) bronze foundry

Guan 198.

Wafenyuan (Jingsha Municipality, Hubei) M2

Tumulus; pit grave; wood compartmented box tomb.

Hu 96; *Guan* 169, 183, 196.

Xilinsan (Shunde, Guangdong) XM2

Pit grave.

Guan 175, 195; *Ding* 90.

Xin'an (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M4

Tumulus; brick architectonic tomb.

Guan 122, 149, 198, 200.

Xuwen (Guangdong) M32

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; water channel.

Guan 194.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M134

Tumulus; entrance ramp; pit grave; lined with white clay; shelf. Remains of wood coffin. Tomb robbed. Grave goods include *banliang* coins.

Ding 90.

Ca. AD 86

+ Hanwang (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu)

Stone architectonic tomb, apparently multicameral; carved stone décor. Collapsed; roof and upper walls missing. Stones displaced. Robbed. No burial goods remaining. Date of death and/or of tomb construction provided in memorial inscription noting construction of the tomb by the son of the deceased.

Ca. AD 87

Lequn (Zhaoping, Guangxi) M12

Tumulus; pit grave. Coffin.

Hu 98.

Sôgamni (Sekiganri) ([originally, Taedonggangmyôn M9,] Pangyori, P'yôngyang, Democratic People's Republic of Korea [Han dynasty Lelang commandery]) M9

Pit grave, lined with shells. Burial furnishings include jade *bi* disc (s); jade nose and ear plugs; jade eye pieces; a jade cicada (mouth piece); a jade seal with a tortoise top reading “Long life and health” (*yongshou kangning*); and two lacquer platters inscribed with dates of AD 8.

Hu 83, 98; Guan 146; Ding 77.

Tangshan (Nanchang, Jiangxi) M3

Brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

Hu 98; Ding 83.

Wulipai (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M007

Entrance ramp; pit grave; wood box tomb.

Hu 98; Guan 200; Ding 81, 88.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M116

Tumulus; entrance ramp; pit grave with drainage channel; shelf; tomb floor lined with small stones. Iron nails from (disintegrated) wood coffin.

Hu 98; Guan 121, 195.

Zixing (Hunan) M466

Tumulus; pit grave.

Hu 98.

+ Old City of Zuocheng (Cangshan, Shandong) habitation site

Hu, classified as 98, inscribed with year of production and name of commissioning client (Lord Huangyang of Jiangling).

Hu 98.

Ca. AD 90

Baizhuang (Jiaozuo Municipality, Henan) M6

Entrance ramp; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

Hu 115; Guan 233.

Baonüdu (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 85YBM104, K1

Tumulus; pit grave; wood box tomb (architectonic features including doors). Second box around coffin; coffin lacquered brown outside, red inside. Single burial. Robbed. Burial goods include a glass burial suit with figured glass pieces, two jade plugs (L 6.8cm and 6.1cm) assumed to fit the anus and vagina, bronze vessels inscribed with the name of the regional kingdom Guangling (established in 117 BC, disbanded AD 9) and its government offices, gilded *daquan wushi* coins, three yellow-glazed earthenware imitation gold ingots, lacquer pieces inscribed with production dates of 62 BC, 28 BC, and 10 BC. A series of objects found in a nearby burial goods pit K1 is believed associated with M104. These objects include a bronze loop-top seal reading “Seal of the Prefect of Xunyang.” The excavation report also associates the large size of the original tumulus, estimated at 10,000+ square meters, with royalty. M104 has therefore been associated with Guangling royalty, presumably a princess.

M104: *Hu* 32, 36, 38, 96, 101, 102; *Guan* 92, 93, 227, 228; *Ding* 14, 92.

K1: *Hu* 98.

Beiyingsi (Liangcheng, Inner Mongolia) M18

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave. Double burial (man, woman).

Hu 99, 100.

+ Beizhuang (Dingxian, Hebei) + M1

Tumulus; entrance ramp; brick and stone multicameral architectonic tomb (could be termed *huangchang ticou*); barrel vaulting supposed (roof collapsed); enclosing wall of stone separated from tomb by a space packed with dirt; flat stone roof over the entire structure. The outer box of stone consists of 4,000 pieces measuring approximately one meter square, weighing about 300 kg each. 174 of these stones are inscribed (in paint or by incising) with the source of the stone (administrative [geographic] units, many under the king of Zhongshan) and/or the name of the master workman. Robbed. Water damage. Burial goods include one hundred fifty-three ca. AD 24 *wushu* coins, a crossbow inscribed AD 56, a jade suit (inscribed “Zhongshan”) with gilded copper threads; twenty-three jade *bi*; jade and stone mouth (two) and eye pieces, two elongated plugs and one short, broad plug are noted (use/measurements not specified).

Attribution of the tomb to a king of Zhongshan seems likely. An earthenware *fu* cooking vessel inscribed “Grand Provisioner” (*da* [= *taì*] *guan fu* [大(太)官釜]) and the “Zhongshan” inscription on the jade burial suit also suggest links to the royal house. Specific identification of the deceased as Liu Yan, King Jian of Zhongshan, invested in AD 54, d. AD 90, is based on two terminal dates: that of the crossbow, on the one hand, and that provided by the geographical names inscribed on the stones. Geographic names in the area were changed under Zhangdi (r. AD 87–88); none of the new names are used in these inscriptions. The excavators therefore take ca. AD 88 as a defining date. Liu Yan therefore seems a reasonable, although still unascertainable, choice.

Hu 97; *Guan* 221; *Ding* 77.

Chencun (Shunde, Guangdong)

Brick architectonic tomb (badly damaged).

Hu 107; *Ding* 94.

Daijialou (Qingzhou Municipality, Shandong) M12

Pit grave with shelf.

Guan 204.

Datagang (Dayong, Hunan) DM25, DM56

DM56: brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

DM25: brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting likely. Burial goods include soapstone *bi* disc(s).

DM25: *Hu* 98; *Guan* 131, 204, 225.

DM56: *Hu* 109.

Dongfeng (Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M9

Pit grave; wood compartmented box tomb. Double burial (man, woman).

Guan 233.

Dongyang (Xuyi, Jiangsu) M4

Entrance ramp; pit grave; wood compartmented box tomb. Double burial (man, woman). Coffin lacquered red inside and outside. Burial goods include stone ear and nose plugs.

Hu 40, 108.

Fengmenling (Hepu, Guangxi) M10

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; groin vaulting (front chamber). Burial furnishings include jade mouth piece, ear plugs, nose plugs, anal plug, and eye pieces.

Hu 98; *Guan* 175, 194, 219, 225, 230; *Ding* 81, 88.

Fengqing (Zhaoping, Guangxi) M7, 9

Both: cist grave; small side chamber (pit).

M7: *Hu* 106; *Guan* 195, 217.

M9: *Guan* 226, 232.

Futianzhen (Boluo, Guangdong) M1, 2

Both: brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

M1: *Hu* 106; *Guan* 194, 217; *Ding* 89.

M2: *Guan* 201, 217.

Gaochun (Jiangsu)

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; groin vaulting; stamped brick décor.

Guan 215.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1076, 1174, 2003, 2010, 2011, 2017, 2022, 2030, 2038, 2042, 2046, 2055, 2060, 3019, 3020, 3021, 3024, 4001, 4004, 4006, 4007, 4009, 4013, 4017, 4018, 4019, 4024, 4028, 5004, 5007, 5014, 5040, 5071, 5076, 5077, 5080

M2003: pit grave.

M1076, 2011, 2017, 2022, 2030, 4001, 4004: pit grave; wood box tomb.

M1174, 2010, 4019: entrance ramp; pit grave; wood compartmented box.

M2038, 2042, 2046, 2055, 2060, 3019, 3020, 3021, 3024, 4006, 4007, 4009, 4013, 4017, 4018, 4019, 4024, 4028, 5004, 5007: entrance ramp; pit grave; wood compartmented box with architectonic features and second story.

M5014: brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; stamped brick décor possible.

M5040: brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; stamped brick décor possible.

M5071, 5076, 5077, 5080: brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; dome (M5077, 5080: two domes; M5076: three domes).

Burial furnishings include a jade *bi* disc (M3028); stone *bi* discs (M2042, 2055: one each; M2030: two).

M1076: *Guan* 211.

M1174: *Hu* 103.

M2003: *Guan* 224.

M2010: *Hu* 108; *Guan* 221.
M2011: *Guan* 218.
M2017: *Hu* 107.
M2022: *Hu* 105.
M2030: *Hu* 101; *Ding* 77.
M2038: *Guan* 218.
M2042: *Guan* 221.
M2046: *Hu* 105.
M2055: *Hu* 109.
M2060: *Hu* 19, 101; *Guan* 121, 219.
M3019: *Guan* 201, 203.
M3020: *Hu* 105.
M3021: *Guan* 201, 225; *Ding* 93.
M3024: *Guan* 219.
M4001: *Guan* 194, 219.
M4004: *Ding* 93.
M4006: *Ding* 90.
M4007: *Guan* 217, 230.
M4009: *Guan* 217.
M4013: *Hu* 98, 100; *Guan* 195, 218, 230.
M4017: *Guan* 202.
M4018: *Guan* 230.
M4019: *Hu* 57, 106; *Guan* 201.
M4024: *Hu* 106.
M4028: *Guan* 230.
M5004: *Guan* 222.
M5007: *Guan* 223.
M5014: *Guan* 224.
M5040: *Guan* 217, 221.
M5071: *Guan* 220, 222.
M5076: *Ding* 90.
M5077: *Guan* 231.
M5080: *Hu* 110; *Guan* 176, 213, 217, 220; *Ding* 97.

Guduiwang (Dingyuan, Anhui) M4

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

Guan 217.

Guolufang (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M7

Entrance shaft (pit); catacomb grave.

Ding 92.

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M3, 5, 6

All: pit grave. Burial goods include three jade *bi* discs (M5).

M3: *Hu* 82, 105.

M5: *Hu* 108.

M6: *Hu* 107; *Guan* 221, 225.

Hepu (Guangxi)

Tumulus; pit grave; three separate wood boxes including architectural elements (door with gilded bronze quatrefoil ornaments). Coffin lacquered red. Burial goods include a carnelian seal inscribed “Seal of Madame Yong” (*Yong mu yin* [庸母印]); agate ear plugs; jade nose plugs and mouth piece.

Hu 77, 104, 109; *Guan* 175, 218; *Ding* 81, 95.

Heshanmiao (Yiyang, Hunan) M22, 25

Both: entrance ramp; pit grave.

M22: *Hu* 97; *Guan* 226.

M25: *Hu* 64; *Guan* 105, 216.

Hetoushan (Wuzhou Municipality, Guangxi) M2

Entrance ramp; pit grave.

M2: *Hu* 108; *Guan* 201, 217, 222; *Ding* 89, 93.

Honghuagang (Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong)

Entrance ramp; pit grave; wood compartmented box.

Hu 107.

Jietang (Zhaoping, Guangxi) M1

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; stamped brick décor.

Guan 198.

Jijiawan (Binzhou Municipality, Shandong)

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting (?); stamped brick décor.

Hu 80, 107; *Ding* 82.

Jintangpo (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M12

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

Guan 230.

Jiutou (Liuzhou Municipality, Guangxi) M1

Tumulus; entrance ramp; pit grave. Fragments of coffin, perhaps wood box also.

Hu 107; *Guan* 229; *Ding* 96.

Juxian (Shandong) isolated find

Hu 100.

Lanshi (Foshan Municipality, Guangdong) M1

Entrance ramp; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

Guan 194, 195, 201, 219, 226, 230.

Laohudun (Ganquan, Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu)

Tumulus; entrance ramp; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting. Burial goods include jade *bi* disc(s).

Guan 215.

Lequn (Zhaoping, Guangxi) M5

Tumulus; pit grave. Coffin. Burial furnishings include glass ear plugs.

Guan 198, 220.

Lijiaoqiao (Sanmenxia Municipality, Henan) M5

Entrance ramp; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; flat ceiling beneath arch covering two front chambers (hollow brick). Double burial (man, woman).

Hu 24, 101; Guan 206; Ding 80.

Lüfeng (Yunnan)

Entrance ramp; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; roof unreconstructable.

Guan 233.

Maquanzi (Wafangdian Municipality, Liaoning) M2

Stone (small slabs) multicameral architectonic tomb; corbelled vaulting; groin vaulting likely.

Guan 137, 209; Ding 98.

Mianzhu (Sichuan) M1

Pit grave lined with white clay; wood plank flooring. M1 and 2 are within the same pit.

Guan 234.

Muqian (Weishan, Shandong) M3

Pit grave; stone box tomb.

Hu 100; Ding 78.

Nanhai (Guangdong) M1, 3, 4

M1, 3: pit grave.

M4: entrance ramp; pit grave; wood compartmented box.

M1: *Guan 195.*

M3: *Hu 98; Guan 231; Ding 93.*

M4: *Hu 106; Guan 195, 198, 210, 217; Ding 98.*

Ninggu (Anshun, Guizhou) M5, 9

M5: stone (small hewn rectangular pieces) architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting. Fragments of brown lacquered coffin.

M9: entrance ramp; stone (small hewn rectangular pieces) architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

M5: *Guan 220.*

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M42

Entrance shaft with catacomb annex chamber; catacomb grave, entrance blocked with wood boards; wood box tomb. Coffin. Burial goods include twenty-two *banliang* coins. Robbed.

Hu 108; *Guan* 163, 165, 228; *Ding* 76, 77.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M17, 37, 78M109

M17, 37: no description of tomb.

78M109: brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; stamped brick décor.

M17: *Guan* 207, 230.

M37: *Ding* 92.

78M109: *Hu* 100; *Guan* 141, 214, 216; *Ding* 98.

Qianxi (Guizhou) M13

Tumulus; pit grave.

Guan 221.

Qinguang (Zaoyuan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M5

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick (box?) tomb. Burial goods include a jade mouth piece.

Guan 148, 177, 228.

Sanjiaoyu (Tianchang, Anhui) M1

Pit grave; wood compartmented box. Double burial (man, woman).

Burial furnishings include a bronze loop-top seal reading “(Your) Servant, Ping,” two bronze tortoise-topped seals reading “Private Seal of Huan Ping,” a jade seal reading “Seal of Huan Ping,” and a wood seal reading “Eunuch Internuncio of Guangling” (*Guangling huanye* [廣陵宦謁]), eleven jade *bi* discs, one ivory *bi* disc (all in M1); and a lacquered seal reading “Huan Gaizhi” (M19). The sociopolitical implications suggested by the seals in these two tombs bear noting (eunuch with wife in M1; relative [?] in M19).

Shafu (Shunde, Guangdong) SM1, SM3, SM5, SM15

All: pit grave.

SM1: *Hu* 107; *Guan* 201, 202, 225.

SM3: *Hu* 106; *Guan* 226; *Ding* 88, 90.

SM5: *Guan* 217.

SM15: *Guan* 195.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M69, 153*

M69: tumulus; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; groin vaulting. Coffin. Secondary burial (one person only); five people.

M153*: pit grave. Includes siliceous pottery of presumably non-Chinese form.

M69: *Guan* 213.

M153*: *Guan* 213.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M59A, 183, 1023

M183: tumulus; entrance shaft; catacomb grave; hollow brick compartmented box tomb.

M59A: tumulus; entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

M1023: tumulus; entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; groin vaulting.

M59A: *Hu* 100.

M183: *Hu* 109; *Guan* 208.

M1023: *Guan* 212, 216.

Shihuiyao (Tanghe, Nanyang Municipality, Henan)

Stone multicameral architectonic tomb (badly damaged); roof unclear; carved stone décor.

Guan 187, 205, 228.

Shixing (Guangdong) M1§, M1, 5, 9

M1§: pit grave, bottom lined with small stones.

M1: brick multicameral architectonic tomb; roof collapsed; stamped brick décor.

M5, 9: pit grave.

M18: *Guan* 189, 211.

M1: *Guan* 220.

M5: *Hu* 101.

M9: *Hu* 101.

+ Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M3, + 12, 16

M3: Entrance ramp; pit grave; brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; stamped brick décor.

+ M12: brick architectonic tomb (badly damaged); stamped brick décor. Date stamped on brick. Robbed, destroyed; no burial goods found.

M16: entrance ramp; pit grave; brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; stamped brick décor.

M3: *Guan* 234.

M16: *Guan* 227.

Tangpai (Hepu, Guangxi) M1, 2A, 2B, 4

M1: tumulus; entrance ramp; pit grave; wood box tomb.

M2A, B: tumulus; entrance ramp; pit grave; wood box tomb. Both graves as separate pits under one tumulus. Double burial (man, woman).

M4: tumulus; entrance ramp; pit grave; wood box tomb. Multiple pits, each with its own wood box.

M1: *Hu* 109.

M2A: *Hu* 103, 105, 109; *Guan* 175.

M2B: *Guan* 222.

M4: *Hu* 104.

Taolou (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1

Pit grave cut into natural stone. Lacquered coffin. Double burial (man, woman). Grave goods include bronze seals reading “Liu Qi,” “*chen* (Your Servant), Qi”; a loop-top bronze seal reading “Father Song of ? Dan City” (?*Dancheng Song fu*); a silver seal with a tortoise top reading “Seal of the Enfeoffed Lord”; and two jade *bi* discs.

Guan 228.

Tianzifen (Wulong, Sichuan)

Brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

Hu 108.

Wafenyuan (Jingsha Municipality, Hubei) M3

Tumulus; pit grave; wood compartmented box tomb. Coffin lacquered red inside, black outside.

Hu 100.

Wangcun (Xiaxian, Shanxi) XWM5

Tumulus; entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; walls plastered and painted. Earthenware pot buried in unpaved area of the floor in the north side-chamber; chamber entrance blocked. Fragments of a carved memorial stone. Paintings include the image of a man and woman labeled “General Pei, Grand Administrator of Anding” (*Anding taishou Pei jiangjun* [安定太守裴將軍]), which may identify the deceased.

Guan 168, 209.

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M39, 56, 87, 112

M39, 112: entrance ramp; pit grave; brick architectonic tomb; corbelled vaulting.

M56: entrance shaft (pit); catacomb grave. Coffin.

M87: entrance shaft (pit); brick multicameral architectonic tomb; roof unclear. Frequently robbed.

M39: *Hu* 83; *Guan* 235; *Ding* 59.

M56: *Guan* 218.

M87: *Hu* 97; *Guan* 213.

M112: *Guan* 234.

Xiangfan (Hubei) M1

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; groin vaulting (front chamber). Double burial (man, woman).

Guan 233, 234.

Xianglangang (Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong) M2

Wood compartmented box tomb.

Guan 202, 217.

Xiji (Ningxia) XHM1

Brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

Guan 233; *Ding* 99.

Xilinsan (Shunde, Guangdong) XM4

Pit grave.

Guan 223, 224.

Xin'an (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M3, 13

M3: brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

M13: tumulus; brick architectonic tomb.

M3: *Hu* 100.

M13: *Guan* 232.

Xingyi (Guizhou) M8

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel roof; stamped brick décor. Lacquered coffin.

Guan 74, 215.

Xuwen (Guangdong) M30, 33, 47

All: brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; water channel.

M30: *Guan* 195, 224.

M33: *Guan* 224.

M47: *Guan* 220, 226.

Yangling (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) accompanying cemetery M85

No description of tomb.

M85: *Hu* 109.

Unattributed find from cemetery: *Hu* 33.

Yelin (Qingyang, Gansu)

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave. Wood coffin.

Guan 233, 235; *Ding* 34.

Yinchuan (Ningxia)

Pit grave; wood compartmented box tomb.

Hu 101.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M3, 53, 74*, 94*, 112, 115*, 117, 125, 143, 148

M3: Pit grave with shelf, sides reinforced with wood posts, pebble bottom.

M74*, 115*: pit grave; waist pit. M115 tomb floor lined with small stones.

M53, 125, 148: tumulus; entrance ramp; pit grave (M53 with shelf); lined with white clay. Remains of wood box tomb, coffin (M125, 148 with iron coffin nails). M148 burial goods include *huobu* and *daquan wushi* coins.

M94*: tumulus; pit grave; shelf; waist pit; three pairs of post holes; three horizontal wood beams.

M112: tumulus; entrance ramp; pit grave; shelf; tomb floor lined with small stones. Iron nails from (disintegrated) wood coffin.

M117: tumulus; entrance ramp, paved with green brick; pit grave; post holes to each side of tomb entrance; tomb floor lined with small stones; (drainage) channel.

M143: tumulus; entrance ramp; pit grave; lined with white clay.

M3: *Guan* 211.

M53: *Guan* 194, 217; *Ding* 90.

M74*: *Guan* 213.

M94*: *Hu* 109.

M112: *Guan* 211.

M115*: *Guan* 211.

M117: *Hu* 109; *Guan* 222.

M125: *Guan* 225, 230.

M143: *Guan* 220.

M148: *Guan* 175, 224.

Zixing (Hunan) M4, 7, 8, 21, 92, 184, 196, 300, 372, 395, 419, 421

M4, 7, 8, 21, 92, 184, 196, 300, 372, 421: tumulus; pit grave.
M395: tumulus; entrance ramp; pit grave.
M419: tumulus; entrance ramp; pit grave (two contiguous pits).
Burial goods include lead *bi* disc(s) (M479); a bronze loop-top seal reading “Seal of Min Baozhao” (M372).
M4: *Guan* 234.
M7: *Hu* 104.
M8: *Hu* 108.
M21: *Guan* 230.
M92: *Ding* 91.
M184: *Hu* 106.
M196: *Hu* 107.
M300: *Hu* 107.
M372: *Guan* 201.
M395: *Guan* 225.
M419: *Hu* 109.
M421: *Guan* 209; *Ding* 91.

Ca. AD 94

+ Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) + M114

Tumulus; entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; groin vaulting. Remains of lacquered coffin. Robbed; extensively damaged, including water damage. Burial goods include a bronze loop-top seal inscribed “Seal of Guo Gong.” The excavators assume that this Guo Gong is the same as that of *Hou Hanshu*, *juan* 46,¹⁵ from which they draw the date of death. This identification is plausible, but there is nothing beyond the name to connect this tomb to the individual documented in the *Hou Hanshu*. Given that names are not unique, even as a combination of last and first names, we cannot be sure that the *Hou Hanshu* Guo Gong is the Guo Gong of Shaogou M114.

Ca. AD 96

Beiyuan (Guyuan, Ningxia)

Tumulus; entrance ramp; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; groin vaulting (front chamber); barrel vaulting (all other areas).

Guan 237, 238.

+ Lanshi (Foshan Municipality, Guangdong) + M2

Entrance ramp; brick multicameral architectonic tomb. Inscription of date on a brick (broken) in the wall of the front chamber.

Guan 217.

+ **Sujiayituo (Suide, Shaanxi)**

Stone (small rectangular blocks) multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting with pointed arch and keystone; doors and frames with carved stone décor. Carving includes inscription with identity of deceased and date of construction: “Residence of Mengyuan, Lord Yang, Acting Senior Clerk for the Grand Administrator of Xihe and [subsequently] Assistant Chief of Lishi; constructed on the twenty-first day of the third month of the *yongyuan* era” (*Xihe taishou xingchang shishi Lishi shouchang Yangjun Mengyuan she yongyuan banian sanyue nianyi ri zuo* [西河太守行長史事離石守長楊君孟元舍永元八年三月廿一日作]). Robbed.

Hu 111; Guan 237, 239.

Ca. AD 97

+ **Guangzhou (Guangdong) + M5065**

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; two domes; may have stamped brick décor. Date of construction and name of kiln (Ganxi) inscribed on brick.

Guan 229, 230.

Ca. AD 100

+ **Tomb of Wang Deyuan (Suide, Shaanxi)**

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; stone doors and frames; tomb collapsed. Date and name of deceased inscribed in stone.

Ca. AD 101

Banyue (Dangyang Municipality, Hubei) M1

Entrance ramp; pit grave; brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; stamped brick décor.

Guan 240.

Cangxi (Gongyi Municipality, Henan) M41

Entrance ramp; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

Guan 236, 242.

+ Danyang (Zhenjiang Municipality, Jiangsu)

Tumulus; brick architectonic tomb; stamped brick décor. Fragments of red lacquered coffin. I have used the date inscribed on a garment hook found in the tomb as the date of burial. This is, however, obviously only valid as a *terminus post quem*.

Hu 113; *Guan* 242, 243.

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) 87M5

Pit grave.

Guan 93, 95, 228, 242.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5069

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; dome; stamped brick décor possible.

Hu 113.

Liujiagudui (Huainan Municipality, Anhui)

Tumulus; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; stamped brick décor. Remnants of coffin lacquered with black ground and red décor. Man, woman (?).

Hu 112; *Guan* 93, 240–2.

Nanchang (Jiangxi) 72M2

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; stamped brick décor. Semi-tubular roof tiles found. Three people.

Guan 200, 242.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M8

Tumulus; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting;

groin vaulting; dome. Five people.

Hu 113; *Guan* 134.

Shixing (Guangdong) M16

Pit grave.

Guan 240.

Taoyuan (Hunan) cache

Hu 113.

Wafenyuan (Jingsha Municipality, Hubei) M4

Tumulus; pit grave; wood compartmented box tomb. Coffin lacquered black outside, red inside.

Hu 61, 101; *Guan* 141, 166, 236, 241; *Ding* 92, 100.

Ca. AD 102

+ Pengshan (Sichuan) + M550

Cave tomb. Multicameral; carved stone door frame; one chamber with barrel vaulting, one with flat ceiling. May include multiple burials. Date of tomb construction inscribed on stone beside entrance. The inscription includes a name which may be the chief workman, but which could possibly also be the person who commissioned the tomb (“Made by Wang Xiang X” [*Wang Xiang X* (?character unreproducible, pronunciation unknown) *zao* 王相 X 造]).

Guan 244.

Ca. AD 103

+ Tomb of Guo Zhiwen (Suide, Shaanxi)

Tomb destroyed. Carved stones including door and frame remaining. Name and date of tomb construction inscribed on door frame (“Eternal residence of Guo Zhiwen of Yuli, Xixiang, Huanyang; residence constructed on the nineteenth day of the third month of the fifteenth year of the *yongyuan* era” [*Huanyang Xixiang Yuli Guo Zhiwen wansui shizhai; yongyuan shiwu nian san yue shijiu ri zaozuo ju* 圖陽西鄉榆里郭稚文萬歲室宅; 永元十五年三月十九日造作居]).

+ Pengshan (Sichuan) + M901

Cave tomb; may have pillars, stamped brick décor, multiple burials.
Date of tomb construction inscribed on brick.

Guan 245.

Ca. AD 104

Humen (Dongguan Municipality, Guangdong) M1

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting (side chamber); corbelled groin vaulting (rear chamber); natural rock flooring; stamped brick décor.

Guan 226, 246.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5050, 5052

Both: brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; dome

M5050: *Guan* 246.

M5052: *Guan* 246.

+ Machang (Pingba, Guizhou) *guan*

From a Six Dynasties (AD 221–557) tomb, *guan* inscribed with date of production.

Guan 246.

Ca. AD 105

+ Shangzhuang (Shijingshan, Beijing Municipality)

Stone memorial tower; fluted cylindrical columns topped below the capital by double lions *couchant* with heads turned toward the rear or by double lions *rampant*; inscription on a cube-shaped capital with name of deceased as Lord Qin, the former Han Accessory [Clerk] for Documents for Youzhou (*Han gu Youzhou shuzuo Qin jun zhi shendao* [漢故幽州書佐秦君之神道]). An inscribed rectangular pillar gives the date of construction and a memorial inscription.

+ Wanfu (Xingjian, Hunan) + M4

Entrance ramp; unicameral brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting;

stamped brick décor. Structure partially collapsed. Inscribed with date of construction.

Guan 117, 122.

Ca. AD 109

Dongcheng (Suizhou Municipality, Hubei) M1

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; stamped brick décor. Double burial (man, woman). Coffins lacquered red and black.

Hu 112, 117; *Guan* 247–9, 253, 254.

Fanji (Xinye, Henan) M9, 15, 37, 42

All: tumulus; entrance ramp; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting (large interlocking rhomboid bricks).

M9: *Ding* 101.

M15: *Guan* 255.

M37: *Hu* 114; *Guan* 234; *Ding* 101.

M42: *Ding* 101.

Ganquan (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1

Entrance ramp; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; stamped brick décor. Fragments of a coffin lacquered black inside and red outside.

Guan 248.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M3029

Entrance ramp; pit grave; wood compartmented box tomb with architectonic features (second story). Burial goods include a loop-top bronze seal with no inscription.

Hu 107; *Guan* 254.

+ Haoba (Shangyu, Zhejiang) + M52

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting in corridor and probably chambers also (roof collapsed in areas); water channel. Coffin platform; stamped brick décor, several bricks inscribed with date (including cyclical year), builder's name, building specifications.

Hu 116; Guan 250–3.

Linjiangzhu (Chongqing Municipality, Sichuan) M1

Pit grave.

Guan 251.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M27, 54

Both: entrance shaft; catacomb grave; in M54, niche; in M27, traces of wood box tomb. Coffin. Sacrificed dog in entrance shaft of M27 and, together with a sheep/goat, just within the grave of M54. M54 burial goods include sixty-five *banliang* coins. M27 robbed.

M27: *Guan 157, 255.*

M54: *Guan 150, 162, 255; Ding 50.*

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 3M144, 6M133

No description of tombs.

3M144: *Guan 255.*

6M133: *Guan 254.*

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M18

Brick architectonic tomb.

Hu 116; Guan 255.

Qinchuan Machinery Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M11

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave.

Guan 247.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M144, 1004A, WM14

M144: entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; no description of roof.

M1004A: tumulus; entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; groin vaulting.

WM14: entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting (hall, side chambers); groin vaulting with keystone (front chamber).

Burial goods include fragments of jade and stone, no further indication of original form (WM14).

M144: *Guan* 253.

M1004A: *Guan* 247.

WM14: *Hu* 97; *Guan* 157, 205, 212, 247.

Xianshan (Xiangfan Municipality, Hubei) M1

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; probably barrel vaulting. Burial goods include Western Han *wushu* coins, *dabu huangqian* coins, and *daquan wushi* coins.

Hu 61, 93; *Guan* 196, 234, 236, 247.

Yingzhuang (Nanyang Municipality, Henan)

Brick and stone (doors, door frames, dividing wall, crest of ceiling in front chamber) multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; carved stone décor.

Guan 236, 247.

Zilinggang (Jingmen Municipality, Hubei) habitation site

Guan 255.

Zixing (Hunan) M3, 364

Both: tumulus; pit grave. Burial goods include glass *bi* disc(s) (M364).

M3: *Guan* 250.

M364: *Hu* 116.

Ca. AD 124

+ Beiguan (Huaiyang, Henan) + M1

Tumulus; entrance ramp; brick and stone multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; groin vaulting (seven small chambers); stamped

brick décor; carved stone décor. A fragment of a stone block with carved décor of a banquet scene was found in the front chamber, apparently not structurally part of the tomb. Floor plan close to *huangchang ticou* tombs (excavators interpret the corridor surrounding the tomb chambers as a *ticou* structure), although the surrounding corridor is apparently free-standing, not built against the chamber walls and there is no sign of an additional reinforcing wall around or over the tomb. Frequently robbed. Burial goods include a jade burial suit with silver threads. No vessels are pictured in the excavation report. The excavators' identification of the deceased is based on the inscription on stamped bricks in the wall, reading "Lord An's eternal home" (*An jun shou bi*). The jade burial suit is assumed to indicate royalty. The tomb is further assumed to be Eastern Han in date because of its structure. Accordingly, the burial is attributed to Liu Chong, King Qing of Chen, the Anshouting Marquis (*Anshouting hou* [安壽亭侯]), because Chong is the only Eastern Han king in that region whose titles incorporate the word "An." Liu Chong was enfeoffed in AD 120, died after five years or during his fifth year in office (i.e., in AD 124 or possibly 125). Although plausible, there is little evidence to sustain this identification. The inscription referring to Lord An reads "the eternal home of Lord An" (*Anjun shou bi*); the title *jun* could be simply a courtesy, not indicative of actual rank, as in the tomb of Lord Feng (Tanghe [Nanyang Municipality, Henan]), or even as evocative (i.e., "the eternal home of the Lord at peace"). Note that An is documented as a last name in the AD 157 memorial stone reused in Songshan (Jiaxiang, Shandong) M3.¹⁶

Ca. AD 132

+ Cigou (Xiangcheng, Henan)

Tumulus; stone and brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel and groin vaulting; dome; stamped brick and carved stone décor. Inscribed with date of construction, names of workmen. Burial goods include twenty-seven *wushu* coins, including ca. 73 BC. Robbed multiple times.

Guan 149, 253.

Jiagezhuang (Tangshan Municipality, Hebei) M33

No description of tomb.

Guan 257.

+ Luanzanggang (Fangxian, Hubei) + M3

Brick architectonic tomb. Collapsed. Date of construction inscribed on brick.

Guan 256, 257.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1040

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; groin vaulting.

Hu 74, 118.

Sôgamni (Sekiganri) ([originally, Taedonggangmyôn M7,] Pangyori, P'yôngyang, Democratic People's Republic of Korea [Han dynasty Lelang commandery]) M99

Brick architectonic tomb; probably groin vaulting; stamped brick.

Guan 257.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M7

Entrance ramp; pit grave; brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; stamped brick.

Hu 118; *Guan* 257.

Ca. AD 135

Dongguan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan)

Tumulus; entrance ramp; stone and brick multicameral architectonic tomb; horse and carriage chamber built as brick unicameral architectonic structure off of the entrance ramp, separate from the tomb; barrel vaulting in tomb and horse and carriage chamber. Three coffins, one encased in a red lacquered wood chamber (box). Bricks inscribed (incised or painted) with technical notes. Burial goods include forty-two jade plaques, presumably from a burial suit. A dog and ten sacrificed humans were found in the earth packed above the door to the tomb (five women or girls, five men or boys; four aged 5–6, two aged 10–15, four aged 30–40). Tomb robbed.

Jining (Shandong)

Entrance ramp; pit grave; stone multicameral tomb whose floor plan is closely related to a compartmented box tomb, but with architectonic features (doors); coffered roof (in four layers: a rectangular opening created by the supporting walls; two layers composed of triangular corner stones creating a square opening, of which the square of the higher layer has been rotated 45° relative to the square below; and a final, uppermost layer, constructed of a square, rotated 45° relative to the square below, in the middle of which were carved two concentric circles); side and rear chambers, flat roof; carved stone décor. Burial goods include jade burial suit with copper threads; jade eye covers and nose plugs.

Hu 120, 122; Guan 257.

+ Tomb of Liu Qi (Yuemiao [Huayin, Shaanxi]) [+ M1]

Tumulus; entrance ramp; pit grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting. Damaged. Burial goods include one stone *bi* disc and two gilded bronze seals, on which identification of the deceased is based: “Seal of Liu Qi” (*Liu Qi zhi yin*, with tiger top, found with red pigment in the inscribed characters) and (with a tortoise top) “Seal of the Minister over the Masses” (*situ zhi yinzhang*). This Liu Qi is identified with the Minister over the Masses named in the *Hou Hanshu*, which further notes that he was from Huayin. The identification seems secure, given this coincidence of name, place of origin, and rank, particularly since the rank was high and therefore more distinctive. However, the *Hou Hanshu* specifies only Liu's dates in office (AD 129–135) and not his date of death.¹⁷ Excavators assume that he died not long after leaving office. I have accordingly adopted AD 135 as the date of death, but this is in fact only a *terminus post quem*.

Hu 119, 121, 122.

Qilihe (Jianxi, Luoyang Municipality, Henan)

Entrance ramp; multicameral brick architectonic tomb; one catacomb side chamber without brick (therefore assume remainder of tomb is in pit grave); barrel and groin vaulting. Wood coffin. Burial goods include four *huoquan* and 296 *wushu* coins, the latter including ca. AD 24 *wushu*.

Ca. AD 137

+ Tianzigang (Anji, Zhejiang) + M1

Brick architectonic tomb; brick shelves at north end of tomb; roof and upper portion of walls destroyed; stamped brick décor. Robbed. Date, presumably of construction or burial, stamped on brick.

Hu 35; Guan 93, 234.

Ca. AD 140

+ Jiulongdi (Gaixian, Liaoning) + M1

Entrance ramp; brick and stone (roofing of niches) architectonic tomb with three niches; barrel vaulting; stamped brick décor. Wood box tomb; two wood coffins. Double burial (man, woman). Robbed, collapsed; no vessels noted. Date of construction inscribed, as well as memorial.

Ca. AD 142

+ Nanchen (Sishui, Shandong)

Stone multicameral architectonic tomb; flat roof (front and side chambers); corbelled roof (central and rear chambers); carved stone décor. Date of construction inscribed. Ceramics reported but not illustrated. Burial goods include one stone *bi* disc.

Ca. AD 146

+ Erlonggang (Fangxian, Hubei) + M2

Brick architectonic tomb. Only three objects were found in the tomb: a bronze mirror, a bronze crossbow mechanism, and an earthenware *guan* not included in my typologies. Date of construction inscribed.

Ca. AD 147

+ Memorial Stone for Wu Ban (Wu Family Shrines [Jiaxiang, Shandong])

Part of the Wu Family shrines, the stone was erected in AD 147 as a memorial to Wu Ban, d. AD 145 at age 25.

+ Western Pillar (Wu Family Shrines [Jiaxiang, Shandong])

Part of the Wu Family shrines, the pillar, erected in AD 147, is inscribed with a memorial to Wu Ban, dead at age 25.

Ca. AD 148

+ Memorial Stone for Wu Kaiming (Wu Family Shrines [Jiaxiang, Shandong])

Part of the Wu Family shrines, the stone is inscribed with a memorial to Wu Kaiming, d. AD 148 at age 57.

Ca. AD 150

+ Qinglongshan (Peixian, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu)

Stone wall with roof tiles and carved décor surrounding 250 square meter tomb park; tumulus; stone multicameral architectonic tomb; coffered ceiling in front and rear chambers; walls and ceiling of rear chamber originally lined with lacquered wood; stamped brick floor; carved stone décor accentuated with red pigment. Sacrificed dog in front chamber. Robbed; damaged. One *wushu* coin was found in the upper fill near the doorway damaged by robbers. No other objects were found. Stone above rear chamber door inscribed with date of death (AD 150) and burial (AD 151), as well as identity and rank (Miao Yu, formerly Acting Chief Clerk in the service of the Chancellor of Pengcheng; Chief of Lü County [*Gu Pengcheng xiang xingchang shishi Lü zhang Miao Yu*, 故彭城相行長史事呂長繆宇]).

Ca. AD 151

+ Cangshan (Shandong)

Entrance ramp destroyed; stone multicameral architectonic tomb; carved stone décor; front chamber, coffered roof (in four layers: a rectangular opening created by the supporting walls; two layers composed of triangular corner stones creating a square opening, of

which the square of the higher layer has been rotated 45° relative to the square below; and a final, uppermost layer, constructed of a square, rotated 45° relative to the square below, in the middle of which were carved two concentric circles); side and rear chambers, flat roof. Iron coffin nails found. Tomb badly damaged; chambers exposed on the surface of the ground. Burial goods include nine *wushu* or uninscribed coins; no *guan*, *hu*, or *ding* are noted. A construction date of *yuanjia yuannian* (元嘉元年) is included in a lengthy memorial inscription (primarily a description of the tomb's stone carvings) found on a stone column between the side and front chambers. No cyclical terms are included in this date.

Because a *yuanjia* era occurs both in the Eastern Han and in the [Liu] Song dynasty, the date, although positive, is nonetheless ambiguous: it may represent either AD 151 or 424. The excavation report authors argue a reading of AD 424, largely on the basis of tomb structure, the *wei zhi san gong* (“May you rise to the rank of the Three Excellencies”¹⁸) mirror found in the tomb, the depiction of a sheep-drawn carriage, and the occurrence of the administrative title Chief Marshal (*dudu* [都督]) included in the memorial.

Although the title of Chief Marshal is associated with the post-Han era, it is attested in the *Hou Hanshu* (74A:2391), in events of AD 199. It is possible, of course, that the historian Fan Ye (AD 398–445) may have employed a later title when writing of this period. The *wei zhi san gong* type mirror, although previously associated with the post-Han Wei (AD 220–265) and Jin (AD 266–316; Eastern Jin, AD 317–420), is known to have been produced also during the Later Han: examples are found in the positively-dated AD 175 Mamaozhuang (Lishi, Shanxi) M14 (WW 1996.4, 15–16, description), the AD 179 tomb of Wang Dang (Luoyang Municipality, Henan, WW 1980.6, 55, for discussion), as well as in Zhangwan (Lingbao, Henan) M4 and 5 (WW 1975.11, 81 for discussion; I have suggested a date of ca. AD 176 for Zhangwan M5). The structure of the Cangshan tomb is well within Han norms. The floor plan is closely related the layout of a compartmented box tomb and compares to that of Dongmenli (Liaoyang [Old] Municipality, Liaoning) M1 (although in this case, the plan is reversed), Jining (Shandong), Qinglongshan (Peixian, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), and the undatable Miaoshan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu).¹⁹ The coffered ceiling occurs at the undatable Feicheng (Shandong), where a similar construction method seems to have been used, judging from the triangular pieces of stone found on the site (the excavation report provides no drawing of the plan)²⁰ and Jining (Shandong). Qinglongshan (Peixian, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) and Zhangwan (Lingbao, Henan) M3 and 5 (in

each, the front chamber) seem also to be coffered, but apparently without rotation of squares. The image of a coffered ceiling with rotating squares and a central circle is depicted in ceiling paintings in the Jingyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) unnumbered tomb, as well as on a barrel vaulted brick ceiling in the undatable Dahuting (Mixian, Henan) M2 (central chamber).²¹ Finally, despite post-Han textual references to a sheep-drawn carriage cited by the Cangshan excavation report, the image is well within Han practices. Carriages or carts drawn by oxen, deer, fish, and other animals occur widely, sometimes, but not necessarily, in connection with images of paradise.²² I find no reason, therefore, not to date this tomb to the Han. This is, however, a subjective choice.²³

+ Memorial Stone for Wu Liang (Wu Family Shrines [Jiaxiang, Shandong])

Part of the Wu Family shrines, the stone, a memorial for Wu Liang, d. AD 151 at age 74, was erected by Wu's sons and grandsons. Although the stone itself has since been lost, the inscription has been preserved.

+ Wu Liang Shrine (Wu Family Shrines [Jiaxiang, Shandong])

Stone shrine; carved stone décor. Collapsed. Attributed to Wu Liang by Edouard Chavannes (Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine*, 28) on the strength of a caption to one carving: *chu shi* (處士), a scholar without an official post. Since this could describe Wu Liang and since the shrine is located within the grounds of the Wu Family shrines, such a connection is possible. However, in the absence of a name or date on the shrine itself, any attribution remains conjectural.

Ca. AD 154

+ Songzhuang (Mengjin Municipality, Henan)

Brick (walls, floor, and roof) and stone (block walls) multicameral architectonic tomb, considered a *huangchang ticou* construction by the excavators because of the stone-block walls reinforcing the brick walls of the tomb. Robbed. Burial goods include thirty pieces of a jade burial suit with copper threads, an earthenware *guan* which is not illustrated in the excavation report, and an earthenware *ding* not included in my typologies. Dates are incised on stone (AD 152) and inscribed in red on a wall (AD 154). The earlier date, which is included with the names of stone masons and the dimensions of the

stones, must be the date the stones were cut.

Ca. AD 164

+ Dongyuan (Boxian, Anhui) + M1

Brick and stone (doors, door frames) multicameral architectonic tomb; double barrel vaulting; wall paintings, stamped brick décor (on three bricks). Robbed. Burial goods include a jade burial suit with silver threads and a jade burial suit with copper threads, indicating at least a double burial. One hundred fifty-four of the tomb's bricks were inscribed, but only three of the inscriptions are provided in the excavation report, including those with the date (of death or burial) and identification of the deceased as the Marquis Cao (“[this] tomb was made for the Marquis Cao” [*wei Cao hou zuo bi* 為曹侯作壁]). Excavators believe the deceased to belong to the family of the late Eastern Han general, Cao Cao (AD 155–220).

Hu 122; *Guan* 259.

Ca. AD 165

+ Xianyu Huang Memorial Stone (Wuqingxian [Tianjin Municipality])

Memorial stone erected in AD 165 in memory of Xianyu Huang, d. AD 125 at age 81, who had served as Grand Administrator (*taishou*) of Yanmen in the *yongchu* (永初) era (AD 107–113). Stone commissioned by his three grandsons, with the participation of nine officials.

Ca. AD 167

+ Memorial Stone for Wu Rong (Wu Family Shrines [Jiaxiang, Shandong])

Memorial stone for Wu Rong, who died shortly after AD 167. Wu Hung suggests a date of AD 168. AD 167 serves as a *terminus post quem*.

+ Wu Rong Shrine (“Front Chamber,” Wu Family Shrines [Jiaxiang, Shandong])

Stone shrine; carved stone décor. Collapsed. Attributed to Wu Rong by Ōmura Seigai (Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine*, 28) on the strength of a

caption to one of the carved scenes, “when he was an Inspector” (*wei duyong shi* [為督郵時]). Since the caption fits the career of Wu Rong and since the shrine stands within the grounds of the Wu Family shrines, the attribution is possible. However, no name or date appears on the shrine and any specific attribution is therefore conjectural.

Ca. AD 169

+ Luanzanggang (Fangxian, Hubei) + M2

Brick architectonic tomb. Only three objects found: a bronze knife, a bronze bowl (not classified here), and a *wushu* coin. Date of construction inscribed.

+ Nancaizhuang (Yanshi, Luoyang Municipality, Henan) + M3

Tumulus; entrance ramp; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; roof damaged, barrel vaulting supposed. Robbed. A long memorial carved in stone, found in one side chamber, but not structurally part of the tomb, identifies the deceased as Fei Zhi and provides a date which seems to refer to the construction of the tomb by the son of a patron. From the scattered bones found within the tomb, excavators believe that several people were buried together and conclude that they could be the five disciples of Fei Zhi named by the memorial. This is, of course, speculation. The memorial stone was paired with a stone stand on which three saucers containing eared cups (*erbei*) were carved, as for a shrine. Although its relationship to the deceased and to the tomb itself cannot be ascertained, the memorial (including the base) appears to belong within this tomb.

Guan 260.

Zhongzhoulu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1723

No description of tomb; located in habitation site.

Guan 260.

Ca. AD 170

+ Guangzhou (Guangdong) + M5068

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; two domes;

may include stamped brick décor. Tomb badly damaged. No objects found. Date of construction inscribed on brick.

+ Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1035, + 1037

Both: tumulus; entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; no description of roof. M1037: a date is included in a memorial inscribed on a *guan*. In context, this date is ambiguous and may refer to the time of death, but may also represent the date on which the memorial and new tomb were commissioned by the great-grandson of the deceased. Simple emphasis on the tomb having been newly constructed, without previous burial of the deceased, seems less likely because of the generational timespan implied between donor and deceased.

M1035: *Hu* 123.

+ M1037: *Hu* 123; *Guan* 258.

+ Yuanbaokeng (Boxian, Anhui)

Brick and stone (doors) multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; traces of wall paintings in rear chamber, wall coated with white-grey clay. Inner measurements of tomb 13.12 meters in length, 8.72 meters in height. Extensive damage. No vessels are pictured. A memorial engraved on brick identifies the deceased as Lord Cao of Kuaiji and provides date of death or burial; the names of contributors to the tomb construction are also listed, most of them being of the Cao family themselves. Excavators assume this to be the family of the Late Eastern Han general, Cao Cao (AD 155–220).

Ca. AD 171

+ Chulan (Suxian, Anhui) + M2

Stone walled tomb park; stone shrine; tumulus; entrance ramp; pit grave; stone multicameral architectonic tomb; carved stone décor. Robbed; roof collapsed, unreconstructable. No objects were found. Date of construction include in a memorial inscribed on a stone from a “memorial hall” within the tomb park, which also identifies the deceased as Hu Yuanren of Biyang.

Ca. AD 174

+ Dingxian (Hebei) + M43

Tumulus; entrance ramp; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting. Lacquered coffin with décor in red. Double burial (man, woman). Robbed. 1,100+ burial goods, including two hundred fifty-three Western and Eastern Han *wushu* coins, a bronze ingot, over one hundred pieces of gold and silver work (including fittings for vessels), earthenware roof tile ends, a small jade screen, one jade *bi* disc, over one thousand pieces of a jade burial suit with silver threads (man), over four hundred pieces of a stone burial suit with copper threads (woman).

The richness of the tomb's remaining burial goods, the use of jade burial suits, and the tomb's location, lead its excavators to attribute it to a king of Zhongshan. In specifying Liu Chang, excavators relied primarily on evidence provided by the tomb's *jianlun wushu* coins. Citing the Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) excavation report, these coins are assumed to date from ca. AD 170 onward. Liu Chang is the first post- AD 170 king of Zhongshan; when he died in AD 174 without an heir, the kingdom was dissolved. Dingxian M43 is clearly a wealthy burial; a royal attribution is possible. However, the evidence of the *jianlun wushu* is ambiguous. This type of coin was indeed found in two positively-dated Shaogou graves, M1037, dating to AD 170 (*moguo wushu*), and M147, dating to AD 190 (*yanhuan wushu*). However, the positively dated burials provide only a *terminus ante quem* for the coinage. Attribution to Liu Chang is therefore possible, but unascertainable. An earlier king is also possible. In addition, if the tomb does not belong to a king, any date at this point becomes arbitrary.

Hu 121; *Guan* 261.

Lixian (Hebei)

Tumulus; entrance ramp; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; coffered ceiling (main chamber); barrel vaulting; stamped brick décor; may originally have had wall paintings; may originally have had wood doors. Roof tiles found inside tomb. Robbed; fire damage. Inscriptions painted on bricks include “Long life to the concubine” (*guiren da shou* [貴人大壽]). Burial goods include a white jade burial suit with copper threads. This suit leads the excavators to suppose the tomb related to the local king (of Zhongshan).

Guan 261.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M14

Tumulus; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; groin vaulting. Four coffins. Eleven people.

Guan 261.

Yushan (Jinxiang, Shandong) M1

Stone architectonic tomb (unreconstructable); carved stone décor (probably door) and inscriptions.

Ding 82, 83.

Zixing (Hunan) M89

Tumulus; pit grave.

Ding 82.

Ca. AD 175

Baimashi (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IIM12

Brick architectonic tomb; stamped brick décor.

Hu 125; Guan 270.

Balimiao (Yanggu, Shandong) M1

Brick and stone (doors, door frames) multicameral architectonic tomb; roof collapsed, unreconstructable; curved walls in front chamber; carved stone décor; stamped brick décor.

Hu 126.

Fenghuangshan Park (Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan)

Brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

Hu 63, 126; Guan 263.

Haining (Zhejiang)

Brick (floors, roof, some walls) and stone multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; stamped brick décor; carved stone panels.

Guan 265.

Laodaosi (Mianxian, Shaanxi) M3

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; stamped brick décor.

Hu 129; *Guan* 253, 262, 264, 270.

Linjiangzhu (Chongqing Municipality, Sichuan) M2, 3

M2: pit grave; wood (compartmented?) box tomb.

M3: tumulus; pit grave lined with white clay; wood compartmented box tomb; water channels.

M2: *Guan* 267.

M3: *Hu* 125; *Guan* 267.

+ Mamaozhuang (Lishi, Shanxi) M2, + 14

M2: entrance ramp; brick and stone (doors, door frames, wall panels) multicameral (cruciform) architectonic tomb; carved stone décor; stamped brick décor. Tomb damaged.

+ M14: entrance ramp with architectonic side chamber off of ramp; brick and stone multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; groin vaulting (main chamber; roof collapsed); stamped brick décor; carved stone décor. Robbed. Burial goods include a bronze *wei zhi san gong* (“May you rise to the rank of the Three Excellencies”²⁴) mirror, a bronze seal topped by a winged tiger, reading “Seal of Niu X” (*Niu X* [? character unreproducible, pronunciation unknown²⁵] *yinxin* [牛 X 印信]) the smaller seal which originally fit inside the larger is missing. Date provided by inscription written in ink on one leaf of the door. Identity of deceased confirmed by inscription carved in stone next to the door: “The eternal residence of Niu Gongchan of Pingzhou, former Han prefect of Yuanyang, Xihe” (*Han gu Xihe Huanyang shouling Pingzhou Niu Gongchan wansui zhi zhai* [漢故西河圖陽守令平周牛公產萬歲之宅]).

M2: *Guan* 266, 269.

+ M14: *Guan* 263.

Pangjiashi (Ningjin, Shandong)

Entrance ramp; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; bowed walls; barrel vaulting (corridors); groin vaulting (side chamber); painted décor. Remnants of black and red lacquer coffin.

Hu 126; *Ding* 102.

Pengshan (Sichuan) M128

Cave tomb; may have pillars; may have stamped brick décor; may be multiple burial.

Hu 124; *Guan* 267.

Shangsunjiashai (Datong, Qinghai) M*B-1, 6, 59, 67, 146

M*B-1, 6, 59: tumulus; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; groin vaulting (M59: in two chambers). Two coffins (in M*B-1, 59). Multiple burials (*MB-1, three people; M6, two people; M59, four people).

M67: tumulus; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; groin vaulting (in two chambers). M67, seven people.

M146: catacomb grave; wood box tomb. Two coffins. Double burial (man, woman). Man in flexed position, woman extended. Burial goods include *sishu banliang*.

*MB-1: *Hu* 119, 126-129; *Guan* 135, 268, 269, 271.

M6: *Hu* 81, 126; *Guan* 130, 136, 265.

M59: *Guan* 265.

M67: *Hu* 129.

M146: *Guan* 269.

Shibeizhai (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi)

Entrance ramp; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

Hu 126.

Water Treatment Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M13

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; groin vaulting (front chamber only).

Hu 126.

Ca. AD 176

+ Anping (Hebei)

Tumulus; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; wall paintings. Lacquered coffin. Date painted on wall.

Guan 261, 275.

Banyue (Dangyang Municipality, Hubei) M2

Entrance ramp; pit grave; wood box (disintegrated).

Guan 278, 288; Ding 104.

Beiyingsi (Liangcheng, Inner Mongolia) M10

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave. Double burial (man, woman).

Guan 285.

Bijianshan (Suining, Sichuan) M3

Cave tomb. Robbed. Burial goods may include Western Han and/or ca. AD 24 Eastern Han *wushu* coins. No distribution is provided in the excavation report.

Guan 283.

Dapanjia (Dalian Municipality, Liaoning) M2

Pit grave lined with shells; wood box.

Guan 288.

Dongdaying (Gaixian, Liaoning) M1

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; partially white-plastered walls.

Hu 130; Guan 289–292.

Ermutang (Dayong, Hunan) RM3

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

Guan 142, 168, 274, 282.

Guchengping (Yingjing, Sichuan) M2

Pit grave lined with white clay; wood box tomb.

Guan 140, 275.

Hewang (Yingyang, Henan) CHM1

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting (rear chamber); groin vaulting (front chamber). 4 people.

Hu 126, 132; *Guan* 225, 264, 285.

Holingor ([Helin'ge'er,] Inner Mongolia)

Entrance ramp; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting (corridors); groin vaulting with capstone (chambers); wall paintings. Deceased identified as the Chief Clerk to the government at of Xihe Commandery at Lishi, based on captions to the wall paintings in the tomb. No date of death is visible.

Hu 132; *Ding* 82.

Houma (Shanxi) M2

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave with niche. Niche contained bird bones.

Hu 41, 43; *Guan* 255, 264, 272, 276, 286; *Ding* 102, 103.

Jiagezhuang (Tangshan Municipality, Hebei) M22

Brick tomb; no further description.

Guan 291.

Jiulongdi (Gaixian, Liaoning) M4

Brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

Guan 288.

Laodaosi (Mianxian, Shaanxi) M2

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; stamped brick décor.

Hu 133; *Guan* 295.

Linhe (Shunyi, Beijing Municipality) M1

Entrance ramp; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; stamped brick décor; traces of white-grey paint on the walls. Fragments of red lacquer coffin.

Hu 126, 132.

+ Tomb of Liu Yuantai (Ganquanshan [Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu])

Brick tomb; no description of structure. Burial goods include only a bronze mirror, a small *guan* which excavators suggest may have been part of an earthenware model well, and a hollow, seven-sided baton (earthenware) inscribed with a deed of purchase for the land on which the tomb was built. The date of purchase, the cost of the plot (20,000 cash), and the name of the purchaser are given in the deed. Assuming that the purchaser is indeed the deceased, it follows that the date provided by the deed serves only as a *terminus post quem* for the burial.

Liujiagu (Sanmenxia Municipality, Henan) M3

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; groin vaulting (front chamber).

Hu 130.

+ Luanzanggang (Fangxian, Hubei) + M1

Brick architectonic tomb. Date inscribed. A fragment of brick inscribed with a production date of AD 132 was found inside the door to the tomb. According to the excavation report, this fragment matches date-inscribed bricks from Luanzanggang M3 and appears to be extraneous to M1.

Guan 293.

Mamaozhuang (Lishi, Shanxi) M4

Brick and stone (doors and door frames) multicameral architectonic tomb (badly damaged); barrel vaulting (entrance hall); carved stone décor.

Guan 283, 287.

Muchengyi (Dalian Municipality, Liaoning) Western Tomb

Brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting (corridors); gothic corbelled vaulting (chambers).

Guan 288.

Pengshan (Sichuan) M127, 666

Both: cave tomb; may have pillars; may have stamped brick décor; may be multiple burials. M127: single chamber. M666: one ceramic coffin; one stone coffin.

M127: *Guan* 275.

M666: *Hu* 131; *Guan* 273, 283.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 5M36, 8M81

No description of tombs.

5M36: *Hu* 132.

8M81: *Guan* 288.

Puzhen (Hanzhong Municipality, Shaanxi) 85M1, 85M2, 85M3, 85M4

85M4: tumulus. All: brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting. Burial goods include two jade *bi* discs (85M2).

85M1: *Hu* 133; *Guan* 270, 274, 275.

85M2: *Guan* 275.

85M3: *Guan* 275, 276.

85M4: *Guan* 274, 283, 285.

Qinchuan Machinery Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M8

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick architectonic tomb; groin vaulting.

Hu 130.

Sangzhuang (Fucheng, Hebei) HFSM1

Entrance ramp; brick and stone (doors and door frames) multicameral architectonic tomb; originally wood door in front chamber; barrel vaulting; stamped brick décor; carved stone décor; deep red paint on main doors.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M4, 33, 35, 37

M4: tumulus; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; groin vaulting. Coffin (?). Three people.

M33: tumulus; brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting. Secondary burial.

M35, 37: tumulus; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; groin vaulting (in one chamber). Coffin (? in M35, four in M37). Multiple burials (M35, man and woman; M37, six people, two in secondary burial).

M4: *Hu* 126; *Guan* 268, 287.

M33: *Guan* 276, 279.

M35: *Hu* 129; *Guan* 294.

M37: *Guan* 279, 294.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M113, 1009A, 1019

M113: tumulus; entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; groin vaulting.

M1009A: tumulus; entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; groin vaulting.

M1019: tumulus; entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; groin vaulting.

M113: *Hu* 130.

M1009A: *Hu* 132.

M1019: *Hu* 132.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M32

Entrance ramp; pit grave; brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; stamped brick décor.

Guan 288, 293.

Sucun (Quwo, Shanxi) M1

Entrance ramp; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; roof collapsed. Man, two women.

Guan 275, 276, 278.

Suzhou Northern Suburbs (Jiangsu) old wells

Four wells dug into the ground without lining; three, lined with clay.

Hu 96; *Guan* 92, 95, 96, 98, 153, 174, 275.

Water Treatment Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M18

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; groin vaulting (front chamber only). Eight people.

Hu 130; *Guan* 277.

Xiadu (Yixian, Hebei) M38

Brick architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting.

Hu 132.

Xinggu (Shahe Municipality, Hebei)

Tumulus; entrance ramp; brick and stone (wall panels) multicameral architectonic tomb (some interior doors of wood); barrel vaulting; plastered walls (rear chamber); stamped brick décor; carved stone décor. Double burial (man, woman).

Guan 275.

Yuemiao (Huayin, Shaanxi) M5

Entrance ramp; brick architectonic tomb.

Guan 275, 287.

Zhangwan (Lingbao, Henan) M3, 5

M3: entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting (rear, side chambers); coffered ceiling (?; *lu* “box” form; front chamber). Ceramic roof tile.

M5: entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick and stone (doors) multicameral architectonic tomb; roof collapsed except front chamber (coffered ceiling?, *lu* “box” form).

M3: *Hu* 130; *Guan* 284.

M5: *Guan* 287.

Zhongzhoulu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1502A

No description of tomb; located in habitation site.

Guan 287.

Ca. AD 179

Liujiayu (Sanmenxia Municipality, Henan) M4

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; groin vaulting (front chamber, no description of other roofing); side chamber of bare dirt.

Guan 296.

Miaonan ([New Village,] Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM528

Entrance shaft; catacomb grave.

Hu 93, 130, 134; Guan 161, 253, 299.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 9M21

No description of tomb.

Guan 296.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M2, 27

Both: tumulus; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; groin vaulting (in two chambers). Coffin in M2 (?). M2, two people; M27, single burial.

M2: *Hu 126, 134.*

M27: *Guan 297.*

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M146

Tumulus; entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting; groin vaulting.

Guan 298, 299.

+ Tomb of Wang Dang (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) [+ M1]

Entrance ramp; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; roof collapsed. Roof tiles found within tomb. Burial goods include two hundred ninety-five coins (153 *banliang*, 133 *wushu*, 6 *daquan wushi*, 3 *huoquan*) and a lead baton (broken) with a deed of land purchase. Directed to the living and the dead, the deed provides the date of purchase, the name of the deceased, those making the purchase (Wang Dang's father and younger brother), and the cost (10,000 cash). Given that it is the father and brother of the deceased who made the purchase, I assume that Wang Dang had recently died and that the date of purchase is therefore approximately the date of death and burial.

Hu 123, 134; *Guan* 296, 297.

Zixing (Hunan) M399

Tumulus; pit grave.

Guan 296.

Ca. AD 190

Baiguanzhen (Shangyu, Zhejiang) kiln site

Finds include black and green glazed porcelain/stoneware.

Guan 301.

+ *Chuping yuannian* (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) isolated find

Earthenware bottle inscribed in red with a memorial including a date assumed to be of death. The memorial is highly fragmentary, with many characters now illegible. From the excavations of the Han city of Chang'an; collection of Xibei University.

Hu 135.

+ Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) + M147

Tumulus; entrance shaft; catacomb grave; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; groin vaulting (all areas). A memorial inscription on a *guan* provides a date which appears to be that of death or burial.

Several characters following the date are illegible.

Guan 300, 301.

Shiyang (Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan)

Entrance ramp; pit grave; wood compartmented box tomb.

Hu 124; *Guan* 267, 301.

Ca. AD 191

+ Zhongzhoulu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan)

+ M813

Pit grave; brick box tomb. Date, presumably of death, given in memorial inscription painted in red on *guan*. The memorial is now fragmentary, with many characters illegible; legible phrases include reference to execution.

Guan 300.

Ca. AD 196

Hejiashan (Mianyang, Sichuan) HM1

Cliff tomb. Entrance ramp; brick multicameral architectonic tomb; barrel vaulting, collapsed; dug into side of small red sandstone hill. Stamped brick décor of geometric designs and coin motifs. Four coffins: three trapezoidal, of brick with stone lids; one rectangular of grey earthenware with rounded lid. Remains of the deceased found within each coffin, three in fragments, the fourth, a man 1.65 m in height. Burial goods include two hundred ten coins, identified as ca. 73 BC and ca. AD 24 *wushu*, *daquan wushi*, *jianlun wushu*, *yanhuan wushu*; and a money tree and its stand.

Guan 302.

Liujiazhongzi (Dangyang Municipality, Hubei) M1, 2

Distinction between M1 and M2 not always made in attributing objects. Tumulus; brick and stone (doors, door frames) multicameral

architectonic tomb; roof collapsed; carved stone décor; stamped brick décor. Burial goods include a gilded bronze seal reading “Seal of Yin Zhong.”

M1: *Guan* 302.

M2: *Guan* 302.

M1 and/or M2: *Guan* 304, 305.

+ Wulong (Dayi, Sichuan)

Brick architectonic tomb (no description of tomb plan); tomb destroyed. Date of construction stamped on brick.

Guan 303, 305.

Ca. AD 222

+ Echeng (Hubei) Old Well

Objects include a *fu* (classified here as a *guan*) inscribed with a production date of AD 222, which is here used as a *terminus post quem* for the deposits as a whole.

Guan 305, 306.

Gongxian (Henan) cache

Han roof tiles around the deposit may indicate that this cache had been buried within a house.

Hu 113; *Guan* 148, 306.

ALPHABETICAL LISTING OF DATED HAN SITES

+ indicates a positive date.

* indicates a site or tomb attributed to the non-Chinese.

Sites may be cross-referenced under alternate names.

+ Anping 安平 (Hebei) (AD 176)

Anqiu 安丘 (Shandong) (ca. 70 BC)

+ “Anyi Palace” 安邑宮 (Hongdong, Shanxi) isolated find (160 BC)

Anzhangzi 安杖子 (Lingyuan, Liaoning) M2 (ca. 113 BC), M3 (ca. 122 BC)

Baiguanzhen 百官鎮 (Shangyu, Zhejiang) kiln site (ca. AD 190)

Baimashi 白馬石 (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IM2 (ca. AD 7), IM3 (ca. 70 BC), IM5 (ca. 70 BC), IM6 (ca. 70 BC), IM9 (ca. 70 BC), IM15 (ca. 70 BC), IM20 (ca. 70 BC), IIM4 (ca. 70 BC), IIM7 (ca. 70 BC), IIM8 (ca. 70 BC), IIM12 (ca. AD 175), IIM14 (ca. 70 BC), IIM15 (ca. 70 BC)

Baizhuang 白莊 (Jiaozuo Municipality, Henan) M6 (ca. AD 90)

Balimiao 八里廟 (Yanggu, Shandong) M1 (ca. AD 175)

Banyue 半月 (Dangyang Municipality, Hubei) M1 (ca. AD 101), M2 (ca. AD 176)

Baonüdu 寶女墩 (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 85YBM104 (ca. AD 90), K1 (ca. AD 90)

+ Beiguan 北關 (Huaiyang, Henan) + M1 (AD 124)

Beiguan (Yangyuan, Hebei) M1 (ca. 115 BC)

Beiyingsi 北營子 (Liangcheng, Inner Mongolia) M8 (ca. 45 BC), M10 (ca. AD 176), M11 (ca. AD 24), M12 (ca. AD 65), M18 (ca. AD 90), M21 (ca. AD 24), M22 (ca. AD 24)

Beiyuan 北原 (Guyuan, Ningxia) (ca. AD 96)

+ Beizhuang 北莊 (Dingxian, Hebei) + M1 (AD 90)

Bicun 畢村 (Hunyuan, Shanxi) M1 (ca. 168 BC)

Bijiashan 筆架山 (Suining, Sichuan) M1 (ca. 70 BC), M3 (ca. AD 176), M5 (ca. AD 65), M6 (ca. AD 65)

+ Bojishan 簸箕山 (Tianqi, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu)

+ XBM3 (154 BC)

Bu Qianqiu 卜千秋 (Luoyang Municipality, Henan), Tomb of (ca. AD 9)

+ Burial goods pits of the King of Qi 齊 (Wotuo [Zibo Municipality, Shandong]) K1-5 (132 BC)

+ Cangshan 蒼山 (Shandong) (AD 151)

Cangxi 倉西 (Gongyi Municipality, Henan) M41 (ca. AD 101)

Changshanzhen 長山鎮 (Jiangyin Municipality, Jiangsu) isolated find (ca. AD 14)

Changzhou 常州 (Jiangsu) (ca. 70 BC)

Chencun 陳村 (Shunde, Guangdong) (ca. AD 90)

Chengbei 城北 (Hexian, Anhui) (ca. 51 BC)

Chengguanzhen 城關鎮 (Fangcheng, Henan) (ca. AD 10)

Chenghu 澄湖 (Wuxian, Jiangsu) old wells (ca. 70 BC)

Chongan 崇安 (Fujian) habitation site [Han city] (ca. AD 80)

Chôngbaengni (Teihakuri) 貞柏里 (Pangyori, P'yôngyang, Democratic People's Republic of Korea) habitation site [Han Lelang commandery] (ca. 51 BC); M151 [originally, Taedonggangmyôn M4] (ca. AD 65)

+ Chulan 褚蘭 (Suxian, Anhui) + M2 (AD 171)

+ *Chuping yuannian* 初平元年 (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) isolated find (AD 190)

+ Cigou 茨溝 (Xiangcheng, Henan) (132 AD)

+ Dabaotai 大葆臺 (Beijing Municipality) + M1 (45 BC), M2 (ca. 45 BC)

Dafentou 大坟頭 (Yunmeng, Hubei) M1 (ca. 173 BC), M2 (ca. 173 BC), M3 (ca. 173 BC)

Daijialou 戴家樓 (Qingzhou Municipality, Shandong) M12 (ca. AD 90), M21 (ca. 70 BC), M46 (ca. 113 BC), M83 (ca. AD 67)

Daiye 岱墅 (Laixi, Shandong) M2 (ca. 138 BC)

Dajiangkou 大江口 (Shupu, Hunan) M3 (ca. 113 BC), M4 (ca. AD 65), M8 (ca. 113 BC)

+ Danyang 丹陽 (Zhenjiang Municipality, Jiangsu) (AD 101)

Dapanjia 大潘家 (Dalian Municipality, Liaoning) M2 (ca. AD 176)

Datagang 大塔崗 (Dayong, Hunan) DM9 (ca. AD 65), DM25 (ca. AD 90), DM56 (ca. AD 90), DM62 (ca. 70 BC)

Dayi 大邑 (Sichuan) (ca. AD 65)

Dianshan 淀山 (Mianyang Municipality, Sichuan) (ca. 160 BC)

+ Dingxian 定縣 (Hebei) + M40 (55 BC), + M43 (AD 174)

Dongcheng 東城 (Suizhou Municipality, Hubei) M1 (ca. AD 109)

Dongdaying 東達營 (Gaixian, Liaoning) M1 (ca. AD 176)

Dongdongshan 東洞山 ([originally, Shiqiao 石橋,] Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2 (ca. AD 4)

Dongfeng 東風 (Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M9 (ca. AD 90)

Dongguan 東關 (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) (ca. AD 135)
 Donghuashan 東華山 (Longyou, Zhejiang) M12 (ca. 70 BC), 79M22 (ca. 70 BC), 87M2 (ca. AD 67), 87M3 (ca. 70 BC), 87M5 (ca. AD 101), 87M6 (ca. AD 7), 87M12 (ca. 70 BC), 89M27 (ca. 70 BC), 89M28 (ca. AD 10)
 Dongjiazhuang 董家莊 (Laixi, Shandong) M1 (ca. 70 BC), M2 (ca. 70 BC)
 Dongmenli 東門里 (Liaoyang [Old] Municipality, Liaoning) M1 (ca. AD 67)
 Dongquanhe 東泉河 (Laiwu Municipality, Shandong) (ca. 70 BC)
 Dongyang 東陽 (Xuyi, Jiangsu) M4 (ca. AD 90), M5 (ca. 70 BC), 6 (ca. 70 BC), 7 (ca. 70 BC)
 + Dongyuan 董園 (Boxian, Anhui) + M1 (AD 164)
 Dushan 獨山 (Weishan, Shandong) M3 (ca. 70 BC), M4 (ca. 70 BC), M5 (ca. 70 BC)
 + Echeng 鄂城 (Hubei) Old Well (AD 222)
 + Erlonggang 二龍崗 (Fangxian, Hubei) + M2 (AD 146)
 Ermutang 二畝塘 (Dayong, Hunan) RM3 (ca. AD 176), RM5 (ca. AD 9)
 Ershidian 二十店 (Huainan Municipality, Anhui) (ca. AD 24)
 Fangmatan 放馬灘 (Tianshui Municipality, Gansu) M1 (ca. 173 BC), M5 (ca. 217 BC), M6 (ca. 113 BC), M12 (ca. 173 BC), M13 (ca. 173 BC), M14 (ca. 164 BC)
 Fangxin 方新 (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M1 (ca. AD 67), M3 (ca. AD 67), M4 (ca. AD 67), M6 (ca. AD 67), M7 (ca. AD 67)
 Fanji 樊集 (Xinye, Henan) M9 (ca. AD 109), M15 (ca. AD 109), M37 (ca. AD 109), M42 (ca. AD 109)
 Fanshi 範式 (Jiaxiang, Shandong), Tomb of (ca. 70 BC)
 Fenghuangshan 鳳凰山 (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M1 (ca. 70 BC), M2 (ca. 168 BC), M4 (ca. 70 BC), M5 (ca. 168 BC), M6 (ca. AD 7), M8 (ca. 70 BC), M9 (ca. AD 9)
 + Fenghuangshan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M8 (ca. 173 BC), + M9 (164 BC), + M10 (153 BC), + M168 (167 BC)
 Fenghuangshan Park 鳳凰山園 (Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan) (ca. AD 175)
 Fengmenling 豐門嶺 (Hepu, Guangxi) M10 (ca. AD 90)
 Fengqing 風清 (Zhaoping, Guangxi) M7 (ca. AD 90), M9 (ca. AD 90)
 + Front Chamber (i.e., Wu Rong Shrine, Wu Family Shrines, Jiaxiang, Shandong) (AD 167)
 Fuling 涪陵 (Sichuan) M1 (ca. AD 65), M2 (ca. AD 80)
 Futianzhen 福田鎮 (Boluo, Guangdong) M1 (ca. AD 90), M2 (ca. AD 90)
 + Ganquan 甘泉 (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1

(ca. AD 109), +M2 (AD 67)

Ganzhou 贛州 (Jiangxi) (ca. AD 9)

Gaochun 高淳 (Jiangsu) (ca. AD 90)

+ Gaotai 高臺 (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M3 (ca. 141 BC), M5 (ca. 137 BC), M6 (ca. 167 BC), M9 (ca. 137 BC), M12 (ca. 173 BC), M17 (ca. 136 BC), +M18 (173 BC), M24 (ca. 173 BC), M27 (ca. 122 BC), M28 (ca. 173 BC), M29 (ca. 173 BC), M33 (ca. 167 BC), M35 (ca. 173 BC), M37 (ca. 167 BC)

+ Gaoyao 高窯 (Sanqiao, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) cache (138 BC, 51 BC, ca. 18 BC)

Gaozhuang 高莊 (Dilu, Hebei) (ca. AD 65)

Gongxian 鞏縣 (Henan) cache (ca. AD 222)

Guangyan 廣衍 (Zhungar Banner, Inner Mongolia) habitation site [Qin and Han city] with cemetery (ca. AD 65)

+ Guangzhou 廣州 (Guangdong) M1010 (ca. 122 BC), M1014 (ca. AD 65), M1026* (ca. 122 BC), M1028 (ca. 122 BC), M1040 (ca. 122 BC), M1048 (ca. 122 BC), M1056 (ca. 122 BC), M1065 (ca. 122 BC), M1066 (ca. 122 BC), M1067 (ca. 70 BC), M1068 (ca. AD 65), M1069 (ca. 122 BC), M1070 (ca. 122 BC), M1075 (ca. 122 BC), M1076 (ca. AD 90), M1077 (ca. 70 BC), M1082 (ca. 122 BC), M1083 (ca. 122 BC), M1084 (ca. 122 BC), M1085 (ca. 122 BC), M1088 (ca. 122 BC), M1095 (ca. 113 BC), M1097 (ca. 122 BC), M1100 (ca. 70 BC), M1101 (ca. 168 BC), M1105 (ca. 122 BC), M1107 (ca. 122 BC), M1113 (ca. 5 AD), M1116 (ca. AD 5), M1121 (ca. 122 BC), M1125 (ca. 70 BC), M1139 (ca. 122 BC), M1142 (ca. 122 BC), M1143 (ca. 122 BC), M1144 (ca. 113 BC), M1145 (ca. 122 BC), M1148 (ca. 122 BC), M1152 (ca. 122 BC), M1173 (ca. 115 BC), M1174 (ca. AD 90), M1175 (ca. AD 65), M1177 (ca. 122 BC), M1180 (ca. 122 BC), M1181 (ca. 122 BC), M2001 (ca. AD 67), M2003 (ca. AD 90), M2009 (ca. AD 9), M2010 (ca. AD 90), M2011 (ca. AD 90), M2017 (ca. AD 90), M2022 (ca. AD 90), M2030 (ca. AD 90), M2038 (ca. AD 90), M2042 (ca. AD 90), M2044 (ca. 70 BC), M2046 (ca. AD 90), M2050 (ca. AD 67), M2055 (ca. AD 90), M2058 (ca. 122 BC), M2060 (ca. AD 90), M2062 (ca. AD 65), M3009 (ca. AD 67), M3019 (ca. AD 90), M3020 (ca. AD 90), M3021 (ca. AD 90), M3023 (ca. AD 67), M3024 (ca. AD 90), M3029 (ca. AD 109), M3031 (ca. AD 80), M4001 (ca. AD 90), M4004 (ca. AD 90), M4006 (ca. AD 90), M4007 (ca. AD 90), M4009 (ca. AD 90), M4013 (ca. AD 90), M4017 (ca. AD 90), M4018 (ca. AD 90), M4019 (ca. AD 90), M4021 (ca. AD 80), M4024 (ca. AD 90), M4026 (ca. AD 80), M4028 (ca. AD 90), M4036 (ca. AD 80), M4039 (ca. AD 65), M5004 (ca. AD 90), M5007 (ca. AD 90), M5014 (ca. AD 90), M5028 (ca. AD 76), M5035 (ca. AD 65),

M5036 (ca. AD 65), M5040 (ca. AD 90), +M5041 (AD 76),
 M5043 (ca. AD 80), M5050 (ca. AD 104), M5052 (ca. AD 104),
 M5059 (ca. AD 80), +M5060 (AD 80), +M5065 (AD 97),
 +M5068 (AD 170), M5069 (ca. AD 101), M5071 (ca. AD 90),
 M5076 (ca. AD 90), M5077 (ca. AD 90), M5080 (ca. AD 90)
 Guanshan 官山 (Shunde, Guangdong) GM1 (ca. AD 80)
 Guchengping 古城坪 (Yingjing, Sichuan) M2 (ca. AD 176)
 Guduiwang 谷堆王 (Dingyuan, Anhui) M4 (ca. AD 90), M8 (ca. 70 BC)
 Guijiayuanzi 桂家院子 (Zhaotong Municipality, Yunnan) M1 (ca. AD 65)
 Guishan 龜山 (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1 ([originally, Xiaoguishan,] ca. 118 BC), M2 (ca. 73 BC)
 +Guo Zhiwen 郭稚文 (Suide, Shaanxi), Tomb of (AD 103)
 Guolufang 鍋爐房 (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M5 (ca. AD 65), M6 (ca. AD 65), M7 (ca. AD 90), M9 (ca. AD 65), M10 (ca. AD 65), M11 (ca. 70 BC)
 Haining 海寧 (Zhejiang) (ca. AD 175)
 Haizhou 海州 (Lianyungang Municipality, Jiangsu) (ca. 70 BC)
 +Hantanpo 旱灘坡 (Wuwei, Gansu) (AD 43)
 +Hanwang 漢旺 (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) (AD 86)
 +Haoba 蒿壩 (Shangyu, Zhejiang) +M52 (AD 109)
 Hedonggaozhai 河東高寨 (Hexian, Guangxi) M3 (ca. AD 90), M4 (ca. 70 BC), M5 (ca. AD 90), M6 (ca. AD 90), M7 (ca. AD 5), M8 (ca. 70 BC), M9 (ca. 122 BC)
 Hejiashan 何家山 (Mianyang, Sichuan) HM1 (ca. AD 196)
 Hejiayuan 賀家園 (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M1 (ca. 70 BC), M2 (ca. 70 BC), M3 (ca. 51 BC)
 Hepu 合浦 (Guangxi) (ca. AD 90)
 Heshanmiao 赫山廟 (Yiyang, Hunan) M17 (ca. AD 80), M18 (ca. 70 BC), M22 (ca. AD 90), M25 (ca. AD 90)
 Hetoushan 鶴頭山 (Wuzhou Municipality, Guangxi) M1 (ca. AD 67), M2 (ca. AD 90)
 Hewang 河王 (Yingyang, Henan) CHM1 (ca. AD 176)
 Holingor ([Helin'ge'er 和林格爾,] Inner Mongolia) (ca. AD 176)
 Honghuagang 紅花崗 (Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong) (ca. AD 90)
 +Hongtushan 紅土山 (Juye, Shandong) +M1 (136 BC)
 Houloushan 后樓山 (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) XHM1 (ca. 70 BC)
 Houma 侯馬 (Shanxi) M2 (ca. AD 176), M4 (ca. 70 BC)
 Huaershan 花兒山 (Xinjin, Liaoning) M1-7 (ca. 65 AD)
 Huaihua 懷化 (Hunan) M4 (ca. AD 65), M5 (ca. AD 67), M6 (ca.

AD 9), M8 (ca. AD 24), M9 (ca. AD 67), M10 (ca. 70 BC), M11 (ca. AD 24), M12 (ca. AD 65)

Huainan 淮南 (Anhui) (ca. 70 BC)

Huayang 華陽 (Yuexi, Sichuan) cache (ca. AD 67)
+ Huchang 胡場 (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1 (ca. 70 BC), + M5 (70 BC)

Humen 虎門 (Dongguan Municipality, Guangdong) M1 (ca. AD 104)

Huo He 霍賀 (Haizhou [Lianyungang Municipality, Jiangsu]), Tomb of (ca. 70 BC)

Huoshan 霍山 (Anhui) M1 (ca. 122 BC), M2 (ca. 122 BC), M3 (ca. 115 BC), M4 (ca. 113 BC)
+ Huxishan 虎溪山 (Yuanling, Hunan) + YHM1 (162 BC)

Jiagezhuang 賈各莊 (Tangshan Municipality, Hebei) M3 (ca. 113 BC), M14 (ca. AD 67), M17 (ca. 113 BC), M22 (ca. AD 176), M27 (ca. 45 BC), M33 (ca. AD 132)

Jiangshan 江山 (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) (ca. 136 BC)

Jietang 界塘 (Zhaoping, Guangxi) M1 (ca. AD 90)

Jijiawan 汲家灣 (Binzhou Municipality, Shandong) (ca. AD 90)

Jingshan 荊山 (Yishui, Shandong) (ca. AD 67)

Jingshi 京師 (Duanjiacheng, Huayin, Shaanxi) Han state granary (ca. AD 65)

Jingyuan 金谷園 (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) unnumbered tomb (ca. AD 14), M1 (ca. AD 9), M11 (ca. AD 9), IM337 (ca. AD 9)

Jining 濟寧 (Shandong) (ca. AD 135)

Jinqueshan 金雀山 (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M9 (ca. 70 BC), M27 (ca. AD 24), M28 (ca. 70 BC), M31 (ca. 70 BC), M32 (ca. 70 BC), M33 (ca. 70 BC)

Jintangpo 金塘坡 (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M12 (ca. AD 90)

Jinzhai 金寨 (Mianxian, Shaanxi) 78HJM5 (ca. AD 10)

Jiulishan 九里山 (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1 (ca. AD 9)
+ Jiulongdi 九壠地 (Gaixian, Liaoning) + M1 (AD 140), M4 (ca. AD 176)

Jiutou 九頭 (Liuzhou Municipality, Guangxi) M1 (ca. AD 90)
+ Ju'nán 莒南 (Shandong) isolated find (AD 4)

Juxian 莒縣 (Shandong) isolated find (ca. AD 90)
+ King of Nanyue 南越 (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]), Tomb of the (122 BC)
+ King of Qi 齊 (Wotuo [Zibo Municipality, Shandong]) K1-5 (132 BC), Burial goods pits of the

Kuishan 奎山 (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) (ca. 70 BC)

Lancheng 蘭城 (Zaozhuang Municipality, Shandong) M3 (ca. 70 BC)

+ Lanshi 瀾石 (Foshan Municipality, Guangdong) M1 (ca. AD 90),
+ M2 (AD 96)

Laodaosi 老道寺 (Mianxian, Shaanxi) M2 (ca. AD 176), M3 (ca. AD 175)

Laohudun 老虎墩 (Ganquan, Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) (ca. AD 90)

Laoshan 嶗山 (Qingdao Municipality, Shandong) unnumbered double burial (ca. AD 24), M1 (ca. 70 BC), M2 (ca. 70 BC)

Leigutai 擂鼓臺 (Xiangyang, Hubei) M1 (ca. 70 BC)

Lequn 樂群 (Zhaoping, Guangxi) M5 (ca. AD 90), M6 (ca. AD 80), M12 (ca. AD 87)

Liangnanzhuang 梁南莊 (Rongcheng Municipality, Shandong) M1 (ca. 119-103 BC), M2 (ca. 55 BC)

Lijiaoqiao 立交橋 (Sanmenxia Municipality, Henan) M5 (ca. AD 90)

Lijiataozi 李家套子 (Tongxin, Ningxia) TLM1 (ca. AD 65), TLM2 (ca. AD 67)

Linha 臨河 (Shunyi, Beijing Municipality) M1 (ca. AD 176)

Linjiangzhilu 臨江支路 (Chongqing Municipality, Sichuan) M1 (ca. AD 109), M2 (ca. AD 175), M3 (ca. AD 175), M4 (ca. 122 BC)

Litun 李屯 (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) (ca. 173 BC)
+ Liu Qi 劉崎 (Yuemiao [Huayin, Shaanxi]) [+M1]), Tomb of (AD 135)

+ Liu Yuntai 劉元臺 (Ganquanshan [Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu]), Tomb of (AD 176)

Liujiajudui 劉家古堆 (Huainan Municipality, Anhui) (ca. AD 101)

Liujiaqu 劉家渠 (Sanmenxia Municipality, Henan) M3 (ca. AD 176), M4 (ca. AD 179)

Liujiazhongzi 劉家冢子 (Dangyang Municipality, Hubei) M1 (ca. AD 196), M2 (ca. AD 196)

Lixian 蠡縣 (Hebei) (ca. AD 174)

Longshou Military Base 龍首村軍乾所 (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M2 (ca. AD 65), M3 (ca. AD 65), M4 (ca. AD 65), M8 (ca. AD 10), M9 (ca. AD 65), M10 (ca. AD 65), M11 (ca. AD 65), M13 (ca. 70 BC), M14 (ca. AD 65), M15 (ca. AD 65)

+ Lord Feng 馮君 (Tanghe [Nanyang Municipality, Henan]), Tomb of (the consort of) (AD 18)

+ Luanzanggang 亂葬岡 (Fangxian, Hubei) + M1 (AD 176), + M2 (AD 169), + M3 (AD 132)

Lüfeng 祿豐 (Yunnan) (ca. AD 90)

Luobowan 羅泊灣 (Guixian, Guangxi) M1 (ca. 122 BC), M2 (ca. 122 BC)

Luogang 羅岡 (Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong) M3 (ca. 122 BC), M4 (ca. 122 BC)
 Luoning 洛寧 (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M4 (ca. AD 65)
 Luoyang 洛陽, Old City of/Wangcheng Park/Shaoqou ([Painted Tomb,] Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M61 (ca. AD 9)
 Luoyang Post and Cable Office 洛陽郵電局 (Henan) IM372 (ca. AD 9)
 + Machang 馬場 (Pingba, Guizhou) *guan* (AD 104)
 + Majiashan 馬家山 (Xindu, Sichuan) M1 (ca. AD 65), M2 (ca. AD 65), M3 (ca. AD 67), M4 (ca. AD 65), + M5 (AD 65), M12 (ca. AD 65)
 + Mamaozhuang 馬茂莊 (Lishi, Shanxi) M2 (ca. AD 175), M4 (ca. AD 176), + M14 (AD 175)
 + Mancheng 滿城 (Hebei) + M1 (113 BC), + M1:4108 (119 BC), M2 (ca. 113 BC)
 + Maoling 茂陵 (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi), unnamed tomb near, burial goods pit + K1 (ca. 110 BC), + K1:025 (137 BC)
 Maquan 馬泉 (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M1 (ca. AD 67)
 Maquanzi 馬圈子 (Wafangdian Municipality, Liaoning) M2 (ca. AD 90)
 Mashan 馬山 (Xinjin, Liaoning) (ca. 70 BC)
 + Mawangdui 馬王堆 (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1 (ca. 168 BC), + M2 (186 BC), + M3 (168 BC)
 Meidai 美岱 (Hohhot Municipality, Inner Mongolia) habitation site [Han city] (ca. AD 67)
 Mianzhu 綿竹 (Sichuan) M1 (ca. AD 90), M2 (ca. AD 65)
 Miaonan 苗南 ([New Village 新村,] Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM528 (ca. AD 179)
 Mishan 米山 (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1 (ca. 70 BC), M4 (ca. AD 65)
 + Miyang 泌陽 (Henan) M3 (210 BC)
 Mozuizi 磨嘴子 (Wuwei, Gansu) M6 (ca. AD 65)
 Muchengyi 牧城驛 (Dalian Municipality, Liaoning) Eastern Tomb (ca. 70 BC), Western Tomb (ca. AD 176)
 Mujiangfen 木匠坟 (Yunmeng, Hubei) M1 (ca. 173 BC), M2 (ca. 217 BC)
 Muqian 篁前 (Weishan, Shandong) M3 (ca. AD 90)
 + Nancaizhuang 南蔡莊 (Yanshi, Luoyang Municipality, Henan) + M3 (AD 169)
 Nanchang 南昌 (Jiangxi) 72M2 (ca. AD 101)
 Nanchang Eastern Suburbs 南昌東郊 (Jiangxi) M1 (ca. AD 24), M2 (ca. AD 67), M3 (ca. 70 BC), M4 (ca. 70 BC), M5 (ca. 70 BC), M13 (ca. AD 65), M14 (ca. 115 BC), M15 (ca. AD 24)
 + Nanchen 南陳 (Sishui, Shandong) (AD 142)

Nanguan 南關 (Zhengzhou Municipality, Henan) M159 (ca. AD 65)

Nanhai 南海 (Guangdong) M1 (ca. AD 90), M3 (ca. AD 90), M4 (ca. AD 90)

+ Nanling 南陵 (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) K14 (180 BC)

Nanshanli 南山裡 (Dalian Municipality, Liaoning) M2 (ca. 67 AD), M4 (ca. 65 AD), M5 (ca. AD 65)

+ Nanyue 南越 (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]), Tomb of the King of (122 BC)

Ningbo 寧波 (Zhejiang) Y1 “dragon” kiln site [kiln 1] (ca. AD 67)

Ninggu 寧谷 (Anshun, Guizhou) M5 (ca. AD 90), M6 (ca. AD 67), M9 (ca. AD 90)

Niulingbu 牛嶺埠 (Yishui, Shandong) (ca. AD 67)

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory 西北醫療設略廠 (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) unnumbered tomb (ca. AD 67), M2 (ca. AD 65), M3 (ca. AD 65), M5 (ca. 70 BC), M7 (ca. AD 65), M10 (ca. AD 65), M12 (ca. AD 67), M14 (ca. AD 65), M16 (ca. AD 65), M27 (ca. AD 109), M28 (ca. 70 BC), M39 (ca. AD 65), M42 (ca. AD 90), M49 (ca. AD 65), M51 (ca. AD 65), M54 (ca. AD 109), M58 (ca. AD 65), M62 (ca. AD 65), M77 (ca. AD 65), M84 (ca. AD 65), M89 (ca. AD 65), M92 (ca. AD 65), M97 (ca. 70 BC), M99 (ca. AD 65), M120 (ca. AD 67), M132 (ca. 70 BC), M152 (ca. AD 65), M162 (ca. AD 65), M164 (ca. AD 65), M170 (ca. AD 67)

Old City of Luoyang 洛陽/Wangcheng Park 王城園/Shaozhou 燒溝 ([“Painted Tomb,”] Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M61 (ca. AD 9)

+ Old City of Zuocheng 柞城 (Cangshan, Shandong) habitation site (AD 87)

“Painted Tomb” ([Old City of Luoyang/Wangcheng Park/Shaozhou,] Luoyang Municipality, Henan [M61]), ca. AD 9)

Pangjiasi 龐家寺 (Ningjin, Shandong) (ca. AD 175)

Panmiao 潘廟 (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M6A (ca. 70 BC), M6B (ca. AD 24), M7 (ca. 70 BC), M15 (ca. 70 BC), M16 (ca. AD 65), M18B (ca. 70 BC), M19 (ca. 70 BC), M24 (ca. 70 BC), M27 (ca. 70 BC), M32 (ca. 70 BC), M47 (ca. 70 BC), M50 (ca. 70 BC)

+ Pengshan 彭山 (Sichuan) M45 (ca. AD 67), M127 (ca. AD 176), M128 (ca. AD 175), M153 (ca. AD 24), M161 (ca. AD 65), + M550 (AD 102), M601 (ca. AD 65), M666 (ca. AD 176), + M682 (AD 63), M684 (ca. AD 65), + M901 (AD 103)

Pingshan 平山 (Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1 (ca. AD 67), M3 (ca. AD 67), M4 (ca. AD 67)

Pingshuo 平朔 (Shanxi) 3M1 (ca. 70 BC), 3M2 (ca. 70 BC), 3M46 (ca. 70 BC), 3M56 (ca. AD 65), 3M58 (ca. AD 24), 3M60 (ca. 70 BC), 3M63 (ca. AD 65), 3M70 (ca. AD 24), 3M74 (ca. 70 BC),

3M144 (ca. AD 109), 3M195 (ca. AD 65), 4M86 (ca. AD 65), 5M1 (ca. 70 BC), 5M36 (ca. AD 176), 6M12 (ca. AD 65), 6M15 (ca. AD 65), 6M17 (ca. AD 65), 6M50 (ca. AD 24), 6M133 (ca. AD 109), 6M147 (ca. AD 65), 6M499 (ca. AD 65), 7M49 (ca. AD 67), 8M37 (ca. AD 24), 8M81 (ca. AD 176), 9M20 (ca. AD 65), 9M21 (ca. AD 179), 9M67 (ca. AD 65), 9M93 (ca. AD 65), 9M129 (ca. AD 65), GM73 (ca. AD 24), GM95 (ca. 70 BC), GM112 (ca. AD 24), GM159 (ca. AD 24), GM188 (ca. AD 24), GM202 (ca. 70 BC), GM210 (ca. AD 73), GM232 (ca. AD 24), TQM158 (ca. AD 24)

Puzhen 鋪鎮 (Hanzhong Municipality, Shaanxi) 85M1 (ca. AD 176), 85M2 (ca. AD 176), 85M3 (ca. AD 176), 85M4 (ca. AD 176)
Qianjingtou 淺井頭 (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) CM1231 (ca. AD 24)

Qianping 前坪 (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M2 (ca. AD 10), M3 (ca. 70 BC), M8 (ca. 160 BC), M9 (ca. 70 BC), M10 (ca. 122 BC), M15 (ca. AD 65), M17 (ca. AD 90), M18 (ca. AD 109), M20 (ca. 173 BC), M25 (ca. 122 BC), M30 (ca. AD 9), M32 (ca. AD 67), M33 (ca. AD 67), M34 (ca. AD 24), M35 (ca. 70 BC), M37 (ca. 90 AD), M38 (ca. AD 67), M105 (ca. 173 BC), 78M91 (ca. 164 BC), 78M92 (ca. 122 BC), 78M97 (ca. 173 BC), 78M103 (ca. 173 BC), 78M105 (ca. 173 BC), 78M109 (ca. AD 90), 78M110 (ca. AD 67)

Qianxi 黔西 (Guizhou) M12 (ca. AD 67), M13 (ca. AD 90)

Qianyang 千陽 (Baoji Municipality, Shaanxi) (ca. AD 7)

Qie Mo Shu 妾莫書 (Hanjiang [Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu]) (ca. 70 BC)

Qilidian 七里甸 (Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) (ca. 70 BC)

Qilihe 七里河 (Jianxi, Luoyang Municipality, Henan) (ca. AD 135)

Qilingang 麒麟崗 (Nanyang Municipality, Henan) M8 (ca. 51 BC)

Qinchuan Machinery Plant 秦川機械廠 (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M2 (ca. AD 67), M4 (ca. AD 67), M6 (ca. AD 24), M7 (ca. AD 65), M8 (ca. AD 176), M11 (ca. AD 109), M34 (ca. AD 65), M35 (ca. AD 65)

Qingfengling 青峰嶺 (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) (ca. 70 BC)
+ Qinglongshan 青龍山 (Peixian, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) (AD 150)

Qinguang 秦光 (Zaoyuan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M2 (ca. AD 65), M4 (ca. AD 67), M5 (ca. AD 90), M7 (ca. AD 65), M9 (ca. 70 BC), M11 (ca. AD 65), M13 (ca. AD 65), M14 (ca. AD 65), M15 (ca. AD 65)

Qingyunshan 慶雲山 (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M2 (ca. 70 BC)

Sanfengou 三汾溝 (Yangyuan, Hebei) M1 (ca. AD 24), M3 (ca. AD 24), M4 (ca. AD 24), M5 (ca. AD 65), M9 (ca. AD 65), M11 (ca. AD 65)

Sangzhuang 桑莊 (Fucheng, Hebei) HFSM1 (ca. AD 176)

Sanjiaoyu 三角圩 (Tianchang, Anhui) M1 (ca. AD 90), M6 (ca. 70 BC), M7 (ca. AD 67), M10 (ca. 70 BC), M12 (ca. 70 BC), M17 (ca. 70 BC), M18 (ca. 70 BC)

Sanlidun 三里墩 (Lianshui, Jiangsu) (ca. 70 BC)

Shafu 沙富 (Shunde, Guangdong) SM1 (ca. AD 90), SM3 (ca. AD 90), SM5 (ca. AD 90), SM15 (ca. AD 90)

Shamaosi 紗帽寺 (Lianyungang Municipality, Jiangsu) LSM1 (ca. 70 BC)

Shangjiao 上焦 (Lintong, Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M18 (ca. 173 BC)

Shangmiangao 上面高 (Pinglu, Shanxi) PXSM1 (ca. AD 24)

Shangsunjiazhai 上孫家寨 (Datong, Qinghai) MB-1* (ca. AD 175), M2 (ca. AD 179), M4 (ca. AD 176), M6 (ca. AD 175), M8 (ca. AD 101), M14 (ca. AD 174), M19 (ca. AD 65), M27 (ca. AD 179), M33 (ca. AD 176), M35 (ca. AD 176), M37 (ca. AD 176), M59 (ca. AD 175), M61 (ca. AD 67), M64 (ca. AD 65), M67 (ca. AD 175), M69 (ca. AD 90), M77 (ca. AD 67), M81* (ca. AD 67), M89 (ca. AD 67), M91 (ca. AD 24), M107 (ca. AD 67), M108 (ca. AD 24), M112 (ca. AD 24), M115 (ca. AD 67), M116 (ca. AD 65), M122 (ca. AD 67), M146 (ca. AD 175), M151 (ca. AD 67), M153* (ca. AD 90), M155 (ca. AD 65), M168 (ca. 70 BC)

+ Shangzhuang 上莊 (Shijingshan, Beijing Municipality) (AD 105)

+ Shaogou 燒溝 (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M2 (ca. AD 9), M11 (ca. AD 5), M16 (ca. AD 65), M30 (ca. AD 67), M31 (ca. AD 24), M38 (ca. AD 14), M45 (ca. AD 14), M49 (ca. AD 9), M50 (ca. AD 9), M58 (ca. AD 9), M59A (ca. AD 90), M62 (ca. AD 14), M74 (ca. AD 14), M82 (ca. AD 9), M84 (ca. AD 9), M102 (ca. AD 9), M105 (ca. AD 9), M113 (ca. AD 176), + M114 (AD 94), M125 (ca. AD 9), M13 (ca. AD 9), M135 (ca. AD 14), M136A (ca. AD 14), M144 (ca. AD 109), M146 (ca. AD 179), + M147 (AD 190), M159B (ca. AD 9), M175 (ca. AD 9), M183 (ca. AD 90), M312 (ca. AD 9), M410 (ca. AD 9), M412 (ca. AD 9), M413 (ca. AD 9), M632 (ca. AD 9), M1004A (ca. AD 109), M1008 (ca. AD 73), M1009A (ca. AD 176), M1019 (ca. AD 176), M1023 (ca. AD 90), M1026 (ca. AD 9), M1035 (ca. AD 170), + M1037 (AD 170), M1040 (ca. AD 132), WM14 (ca. AD 109)

Shaogou/Old City of Luoyang/Wangcheng Park ([“Painted Tomb,”] Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M61 (ca. AD 9)

Shibeizhai 石碑寨 (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) (ca. AD 175)

Shihuiyao 石灰窯 (Tanghe, Nanyang Municipality, Henan) (ca. AD 90)

Shiqiao 石橋 (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), now known as Dongdongshan 東洞山, M2 (ca. AD 4)

Shixing 始興 (Guangdong) M1§ (ca. AD 90), M1 (ca. AD 90), M3 (ca. AD 65), M5 (ca. AD 90), M9 (ca. AD 90), M10 (ca. AD 9), M13 (ca. AD 65), M16 (ca. AD 101), M19 (ca. AD 9)

Shiyang 石羊 (Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan) (ca. AD 190)

Shizhuan 師專 (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M10 (ca. 70 BC), M11 (ca. 70 BC), M13 (ca. 70 BC), M15 (ca. 70 BC), M16 (ca. 70 BC), M25 (ca. 70 BC)

+ Shizishan 獅子山 (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) (69 BC)

+ Shuanggudui 雙古堆 (Fuyang, Anhui) + M1 (172 BC), M2 (ca. 172 BC)

Shuangrushan 雙乳山 (Changqing, Shandong) M1 (ca. AD 65)

+ Shuihudi 睡虎地 (Yunmeng, Hubei) M1 (ca. 137 BC), M3 (ca. 173 BC), M10 (ca. 167 BC), + M11 (217 BC), M14 (ca. 173 BC), M18 (ca. 173 BC), M19 (ca. 173 BC), M21 (ca. AD 65), M22 (ca. 173 BC), M24 (ca. 173 BC), M25 (ca. 173 BC), M28 (ca. 173 BC), M29 (ca. 217 BC), M33 (ca. 173 BC), M35 (ca. 65 AD), M39 (ca. 173 BC), M44 (ca. 173 BC), M45 (ca. 173 BC), M46 (ca. 138 BC), M47 (ca. 173 BC), M49 (ca. 173 BC), M51 (ca. 217 BC)

Simutang 四畝唐 (Dayong, Hunan) SM11 (ca. 70 BC)

Sôgamni (Sekiganri) 石岩里 (Pangyori, P'yôngyang, Democratic People's Republic of Korea) M9 ([originally, Taedonggangmyôn M9,] ca. AD 87), M99 ([originally, Taedonggangmyôn M7,] ca. AD 132)

+ Songzhuang 送莊 (Mengjin Municipality, Henan) (AD 154)

+ Songzui 松嘴 (Fangxian, Hubei) M3 (ca. AD 90), M7 (ca. 132 AD), M9 (ca. 122 BC), M10 (ca. 122 BC), M11 (ca. 173 BC), + M12 (AD 90), M14 (ca. AD 67), M16 (ca. AD 90), M19 (ca. AD 67), M32 (ca. AD 176), M34 (ca. 167 BC), M36 (ca. 113 BC), M38 (ca. 113 BC), M39 (ca. 136 BC), M40 (ca. 113 BC), M41 (ca. 122 BC), M42 (ca. 45 BC)

Sucun 蘇村 (Quwo, Shanxi) M1 (ca. AD 176)

+ Sujiayituo 蘇家圪坨 (Suide, Shaanxi) (AD 96)

Suining 遂寧 (Sichuan) M6 (ca. AD 65)

Suizhou 隨州 (Hubei) (ca. 164 BC)

Suzhou Northern Suburbs 蘇州北郊 (Jiangsu) old wells (ca. AD 176)

Tangpai 堂排 (Hepu, Guangxi) M1 (ca. AD 90), M2A (ca. AD 90), M2B (ca. AD 90), M4 (ca. AD 90)

Tangshan 唐山 (Nanchang, Jiangxi) M3 (ca. AD 87)

Taolou 陶樓 (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1 (ca. AD 90), M3 (ca. 70 BC)

Taoyuan 桃源 (Hunan) cache (ca. AD 101)

Tianbaodun 天寶墩 (Suzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M27 (ca. 70 BC)

Tianchang 天長 (Anhui) M1 (ca. AD 65), M2 (ca. 70 BC), M6 (ca. 70 BC), M9 (ca. 70 BC)

Tianlong 天龍 (Pingba, Guizhou) unnumbered tomb (ca. AD 67), M66 (ca. AD 65), M69 (ca. AD 67)

Tianma-Qucun 天馬 – 曲村 (Quwo and Yicheng, Shanxi) M3 (ca. AD 24)

Tianzhuangtuo 田莊坨 (Ninghe, Tianjin Municipality) (ca. AD 9)

Tianzifen 天子坟 (Wulong, Sichuan) (ca. AD 90)

+ Tianzigang 天子崗 (Anji, Zhejiang) + M1 (AD 137)

Tomb of Bu Qianqiu 卜千秋 (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) (ca. AD 9)

Tomb of Fanshi 範式 (Jiaxiang, Shandong) (ca. 70 BC)

Tomb of Huo He 霍賀 (Haizhou [Lianyungang Municipality, Jiangsu]) (ca. 70 BC)

+ Tomb of (the consort of) Lord Feng 馮君 (Tanghe [Nanyang Municipality, Henan]) (AD 18)

+ Tomb of Guo Zhiwen 郭稚文 (Suide, Shaanxi) (AD 103)

+ Tomb of Liu Qi 劉崎 (Yuemiao [Huayin, Shaanxi]) [+ M1] (AD 135)

+ Tomb of Liu Yuantai 劉元臺 (Ganquanshan [Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu]) (AD 176)

+ Tomb of the King of Nanyue 南越 (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) (122 BC)

+ Tomb of Wang Dang 王當 (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) [+ M1] (AD 179)

+ Tomb of Wang Deyuan 王得元 (Suide, Shaanxi) (AD 100)

+ Tomb of Yao Xiaojing 姚孝經 (Yanshi [Luoyang Municipality, Henan]) + 90YCBDM1 (AD 73)

+ Tongshan 銅山 (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) (AD 61)

Tongshiling 銅石嶺 (Beiliu, Guangxi) bronze foundry (ca. AD 80)

Tuanshan 團山 (Zhangji, Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 89YTM1 (ca. 70 BC), 90YTM3 (ca. 70 BC), 90YTM4 (ca. 70 BC)

+ Unnamed tomb near Maoling 茂陵 (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi), burial goods pit + K1 (ca. 110 BC), + K1:025 (ca. 137 BC)

Wafenyuan 瓦坟園 (Jingsha Municipality, Hubei) M1 (ca. 70 BC), M2 (ca. AD 80), M3 (ca. AD 90), M4 (ca. AD 101)

+ Wanfu 萬福 (Xingjian, Hunan) + M4 (AD 105)

+ Wang Dang 王當 (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) [+ M1]), Tomb of (AD 179)

+ Wang Deyuan 王得元 (Suide, Shaanxi), Tomb of (AD 100)

Wangcheng Park 王城園/Old City of Luoyang 洛陽/Shaozhou 燒溝 ([“Painted Tomb,”] Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M61 (ca. AD 9)

Wangcun 王村 (Xiaxian, Shanxi) XWM5 (ca. AD 90)

Wangjiatai 王家臺 (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M15 (ca. 173 BC)

Wangjiawan 王家灣 (Ansai, Shaanxi) (ca. AD 67)

Wangtuanzhuang 王團莊 (Lianyungang Municipality, Jiangsu) (ca. 70 BC)

Water Treatment Plant 西安淨水廠 (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M13 (ca. AD 175), M18 (ca. AD 176), M19 (ca. AD 65), M51 (ca. AD 65), M55 (ca. 70 BC)

Weixiao 衛校 (Dayong, Hunan) WM1 (ca. AD 9)

+ Western Pillar (Wu Family Shrines, Jiaxiang, Shandong) (AD 147)

Wolongsi 卧龍寺 (Baoji Municipality, Shaanxi) M8-16 (ca. AD 65)

+ Wotuo 窩託 (Xibo Municipality, Shandong) Burial goods pits of the King of Qi K1-5 (132 BC)

+ Wu Ban 武班 Memorial Stone (Wu Family Shrines, Jiaxiang, Shandong) (AD 145)

+ Wu 武 Family Shrines (Jiaxiang, Shandong) + Front Chamber (i.e., the Wu Rong Shrine, AD 167), + Western Pillar (AD 147), + Wu Ban Memorial Stone (AD 145), + Wu Kaiming Memorial Stone (AD 148), + Wu Liang Memorial Stone (AD 151), + Wu Liang Shrine (AD 151), + Wu Rong Memorial Stone (AD 167), + Wu Rong Shrine (i.e., the "Front Chamber," AD 167)

+ Wu Kaiming 武開明 Memorial Stone (Wu Family Shrines, Jiaxiang, Shandong) (AD 148)

Wulantaogegai 烏蘭陶勒盖 (Hangjin Banner, Inner Mongolia) isolated finds (ca. 70 BC, ca. AD 65, ca. AD 67), M3 (ca. AD 67), M6 (ca. AD 24), M7 (ca. AD 65), M9 (ca. AD 65)

+ Wu Liang 武梁 Memorial Stone (Wu Family Shrines, Jiaxiang, Shandong) (AD 151)

+ Wu Liang Shrine (Wu Family Shrines, Jiaxiang, Shandong) (AD 151)

+ Wu Rong 武榮 Memorial Stone (Wu Family Shrines, Jiaxiang, Shandong) (AD 167)

+ Wu Rong Shrine ("Front Chamber," Wu Family Shrines, Jiaxiang, Shandong) (AD 167)

Wuling 五陵 (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M1 (ca. AD 67), M7 (ca. 122 BC), M14 (ca. AD 65), M21 (ca. AD 65), M22 (ca. 45 BC), M24 (ca. AD 24), M28 (ca. AD 24), M29 (ca. AD 65), M39 (ca. AD 90), M54 (ca. AD 65), M56 (ca. AD 90), M69 (ca. AD 9), M87 (ca. AD 90), M93 (ca. AD 65), M112 (ca. AD 90), M136 (ca. 122 BC)

Wulipai 五里牌 (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M007 (ca. AD 87), M012 (ca. AD 9)

+ Wulong 五龍 (Dayi, Sichuan) (AD 196)

Wunüzhong 五女冢 (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM461 (ca. AD 9)

+ Wuqing 武清 (Tianjin Municipality), Memorial Stone for Xianyu Huang (AD 165)

Wuzuofen 五座坟 (Guanghua, Hubei) M1 (ca. 138 BC), M3 (ca. 115 BC), M4 (ca. 168 BC)

Xiadu 下都 (Yixian, Hebei) M30 (ca. AD 65), M32 (ca. 45 BC), M34 (ca. AD 14), M35 (ca. 45 BC), M36 (ca. 70 BC), M38 (ca. AD 176)

Xiangbizui 象鼻嘴 (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1 (ca. 168 BC)

Xiangfan 襄樊 (Hubei) M1 (ca. AD 90)

+ Xianggangshan 香港山 (Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong), Tomb of the King of Nanyue (122 BC)

Xianglangang 香欄岡 (Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong) M2 (ca. AD 90)

Xianshan 峴山 (Xiangfan Municipality, Hubei) destroyed grave (ca. AD 24), M1 (ca. AD 109), M3 (ca. AD 65)

Xianyang 咸陽 (Shaanxi) M34 (ca. AD 65), M36 (ca. AD 67)

+ Xianyu Huang 鮮于璜 Memorial Stone (Wuqing Tianjin Municipality) (AD 165)

Xiaoshanzi 小山子 (Ya'an, Sichuan) M5 (ca. AD 65)

+ Xiaotangshan 孝堂山 (Changqing Municipality, Shandong) shrine (AD 129)

Xichang 西昌 (Liangshan, Sichuan) M1 (ca. 65 AD), M101 (ca. 65 AD)

Xicheng 西城 (Suizhou Municipality, Hubei) M1 (ca. 65 AD)

Xicun 西村 (Xixian, Anhui) M1 (ca. 67 AD)

Xiji 西吉 (Ningxia) XHM1 (ca. 90 AD)

Xijian 西澗 (Shangxian, Shaanxi) (ca. 67 AD)

Xilinshan 西淋山 (Shunde, Guangdong) XM2 (ca. 80 AD), XM4 (ca. 90 AD)

Xin'an 新安 (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M2 (ca. 67 AD), M3 (ca. 90 AD), M4 (ca. 80 AD), M11 (ca. 9 AD), M13 (ca. 90 AD), M14 (ca. 67 AD)

Xincun 新村 (Yanshi, Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1 (ca. 9 AD)

Xinggu 興固 (Shahe Municipality, Hebei) (ca. 176 AD)

+ Xingping 興平 (Shaanxi), near Maoling, finds, + *Hu* A, B (103 BC)

Xingyi 興義 (Guizhou) M8 (ca. 90 AD)

Xuanbitang 玄碧塘 (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M1 (ca. 168 BC), M2 (ca. 168 BC)

Xunyang 旬陽 (Shaanxi) (ca. 118 BC)

+Xupu 胥浦 (Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) +M101 (5 AD)

Xuwen 徐聞 (Guangdong) M4 (ca. AD 67), M30 (ca. AD 90), M32 (ca. AD 80), M33 (ca. AD90), M47 (ca. AD 90)

Yandaishan 煙袋山 (Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) YYM1 (ca. 70 BC)

Yangjiashan 揚家山 (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M135 (ca. 173 BC)

Yangling 陽陵 (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) accompanying cemetery M85 (ca. AD 90)

+Yangling (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) Burial Goods Pits (141 BC)

Yangzhou 揚州 (Jiangsu) M1-9 (ca. 70 BC)

+Yao Xiaojing 姚孝經 (Yanshi [Luoyang Municipality, Henan]), Tomb of +90YCBDM1 (AD 73)

Yaozhuang 姚莊 (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M101 (ca. 70 BC)

Yelin 野林 (Qingyang, Gansu) (ca. AD 90)

Yeling 葉嶺 (Gongxian, Henan) (ca. AD 7)

Yima 義馬 ([New Municipality 新市,] Henan) 84M5 (ca. AD 65)

Yinchuan 銀川 (Ningxia) (ca. AD 90)

Yingzhuang 英莊 (Nanyang Municipality, Henan) (ca. AD 109)

Yinqueshan 銀雀山 (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M3 (ca. 70 BC), M4 (ca. 70 BC), M5 (ca. AD 67), M6 (ca. 70 BC)

Yinshanling 銀山嶺 (Pingle, Guangxi) M3 (ca. AD 90), M15* (ca. 122 BC), M21* (ca. 122 BC), M26* (ca. AD 9), M48* (ca. 122 BC), M51* (ca. 122 BC), M53 (ca. AD 90), M71* (ca. 122 BC), M74* (ca. AD 90), M94* (ca. AD 90), M108* (ca. 70 BC), M112 (ca. AD 90), M115* (ca. AD 90), M116 (ca. AD 87), M117 (ca. AD 90), M119* (ca. AD 5), M124 (ca. AD 67), M125 (ca. AD 90), M134 (ca. AD 80), M143 (ca. AD 90), M148 (ca. AD 90)

+Youyu 右玉 (Shanxi) cache (26 BC, ca. AD 67)

+Yuanbaokeng 元寶坑 (Boxian, Anhui) (AD 170)

Yuantaizi 袁臺子 (Chaoyang Municipality, Liaoning) EM48 (ca. 113 BC), EM119 (ca. 122 BC), EM62 (ca. 70 BC), WM7 (ca. 65 AD), WM11 (ca. 113 BC)

Yuemiao 嶽廟 (Huayin, Shaanxi) M5 (ca. AD 176)

Yunxian 鄖縣 (Hubei) M221 (ca. 168 BC), M230 (ca. 173 BC), M301 (ca. 217 BC), M302 (ca. 65 AD), M304 (ca. 173 BC), M305 (ca. 173 BC), M307 (ca. 136 BC), M308 (ca. 160 BC)

Yushan 魚山 (Jinxiang, Shandong) M1 (ca. AD 174)

Zengjiabao 曾家包 (Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan) M1 (ca. AD 65), M2 (ca. AD 65)

Zhangjiaguaizi 張家拐子 (Wulong, Sichuan) (ca. AD 67)

+ Zhangjiashan 張家山 (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei)
M127 (ca. 173 BC), +M136 (ca. 173 BC)

Zhangwan 張灣 (Lingbao, Henan) M3 (ca. AD 176), M5 (ca. AD 176)

Zhaowan 召灣 (Baotou Municipality, Inner Mongolia) M42 (ca. 70 BC)

Zhaoxian 招賢 (Nanchang Municipality, Jiangxi) M2 (ca. AD 67)
+ Zhong[zhong]zhoulu 中州[中] 路 (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) habitation site (ca. 164 BC), M801 (ca. AD 9), +M813 (AD 191), M1502A (ca. AD 176), M1723 (ca. AD 169)

Zhou 周 Family Cemetery (Jinqueshan [Linyi Municipality, Shandong]) M10 (ca. 70 BC), M11 (ca. 70 BC), M14 (ca. 70 BC), M15 (ca. 70 BC)

Zifangshan 子房山 (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1 (ca. 70 BC), M2 (ca. 70 BC), M3 (ca. AD 65)

Zilinggang 子陵崗 (Jingmen Municipality, Hubei) habitation site (ca. AD 109)

Zixing 資興 (Hunan) M2 (ca. AD 9), M3 (ca. AD 109), M4 (ca. AD 90), M6 (ca. AD 67), M7 (ca. AD 90), M8 (ca. AD 90), M11 (ca. AD 65), M19 (ca. AD 9), M21 (ca. AD 90), M33 (ca. 70 BC), M89 (ca. AD 174), M92 (ca. AD 90), M116 (ca. AD 9), M140 (ca. AD 65), M184 (ca. AD 90), M196 (ca. AD 90), M200 (ca. 141 BC), M218 (ca. AD 9), M300 (ca. AD 90), M333 (ca. AD 7), M364 (ca. AD 109), M372 (ca. AD 90), M395 (ca. AD 90), M399 (ca. AD 179), M419 (ca. AD 90), M421 (ca. AD 90), M466 (ca. AD 87), M470 (ca. 70 BC)

+ Zuocheng 柞城 (Cangshan, Shandong), Old City of, habitation site (AD 87)

Alphabetical Listing of Dated Non-Chinese Sites

Site Name, *Culture*

G: guan; D: ding

Bieli 別立 (Maowen, Sichuan), *Slab-Grave Culture*: BM13: G230, ca. AD 90

Buddonggou 补洞溝 (Dongsheng Municipality, Inner Mongolia), *Xiongnu*: M2: ca. AD 67 (D78, ca. AD 65; *hu* 90, ca. AD 67); M6: *hu* 90, ca. AD 67

Dadaosanjiazi 大道三家子 (Qiqihaer Municipality, Heilongjiang), *Xianbei*: find 1: *hu* 84, ca. AD 65; M2: G208, ca. AD 90

Daodunzi 倒墩子 (Tongxin, Ningxia), *Unidentifiable Northern Culture*: M5: G82, ca. 70 BC; M6: G155, ca. AD 65; M7: G299, ca. AD 179; M19: G136, ca. AD 40; M26: *hu* 84, ca. AD 65

Guoxianyaozi 崞縣窯子 (Liangcheng, Inner Mongolia), *Maoqinggou*: M26: G144, ca. AD 65

Ivolga habitation (Buriat Republic, Russia), *Xiongnu*: dwelling 9: G85, ca. 70 BC; dwelling 25, 41: *hu* 87, ca. AD 67; M119: G156, ca. AD 65; M158: G155, ca. AD 65; M175: *hu* 84, ca. AD 65; M190: *hu* 87, ca. AD 67; M216: G151, ca. AD 65

Jililong 吉里龍 (Ganzi, Sichuan), *Slab-Grave Culture*: M3, 6: G281, ca. AD 176

Kara-Kol (Tuva), *Tuva*: G151, ca. AD 65

Lijiashan 李家山 (Jiangchuan, Yunnan), *Dian*: M17: ca. AD 90 (*hu* 98, ca. AD 87; *hu* 110, ca. AD 90); M18: *hu* 109, ca. AD 90; M27: G141, ca. AD 65

Lixian 理縣 (Sichuan), *Slab-Grave Culture*: SZM201: G281, ca. 176 AD

Maoqinggou 毛慶溝 (Liangcheng, Inner Mongolia), *Maoqinggou*: M23: G74, ca. 113 BC; M33: G80, ca. 70 BC; M35: G207, ca. AD 90

Maowen 茂汶 (Sichuan), *Slab-Grave Culture*: AM2: G280, 281, 286, ca. AD 176; AM3: ca. AD 67 (*hu* 96, ca. AD 67; G140, ca. AD 65); AM5: G140, ca. AD 65; AM9: ca. AD 65 (*hu* 84, ca. AD 65, G136, ca. AD 40); BM1: G175, ca. AD 67; BM3: G267, ca. AD 175; BM7: G172, 191, ca. AD 80; CM6: G109, ca. 70 BC; DM4: G88, ca. 70 BC; find: G182, ca. AD 67

Pingyang 平洋 (Tailai, Heilongjiang), *Xianbei*: M184, 188: G292,

ca. AD 176

Shangmashi 上馬石 (Changhai, Liaoning), *Upper Xiajiadian*: JBM16: hu 84, ca. AD 65

Shizhaishan 石寨山 (Jinning, Yunnan), *Dian*: M6: G141, ca. AD 65; M7: hu 86, ca. AD 65; M23: G196, ca. AD 80

Taijishan 太極山 (Anning, Yunnan), *Dian*: M13: hu 42, ca. 70 BC

Tiejianggou 鐵匠溝 (Aohan Banner, Inner Mongolia), *Unidentifiable Northern Culture*: AM3: G167, ca. AD 65

Ulangom (Mongolia), *Unattributed*: M14B: G156, ca. AD 65; M23: hu 87, ca. AD 67

Wangong 完工 (Chenbaerhu Banner, Inner Mongolia), *Xianbei*: M1B: ca. AD 65 (hu 84, ca. AD 65; G156, ca. AD 65)

Waxigou 瓦西溝 (Boxing, Sichuan), *Slab-Grave Culture*: M3: G133, ca. AD 40

Wenchuan 汶川 (Sichuan), *Slab-Grave Culture*: SLM3: hu 84, ca. AD 65

Xiaosongshan 小松山 (Chenggong, Kunming Municipality, Yunnan), *Unidentifiable (Dian?)*, M1: hu 77, ca. AD 65

Xigouban 西溝畔 (Zhungar Banner, Inner Mongolia), *Xiongnu*: M10: G288, ca. AD 176

Yinniugou 飲牛溝 (Liangcheng, Inner Mongolia), *Maoqinggou*: M14: G288, ca. AD 176

Yuhuangmiao 玉皇廟 (Yanqing, Beijing Municipality), *Yuhuangmiao*: YYM224: G192, ca. AD 80

Object Typologies

Key

H = Height

M = Diameter of mouth

G = Diameter of girth

B = Diameter of base

Objects illustrated for these typologies are shown in bold type.

Décor may not be noted.

Hu

1: Ca. 180 BC

After: +**Nanling (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) K14**, WW 1981.11, 25, f. 3. Earthenware; H 31 cm, M 12 cm, G 23 cm, B 10 cm.

2: Ca. 173 BC

After: **Yangjiashan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M135:29**, WW 1993.8, 7, f. 13:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; grey-brown slip; wheel thrown; H 24.7 cm, M 9.6 cm, G 20.2 cm, B 8 cm.

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M3:70, *Gaotai*, Pl. 13:3. Grey argillaceous earthenware; black slip; raised and incised décor; vessel with lid; H 20.5 cm, M 11.5 cm, G 21.6 cm, B 10 cm.

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M24:3, *Gaotai*, 78, f. 66:2. Grey argillaceous earthenware; may have black slip (flaking); geometric décor; H 17.8 cm, M 10.4 cm, G 17.6 cm, B 7.2 cm.

3: Ca. 173 BC

Bicun (Hunyuan, Shanxi) M1, WW 1980.6, 51, f. 25 (drawing = 48, f. 13, photo). Argillaceous grey earthenware; black slip; engobe décor; relatively high fired; H 44.6 cm, M 16.5 cm, G 30.2 cm, B 19.5 cm.

Bicun (Hunyuan, Shanxi) M1, WW 1980.6, 51, f. 26. Argillaceous grey earthenware; black slip; engobe décor; relatively high fired; H 44 cm, M 14 cm, G 26.7 cm, B 15.1 cm.

+ Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M18:1, WW 1993.8, 13, f. 2:5. Grey earthenware; black slip; engobe décor; broken; H 28 cm, G 29.8 cm.

+ Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M18:16, WW 1993.8, 13, f. 2:6. Grey earthenware; black slip; red and yellow engobe décor; vessel with lid; broken; H 28 cm, G 19.6 cm.

Zhangjiashan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M127:18, WW 1992.2, 9, f. 28. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 19.6 cm, M 11.6 cm.

4: Ca. 173 BC

After: Litun (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1:4, KG 1995.3, 224, f. 5:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 35 cm, M 12 cm, G 24 cm, B 13.5 cm.

Dafentou (Yunmeng, Hubei) M1, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 5, f. 14. Earthenware; lacquered red inside, black outside; H 33 cm, M 12 cm, G 27 cm, B 15 cm.

5: Ca. 172 BC

+ Shuanggudui (Fuyang, Anhui) M1, WW 1978.8, 26, f. 13:2. Wood; lacquer with décor; H 30.4 cm, G 22 cm.

+ Shuanggudui (Fuyang, Anhui) M1, WW 1978.8, 26, f. 13:1. Wood; lacquer with décor; H 30.4 cm, G 22 cm.

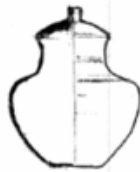
6: Ca. 168 BC

Mawangdui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1:301, *Mawangdui* (A), vol. 1, 124, f. 108:3. Vitreous earthenware; yellow-brown glaze; vessel contained *douchi* (fermented soy beans); H 29 cm, M 11 cm, G 19 cm, B 12.5 cm.

Fenghuangshan (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M5:8, KG 1993.3, 241, f. 3:12. Vitreous siliceous grey earthenware; H 27.2 cm, M 9.6 cm, B 12 cm.



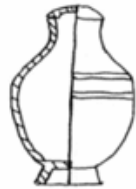
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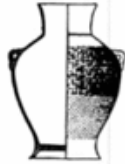
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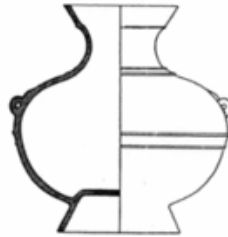
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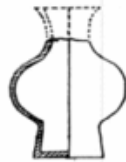
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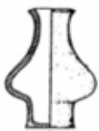
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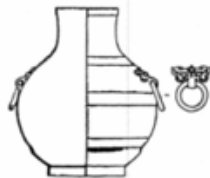
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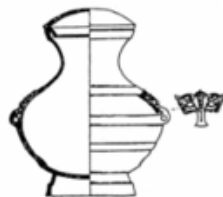
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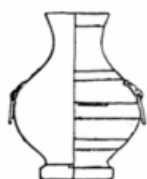
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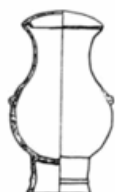
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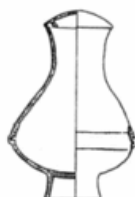
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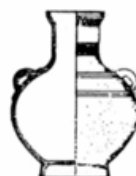
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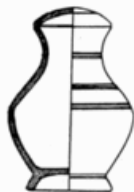
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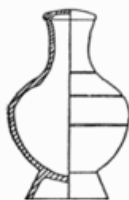
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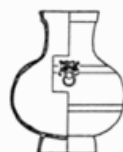
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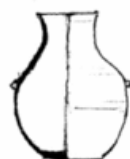
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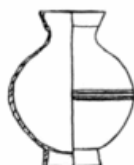
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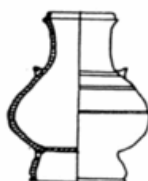
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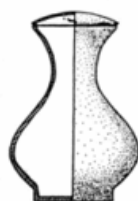
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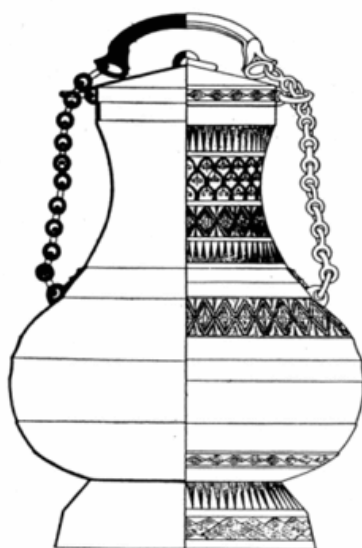
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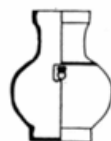
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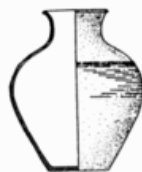
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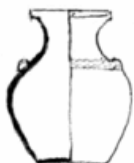
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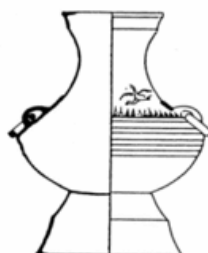
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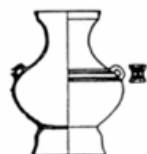
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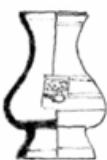
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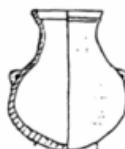
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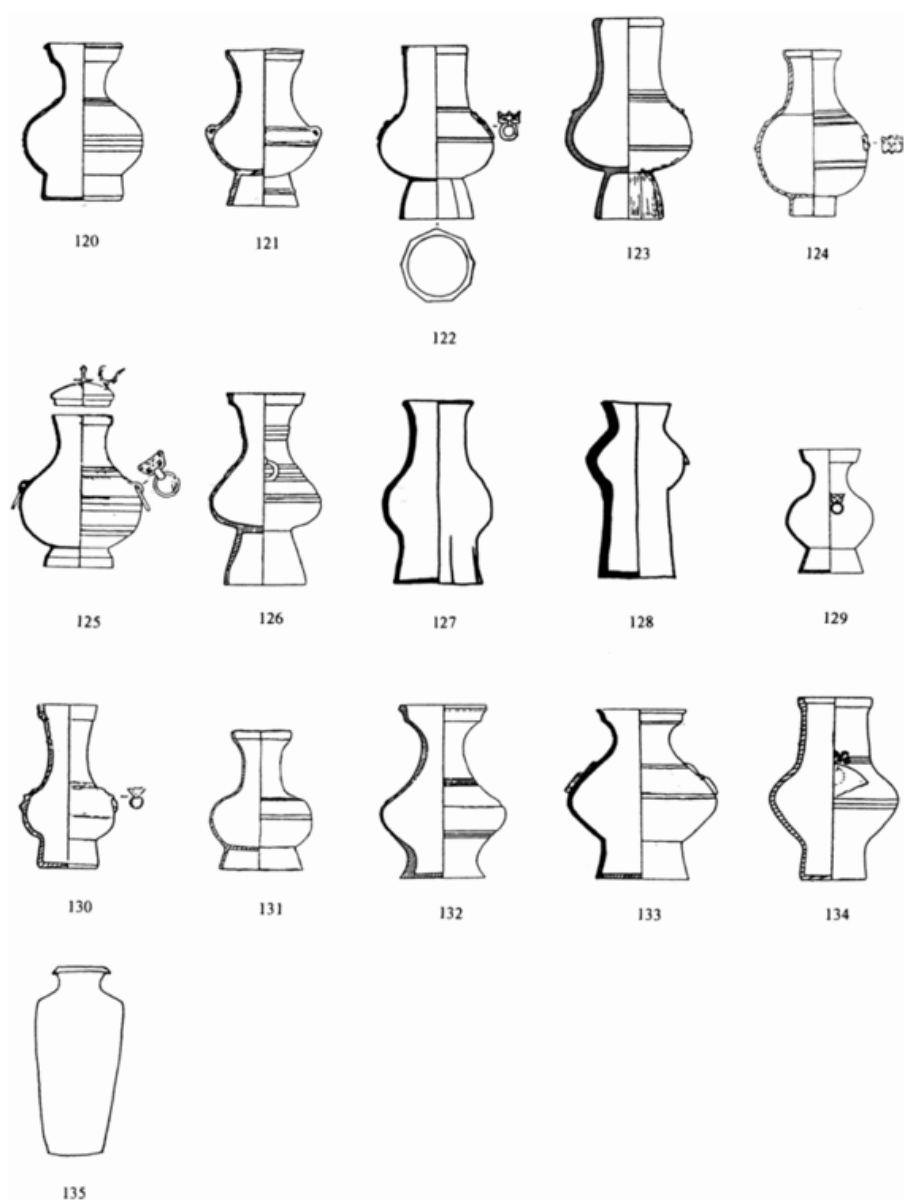
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Xuanbitang (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M2:10, *KG* 1995.3, 217, f. 6:4. Earthenware; H 29.5 cm, M 9 cm, B 15.5 cm.

7: Ca. 168 BC

Mawangdui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1:316, *Mawangdui* (A), vol. 1, 124, f. 108:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; tin foil covered; H 41 cm, M 20 cm, G 43 cm, B 23 cm (?).

Wuzuofen (Guanghua, Hubei) M4:2, *KGXB* 1976.2, Pl. 1:3. Earthenware; lacquered black inside and outside; relatively low fired; H 52 cm, M 19 cm.

Yunxian (Hubei) M221:13, *KGXJK* 6 (1989), 164, f. 19:7. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 39 cm, M 16 cm.

8: Ca. 168 BC

Mawangdui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1:307, *Mawangdui* (A), vol. 1, 124, f. 108:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; tin foil covered; wheel thrown; vessel contained liquid; H 33 cm, M 11 cm, G 20 cm, B 12.5 cm (?).

Mancheng (Hebei) M1:5014, *Mancheng*, vol. 2, Col. Pl. 5. Bronze; silver and gold plating; inner surface lacquered in red; inscription on the bottom of the vessel; H 59.5 cm, M 20.2 cm, G 37 cm, B 22.6 cm, weight 16.25 kg.

Yunxian (Hubei) M307:4, *KGXJK* 6 (1989), 164, f. 19:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 41 cm, M 18 cm.

9: Ca. 168 BC

Mawangdui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1:209, *Mawangdui* (A), vol. 2, Pl. 157. Wood; lacquered black with red-orange décor; vessel contained alcohol; H 57 cm, M 18.1 cm, G 35 cm, B 20 cm.

Bicun (Hunyuan, Shanxi) M1, *WW* 1980.6, 51, f. 24. Argillaceous grey earthenware; black slip; engobe décor; relatively high fired.

Mancheng (Hebei) M1:5019, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 39, f. 22. Bronze; silver and gold plating; glass inlay; inscribed; H 45 cm, M 14.2 cm, G 28.9 cm, B 17.9, weight 11.205 kg.

10: Ca. 168 BC

Fenghuangshan (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M2:8, © *KG* 1993.3, 241, f. 3:16. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Siliceous grey earthenware; broken; H 19 cm, B 11 cm.

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M17:13-1, *Gaotai*, 67, f. 60:4. Grey argillaceous earthenware; H 9.6 cm, M 4 cm, G 7.6 cm.

Xuanbitang (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M1:26, *KG* 1995.3,

217, f. 6:1. Earthenware; broken; M 10.4 cm, B 10.4 cm.

Yunxian (Hubei) M307:12, *KGXJK* 6 (1989), 164, f. 19:9. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 9.2 cm, M 4 cm.

11: Ca. 167 BC

+Fenghuangshan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M168:177, © *KGXB* 1993.4, 474, f. 17:2. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Wood; lacquered in black with red décor; inscribed; H 29.5 cm, M 11.5 cm.

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M33:37, *Gaotai*, 160, f. 124:2. Lacquer on wood; vessel broken; red interior, black exterior (ground); red and black décor; H 29.8 cm, M 12 cm, G 21.2 cm, B 13.8 cm.

12: Ca. 167 BC

+Fenghuangshan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M168:81, © *KGXB* 1993.4, 474, f. 17:1. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Wood; lacquered in black with red décor; inscribed; H 39 cm, M 13.4 cm.

Dajiangkou (Shupu, Hunan) M7:5, *KG* 1994.1, 24, f. 3:10. Earthenware; H 32.5 cm, M 12 cm, G 22.5 cm, B 12 cm.

Dajiangkou (Shupu, Hunan) M7:6, *KG* 1994.1, 28, f. 7:2. Earthenware; H 38 cm, M 15 cm, G 26.5 cm, B 12 cm.

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M6:95, *Gaotai*, 161, f. 125. Lacquered wood; red interior, black exterior (ground); red and black décor; H 35.7 cm, M 13.4 cm, G 24.8 cm, B 15.9 cm.

Suizhou (Hubei), *WW* 1989.8, 46, f. 7. Argillaceous earthenware; relatively high fired; wheel thrown; inscribed; with handles; H 38.4 cm, M 17 cm.

13: Ca. 164 BC

Suizhou (Hubei), *WW* 1989.8, 45, f. 3:3. Argillaceous earthenware; relatively high fired; wheel thrown; H 9.1 cm, M 3.9 cm.

14: Ca. 162 BC

Hongtushan (Juye, Shandong) M1:69, *KGXB* 1983.4, 478, f. 7:3. Bronze; inscribed; H 39.7 cm, M 15 cm, B 18 cm, height of foot 2 cm.

Bojishan (Tianqi, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) XBM3:6, WW 1997.2, 8, f. 7:4. Earthenware; H 38.8 cm, M 17.2 cm.

Dongdongshan ([formerly Shiqiao,] Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2:62, WW 1984.11, 28, f. 24:5. Bronze; inscribed; H 43 cm, M 17 cm, G 36 cm, B 21 cm.

+Huxishan (Yuanling, Hunan) YHM1T:1, WW 2003.1, 41, f. 10:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; décor of widely-spaced horizontal lines, animal mask appliqués with lugs (imitating bronze); H 45.5 cm, M 18.4 cm, G 35 cm, B 21 cm.

15: Ca. 136 BC

+Hongtushan (Juye, Shandong) M1:210, KGXB 1983.4, 489, f. 18:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; black slip; red engobe décor; H 55.2 cm.

Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M1:14, *Luobowan*, Pl. 13:2. Bronze; lacquer décor; H 42.8 cm, M 16.2 cm, B 18.6 cm.

Mancheng (Hebei) M1:5015, *Mancheng*, vol. 2, Col. Pl. 6. Bronze; inlaid with gold and silver; inscribed; H 44.2 cm, M 15.5 cm, G 28.5 cm, B 18.8 cm.

Mancheng (Hebei) M1:5018, *Mancheng*, vol. 2, Col. Pl. 7. Bronze; inlaid with gold and silver; inscribed; H 40 cm, M 15.7 cm, G 28 cm, B 18.3 cm.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M39:2, KGXB 1992.2, Pl. 10:5. Argillaceous red earthenware; vessel with lid topped by a bird; H 28.5 cm, M 10.3 cm.

16: Ca. 132 BC

+Burial Goods Pits of the King of Qi (Wotuo [Zibo Municipality, Shandong]) K1:67, KGXB 1985.2, 232, f. 10:19. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 54.5 cm, M 24 cm.

17: Ca. 132 BC

+Burial Goods Pits of the King of Qi (Wotuo [Zibo Municipality, Shandong]) K1:82-2, KGXB 1985.2, 233, f. 10:14. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 58.2 cm, M 20 cm.

18: Ca. 132 BC

+ **Burial Goods Pits of the King of Qi (Wotuo [Zibo Municipality, Shandong])** K1:62, *KGXB* 1985.2, 236, f. 13:8. Bronze; inscribed; H 49.2 cm, M 16 cm.

19: Ca. 122 BC

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2060:50, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 229, f. 134:2. Bronze; H 38 cm, G 32 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1145:25, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 18:5. Earthenware; G 31.7 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1180:44, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 26:1. Bronze.

Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M2:97, *Luobowan*, Pl. 51:3. vitreous grey earthenware; H 29.6 cm, M 13.2 cm, B 23.2 cm.

20: Ca. 122 BC

+ **Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong])** C185, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 114, f. 76:9. Earthenware; H 17.3 cm, M 7.8 cm, G 18.2 cm, B 13 cm.

Chongan (Fujian) T22(3):14, *KGXB* 1990.3, 361, f. 19:16. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; G 19.2 cm.

Chongan (Fujian) T27(3):6, *KGXB* 1990.3, 361, f. 19:12. Earthenware; G 15.9 cm.

21: Ca. 122 BC

+ **Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong])** B47, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 62, f. 44:7. Earthenware; red engobe décor; H 17 cm, M 3.5 cm, G 17.2 cm, B 11 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1056:15, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 19:1. Earthenware; H 14.5 cm, G 14.7 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1083:12, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 117, f. 62:1. Earthenware.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2058:16, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 214, f. 120:4. Earthenware; glazed; H 7.1 cm.

22: Ca. 122 BC

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1177:25, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 117, f. 62:3.

Earthenware; H 32. Cm, G 34.3 cm.

23: Ca. 122 BC

Huoshan (Anhui) M1:1, WW 1991.9, 45, f. 15:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; lacquered black with colored décor; H 17.4 cm, M 7.4 cm, G 15 cm, B 10 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1065:5, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 18:1. Grey-white earthenware; non-vitreous (friable); H 30 cm, G 18 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1142:15, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 111, f. 56:4. Earthenware.

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M9:36, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 44, f. 37. Earthenware.

Huoshan (Anhui) M2:2, WW 1991.9, 45, f. 15:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; black slip; H 19.6 cm, M 6.2 cm, G 14.6 cm, B 8.6 cm.

Huoshan (Anhui) M3:23, WW 1991.9, 45, f. 15:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; lacquered black; H 13.8 cm, M 5.8 cm, G 11.6 cm, B 6.6 cm.

+ Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) B84, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 16:4. Bronze; gilded; H 50 cm, M 16.8 cm, G 35.7 cm, B 24 cm.

+ Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) E2, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 145:2. Earthenware; engobe décor; H 28.3 cm, M 11.6 cm, G 19.9 cm, B 12.1 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 5M1:33, WW 1987.6, 43, f. 89:1. Bronze; H 19 cm, M 7.8 cm, G 14.8 cm, B 9.2 cm.

24: Ca. 122 BC

After: Guishan ([originally, Xiaoguishan,] Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1:TG52, WW 1973.4, 30, f. 21. Bronze.

Lijiaoqiao (Sanmenxia Municipality, Henan) M5:29, *HXKG* 1994.1, 19, f. 8:6. Bronze; H 16.2 cm, M 7 cm, G 11 cm.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M10:10, *KGXB* 1976.2, 125, f. 13:4. Bronze; H 26 cm.

25: Ca. 119–103 BC

+ **Mancheng (Hebei) M1:4108**, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 50, f. 32:1. Bronze;

inscribed with date of manufacture corresponding to 119 BC; H 45.3 cm, M 18 cm, G 34.5 cm, B 19.5 cm, weight 18.86 kg. Report classifies form as *zhong*.

Beiguan (Yangyuan, Hebei) M1:11, *KG* 1990.4, 324, f. 3:1. Bronze; H 56 cm, M 18.4 cm, G 37.2 cm, B 23.2 cm.

Dajiangkou (Shupu, Hunan) M3:24, *KG* 1994.1, 28, f. 7:3. Earthenware; H 40 cm, M 15.5 cm, G 31.2 cm, B 15 cm.

Gaozhuang (Dilu, Hebei), *KG* 1994.4, Pl. 5:4. Bronze; H 22 cm, M 8.5 cm, G 17 cm, B 10.5 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1173:34, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 111, f. 56:6. Earthenware; with lugs; H 39.5 cm, G 30 cm.

Huoshan (Anhui) M3:22, *WW* 1991.9, 44, f. 13. Argillaceous grey earthenware; black slip; H 34 cm, M 13.6 cm, G 25.6 cm, B 16 cm.

Huoshan (Anhui) M4:6, *WW* 1991.9, 44, f. 12. Argillaceous yellow-grey earthenware; H 37.5 cm, M 13 cm, G 29 cm, B 16.6 cm.

Liangnanzhuang (Rongcheng Municipality, Shandong) M1:10, *KG* 1994.12, 1074, f. 9:1. Bronze; H 45.2 cm, weight 20.6 kg.

Nanchang Eastern Suburbs (Jiangxi) M14:37, *KGXB* 1976.2, Pl. 5:5. Bronze; turquoise inlay; H 41.3 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 3M1:2, *WW* 1987.6, 56, f. 4:6. Bronze; vessel wrapped in silk for burial; H 43.6 cm, M 17.5 cm, G 35.2 cm, B 21.1 cm.

Wuzuofen (Guanghua, Hubei) M3:9, *KGXB* 1976.2, Pl. 2:2. Bronze; H 43 cm.

Xiadu (Yixian, Hebei) M33:2, *KG* 1965.11, 556, f. 11:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; white slip; red engobe décor; H 31.2 cm, M 12.6 cm.

+Xingping (Shaanxi) find, *Hu* A, *WW* 1980.7, 93, f. 2. Bronze; inscribed with date of production corresponding to 103 BC; H 45 cm, M 17 cm, G (circumference) 112 cm, weight 10.15 kg.

+Xingping (Shaanxi) find, *Hu* B, *WW* 1980.7, 94, f. 4. Bronze; inscribed with date of production corresponding to 103 BC; H 43.5 cm, M 17.8 cm, G (circumference) 113 cm, weight 10.75 kg.

26: Ca. 113 BC

+**Mancheng (Hebei) M1:3083**, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 125, f. 84:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; slip; engobe décor; H 38 cm, M 15 cm, G 23.2 cm, B 16 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1095:40, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 131, f. 73:2. Bronze; H 28.6 cm, G 18 cm.

27: Ca. 113 BC

+ **Mancheng (Hebei) M1:3204**, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 124, f. 83:10. Siliceous grey earthenware; H 34.5 cm, M 13.2 cm, G 24.3 cm, B 14.9 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1067:2, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 111, f. 56:3. Earthenware; H 32 cm, G 23.5 cm.

Huoshan (Anhui) M4:25, *WW* 1991.9, 45, f. 14. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 28.6 cm, M 10.4 cm, G 18.8 cm, B 10.6 cm.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M38:2, *KGXB* 1992.2, 233, f. 9:11. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 28.4 cm, M 10.7 cm.

28: Ca. 113 BC

+ **Mancheng (Hebei) M1:3465**, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 122, f. 82:6. Earthenware; H 48 cm, M 18.2 cm, G 37.4 cm, B 18 cm.

+ **Mancheng (Hebei) M1:3204**, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 122, f. 82:2. Earthenware; H 34.5 cm, M 13.2 cm, G 24.3 cm, B 14.9 cm.

Mancheng (Hebei) M2:2131, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 287, f. 191:4. Earthenware; H 29.3 cm, M 14.9 cm, G 22.9 cm, B 14.5 cm.

Mancheng (Hebei) M2:4091, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 287, f. 191:2. Earthenware; H 44.3 cm, M 21 cm, G 35.5 cm, B 21 cm.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M40:9, *KGXB* 1992.2, 233, f. 9:10. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 29.6 cm, M 13.4 cm.

29: Ca. 113 BC

+ **Mancheng (Hebei) M1:3497**, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 124, f. 83:12. Argillaceous red earthenware; broken; H 25.5 cm, G 22 cm, B 11.5 cm.

30: Ca. 113 BC

+ **Mancheng (Hebei) M1:3062**, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 122, f. 82:1. Earthenware; H 55.5 cm, M 21.5 cm, G 30.9 cm, B 19.3 cm.

+ **Mancheng (Hebei) M1:3201**, *Mancheng*, vol. 2, Pl. 79:2. Earthenware; engobe décor; H 34 cm, M 16.5 cm, G 24.8 cm, B 16 cm.

+ Mancheng (Hebei) M1:3464, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 122, f. 82:2. Earthenware; inscribed in red; H 56.5 cm, M 19.3 cm, G 33.5 cm, B 18.7 cm.

31: Ca. 113 BC

+ **Mancheng (Hebei) M1:3475**, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 122, f. 82:3. Earthenware; H 56 cm, M 20.3 cm, G 35.9 cm, B 17.3 cm.

Daijialou (Qingzhou Municipality, Shandong) M46:1, *KG* 1995.12, 1079, f. 7:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 24 cm, M 13.1 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1144:5, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 18:2. Earthenware; H 28 cm, G 21 cm.

32: Ca. 70 BC

Tianchang (Anhui) M6:39, *KG* 1979.4, 326, f. 14:2. Argillaceous but slightly grainy grey earthenware; light yellow-green glaze; H 34 cm, M 12 cm, B 14.1 cm.

Baonüdun (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 85YBM104:57, *WW* 1991.10, 49, f. 29:2. Vitreous earthenware; yellow glaze; H 40.2 cm, M 17.2 cm, B 15.8 cm.

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) M12:9 (87M12:9), *KG* 1990.4, 331, f. 3:10. Light grey-white (porcelaneous?) stoneware; green glaze; H 47.4 cm, M 16.5 cm, G 35.2 cm, B 19 cm.

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) M12:12 (87M12:12), *KG* 1990.4, 331, f. 3:7. Light grey-white (porcelaneous?) stoneware; green glaze; H 37.8 cm, M 12.6 cm, G 26.4 cm, B 14 cm.

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) 89M27:14, *KG* 1993.4, 334, f. 6:4. Stoneware/porcelain; H 39.7 cm, M 12.9 cm, G 29.2 cm, B 15.2 cm.

Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M2:10, *KGXB* 1983.3, 394, f. 10:2. Vitreous grey earthenware; grog added; relatively high fired; yellow-green glaze; burnished (on areas not glazed); H 32.4 cm, M 14.5 cm.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM337:59, *WW* 1992.12, 13, f. 11:2. Grey earthenware; yellow glaze; H 22 cm, M 10 cm, G 17 cm, B 9 cm.

Laoshan (Qingdao Municipality, Shandong) M1, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 242, f. 1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; grey-green glaze; H 21 cm, M 9 cm, G 17 cm, B 9.5 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) GM202:1, WW 1987.6, 40, f. 76:3. Red-brown earthenware; green glaze; H 26.8 cm, M 11.6 cm, G 20.8 cm.

Sanjiaoyu (Tianchang, Anhui) M17:10, WW 1993.9, 3, f. 4:6. Earthenware; light yellow-green glaze; H 34.5 cm, M 15.2 cm.

Shamaosi (Lianyungang Municipality, Jiangsu) LSM1:24, WW 1990.4, 81, f. 2:1. Siliceous brown earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 46.5 cm, M 19.7 cm.

33: Ca. 70 BC

Shamaosi (Lianyungang Municipality, Jiangsu) LSM1:19, WW 1990.4, 81, f. 2:2. Siliceous brown earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 36 cm, M 14.7 cm.

Ganquan (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2, WW 1981.11, 3, f. 4:9. Red earthenware; yellow-green or yellow-brown glaze; relatively high fired; H 18.6 cm, M 8.6 cm.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM337:60, WW 1992.12, 13, f. 11:3. Dark red earthenware; green glaze (unevenly applied); H 19.5 cm, M 7 cm, G 16 cm, B 11 cm.

Shamaosi (Lianyungang Municipality, Jiangsu) LSM1:11, WW 1990.4, 81, f. 2:3 (8 examples cited). Siliceous brown earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 29.5 cm, M 12 cm.

Yangling (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) accompanying cemetery (no further identification), *Han Yangling kaogu chenlie guan*, 115, f. 194. Glazed earthenware; vessel with two lugs, lid; H 36.5 cm, M 10.2 cm, G 24.5 cm, B 14.5 cm.

34: Ca. 70 BC

Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M3:19, KGXB 1983.3, 399, f. 17:1. Vitreous earthenware; relatively high fired; yellow-green glaze; H 21.2 cm, M 9.6 cm.

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) M12:2 (87M12:2), KG 1990.4, 331, f. 3:4. (Porcelaneous?) light grey-white stoneware; green glaze; H 22 cm, M 11 cm, G 17.5 cm, B 10 cm.

Dongyang (Xuyi, Jiangsu) M5:2, KG 1979.5, 420, f. 9:3. Earthenware; green glaze; H 34 cm, M 15 cm, G 25.8 cm, B 11 cm.

Dongyang (Xuyi, Jiangsu) M6:5, KG 1979.5, 420, f. 9:2. Earthenware.

Laoshan (Qingdao Municipality, Shandong) unnumbered double

burial, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 182, f. 3:5. Earthenware; red-brown (on lip) and yellow-green glaze; H 22 cm, M 10 cm, G 23 cm.

Laoshan (Qingdao Municipality, Shandong) unnumbered double burial, *WWXLCK* 9 (1985), 182, f. 3:6. Argillaceous red earthenware; green glaze; broken; H 32 cm, M 14 cm, G 25 cm, B 14 cm.

Nanchang Eastern Suburbs (Jiangxi) M3:22, *KGXB* 1976.2, 174, f. 5:5. Vitreous earthenware; grey-green glaze; H 29 cm.

Yaozhuang (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M101:169, *WW* 1988.2, 31, f. 25. Earthenware; green glaze.

35: Ca. 70 BC

After: Jingyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM337:62, WW 1992.12, 13, f. 11:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; light green glaze; H 44 cm, M 17.6 cm, G 33.2 cm, B 16 cm.

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) 79M22:3, *KG* 1993.4, 334, f. 6:7. Stoneware/porcelain; H 51.2 cm, M 18.4 cm, G 43 cm, B 17.6 cm.

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) 87M12:9 (M12:9), *KG* 1993.4, 334, f. 6:3. Stoneware/porcelain; H 47.4 cm, M 16.5 cm, G 35.2 cm, B 19 cm.

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) 89M28:15, *KG* 1993.4, 334, f. 6:2. Stoneware/porcelain; H 41.7 cm, M 16.8 cm, G 31.9 cm, B 15.9 cm.

Dongjiazhuang (Laixi, Shandong) M2, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 187, f. 10. Vitreous grey-white stoneware; yellow-green glaze; H 33 cm, G 27 cm.

Dongjiazhuang (Laixi, Shandong) M2, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 187, f. 11. Vitreous grey-white stoneware; yellow-green glaze; H 42 cm, G 34 cm.

Dongyang (Xuyi, Jiangsu) M7:39, *KG* 1979.5, 420, f. 9:7. Earthenware; green glaze; H 45.5 cm, M 14 cm, G 32 cm, B 14.8 cm.

Ershidian (Huainan Municipality, Anhui), *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 238, f. 1:2. Vitreous grey-brown earthenware; light yellow-green glaze; H 34.8 cm, M 12.7 cm.

Fanshi (Jiaxiang, Shandong), *KGYYW* 1992.3, 17, f. 3:1. Siliceous grey earthenware; H 33 cm, M 14 cm, B 12.5 cm.

Fanshi (Jiaxiang, Shandong), *KGYYW* 1992.3, 17, f. 3:7. Siliceous grey earthenware; H 33.5 cm, M 14 cm, B 12.5 cm.

Guduiwang (Dingyuan, Anhui) M8:5, *KG* 1985.5, 425, f. 3:3. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; broken; H 33 cm, M 14.7 cm.

Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M1:21, *KGXB* 1983.3, Pl. 20:5. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; yellow-green glaze; relatively high fired; H 38.2 cm, M 15.6 cm.

Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M2:36, *KGXB* 1983.3, Pl. 24:6. Vitreous grey earthenware; yellow-green glaze; relatively high fired; added grog; H 39.8 cm, M 16.7 cm.

Tomb of Huo He (Haizhou [Lianyungang Municipality, Jiangsu]), *KG* 1974.3, Pl. 5:4 (2 examples). Siliceous brown earthenware; 1 example with dark green glaze; 1 example with yellow-green glaze; H 45.7 cm, M 14.8 cm, G 36.5 cm.

Laoshan (Qingdao Municipality, Shandong) M1, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 242, f. 2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; grey-green glaze; vessel contained a small number of fish bones; H 32 cm, M 12.5 cm, G 26 cm, B 13 cm.

Laoshan (Qingdao Municipality, Shandong) M1, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 242, f. 3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; no glaze; H 39 cm, M 15.5 cm, G 32 cm, B 16 cm.

Laoshan (Qingdao Municipality, Shandong) unnumbered double burial, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 182, f. 3:2. Argillaceous red earthenware; yellow-green glaze; broken; H 34 cm, M 15 cm, G 27 cm, B 16 cm.

Laoshan (Qingdao Municipality, Shandong) unnumbered double burial, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 182, f. 3:3. Argillaceous red earthenware; yellow-green glaze; broken; H 30 cm, M 11 cm, G 23 cm, B 13 cm.

Nanchang Eastern Suburbs (Jiangxi) M3:3, *KGXB* 1976.2, Pl. 1:6. Earthenware with fine white body close to porcelain (or porcelaneous stoneware?); grey-green glaze overall, reddish glaze on belly; H 46.7 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 3M74:4, *WW* 1987.6, 40, f. 76:1. Earthenware; engobe décor; H 35.8 cm, M 10.5 cm, G 24.3 cm, B 13.5 cm.

Qilidian (Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), *KG* 1962.8, Pl. 5:7. Earthenware; glazed; H 42.5 cm, M 16.5 cm.

Qilidian (Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), *KG* 1962.8, 403, not illustrated, described as identical to Pl. 5:7. Earthenware; glazed; H 21 cm, M 10 cm.

Tianbaodun (Suzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M27, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 178, f. 7. Earthenware; H 43 cm, M 16 cm, G 33 cm, B 18 cm.

Tianbaodun (Suzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M27, *WWZLCK* 9

(1985), 178, f. 8. Earthenware.

Tianchang (Anhui) M9:25, *KG* 1979.4, 326, f. 14:4. Argillaceous but slightly grainy grey earthenware; light yellow-green glaze; H 47 cm, M 14.4 cm, B 19 cm.

Tianzigang (Anji, Zhejiang) M1:3, *WW* 1995.6, 32, f. 8:1. Earthenware; broken; H 21.5 cm, B 11 cm.

Wangtuanzhuang (Lianyungang Municipality, Jiangsu), *KG* 1963.6, 289, f. 6 (1st of 2 objects described for this figure). Earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 33 cm, M 14.4 cm, B 13.3 cm.

Wangtuanzhuang (Lianyungang Municipality, Jiangsu), *KG* 1963.6, 289, f. 6 (2nd of 2 objects described for this figure). Earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 40.5 cm, M 26.1 cm, B 15 cm.

Xupu (Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M101:74, *WW* 1987.1, 16, f. 36. Grey earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 40.8 cm, G 28.8 cm.

Yaozhuang (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M101:165, *WW* 1988.2, 31, f. 23. Earthenware; H 40 cm, M 17 cm, G 30 cm, B 16 cm.

Yeling (Gongxian, Henan), *KG* 1974.2, 134, f. 2 center. Earthenware; green glaze; H 44 cm, M 17 cm, G 32 cm.

Zhou Family Cemetery (Jinqueshan [Linyi Municipality, Shandong]) M10:2, *WW* 1984.11, 48, f. 26:6. Red earthenware; yellow glaze; H 35.5 cm, M 15.8 cm, G 29.4 cm, B 14.6 cm.

36: Ca. 70 BC

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M175:10, *Shaogou*, 108, f. 52:7. Argillaceous red earthenware; light green glaze; H 23.4 cm, G 18.2 cm.

Anqiu (Shandong), *KG* 1995.2, 186, f. 2. Earthenware; relatively high fired; yellowish (ash?) glaze; H 26.5 cm, M 12.9 cm, G 20.5 cm, B 10.8 cm.

Baonüdu (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 85YBM104:51, *WW* 1991.10, 49, f. 29:10. Vitreous earthenware; glazed; H 24.4 cm, M 12.6 cm, B 9.4 cm.

Baonüdu (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 85YBM104:54, *WW* 1991.10, 49, f. 29:6. Vitreous earthenware; yellow glaze; H 18.2 cm, M 9.4 cm, B 8.8 cm.

Fanshi (Jiaxiang, Shandong), *KGYWW* 1992.3, 17, f. 3:2. Earthenware; yellow glaze; H 20 cm, M 8 cm, B 9.5 cm.

Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M2:14, *KGXB* 1983.3, 394, f. 10:5. Vitreous grey earthenware; grog added; relatively high fired; yellow-green glaze; burnished (on areas not glazed); H 20.8 cm, M 9.6 cm.

Pingshan (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1, 3, 4, *WW* 1987.1, Pl. 4:2, right. Earthenware; glazed.

Sanjiaoyu (Tianchang, Anhui) M10:10, *WW* 1993.9, 4, f. 6:4. Earthenware; light yellow-green glaze; H 34.4 cm, M 14.4 cm.

Xupu (Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M101:75, *WW* 1987.1, 16, f. 37. Grey earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 33.5 cm, G 22.4 cm.

Yaozhuang (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M101:167, *WW* 1988.2, 31, f. 24. Earthenware; H 25.5 cm, M 13.3 cm, G 19.9 cm.

37: Ca. 70 BC

Dongyang (Xuyi, Jiangsu) M4:6, *KG* 1979.5, 420, f. 9:5. Earthenware.

Guolufang (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M11, *KGYWW* 1992.2, 21, f. 11:15. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 39.3 cm, M 10 cm, G 26 cm, B 13.5 cm.

38: Ca. 70 BC

Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M3:12, *KGXB* 1983.3, 399, f. 17:5. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; deep green glaze; relatively high fired; H 46 cm, M 18.8 cm.

Baonüdu (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 85YBM104:61, *WW* 1991.10, 49, f. 29:9. Vitreous earthenware; yellow glaze; H 13.6 cm, M 5.4 cm, B 6 cm.

Laoshan (Qingdao Municipality, Shandong) unnumbered double burial, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 182, f. 3:1. Vitreous argillaceous red earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 45 cm, M 16 cm, G 38 cm, B 18 cm.

Yandaishan (Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) YYM1:9, *KGXB* 1987.4, 482, f. 11:3. Vitreous earthenware; light green glaze; high fired; H 48 cm, M 17.1 cm.

39: Ca. 70 BC

Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M3:20, KGXB 1983.3, 399, f. 17:3. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; deep green glaze; relatively high fired; H 46 cm, M 18.8 cm.

Baimashi (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IM3:5, KGXB 1995.2, 226, f. 18:15. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 32 cm, M 13.2 cm, B 12.6 cm.

Daijialou (Qingzhou Municipality, Shandong) M21:1, KG 1995.12, 1079, f. 7:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 24.4 cm, M 12.8 cm.

Dongyang (Xuyi, Jiangsu) M7:1, KG 1979.5, 420, f. 9:6. Earthenware; H 25.5 cm, M 12.5 cm, G 20.5 cm, B 10.5 cm.

Fanshi (Jiaxiang, Shandong), KGYWW 1992.3, 17, f. 3:8. Siliceous grey earthenware; H 25 cm, M 12.5 cm, B 10 cm.

+ **Huchang (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M5, WW 1981.11, 23, f. 35 (2 examples).** Earthenware; green glaze; H 29.5 cm, M 12.8 cm, G 21.2 cm, B 14 cm.

Jinqueshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M32:17, WW 1989.1, 31, f. 18:8. Grey earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 11.3 cm, M 4.9 cm.

Ningbo (Zhejiang) Y1, KG 1980.4, 344, f. 3:1. Stoneware (porcelaneous?); white-grey clay body; yellow-green or brownish-red glaze; fired very high.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M3:3, KGXB 1976.2, Pl. 8:1. Earthenware; low fired; vessel with no handles; H 30 cm.

Yandaishan (Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) YYM1:15, KGXB 1987.4, 482, f. 11:1. Vitreous earthenware; yellow-green glaze; high fired; H 26.5 cm, M 11.3 cm.

Yangzhou (Jiangsu), WWZLCK 9 (1985), 192, f. 16. Earthenware; light green glaze; vessel with handles; H 34 cm, G 28 cm, B 13 cm (or H 31 cm, G 21 cm, B 13 cm).

Yinqueshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M5:4, KG 1975.6, 368, f. 6:3. Argillaceous red earthenware; green glaze; uneven firing temperature; H 23.7 cm, G 20.1 cm.

40: Ca. 70 BC

After: Jinqueshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M9:35, WW 1977.11, 27, f. 8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; engobe décor; relatively high fired; H 27 cm, M 11.5 cm, G 18 cm, B 11.5 cm.

41: Ca. 70 BC

Yinqueshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M3:1, KG 1975.6, 366, f. 5:7. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 30.6 cm, G 21.3 cm.

Chengbei (Hexian, Anhui), *WWZLCK* 1 (1977), 113, f. 6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; no glaze; H 25 cm, M 11 cm.

Dushan (Weishan, Shandong) M3:1, *KG* 1995.8, 693, f. 7:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; red and white engobe décor; H 27.5 cm, G 19 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1067:1, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 18:3. Earthenware; H 32 cm, G 23.5 cm.

Houloushan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) XHM1:88, *WW* 1993.4, 33, f. 6:8. Earthenware; red and black engobe décor; H 25.6 cm, M 11.6 cm, G 20.8 cm.

Houloushan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) XHM1:116, *WW* 1993.4, 33, f. 6:6. Earthenware; red engobe décor; vessel contained dog bones; H 30.5 cm, M 11.4 cm, G 20.3 cm.

Houma (Shanxi) M2:22, *WW* 1993.7, 47, f. 8:6. Earthenware; glaze now white-silver (i.e., green lead flux glaze?); stamped, low-relief décor; H 41.5 cm, M 13 cm, G 29.3 cm, B 16 cm.

Jinqueshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M31:37, *WW* 1989.1, 30, f. 16:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; white slip; red and black engobe décor; H 24.1 cm, M 8.6 cm, B 10.8 cm.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M35:6, *KGXB* 1976.2, 131, f. 20. Earthenware; engobe décor; low fired; H 27.5 cm.

Qingfengling (Linyi Municipality, Shandong), *WW* 1988.10, 71, f. 9:3. Argillaceous yellow earthenware; H 28 cm, M 11 cm, G 17 cm.

Qingyunshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M2:3, *WW* 1988.10, 74, f. 17:3. Argillaceous yellow earthenware; engobe décor; H 26 cm, M 12 cm, G 18 cm, B 12 cm.

Tuanshan (Zhangji, Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 90YTM3:12, *KGXB* 1992.4, 499, f. 24:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; engobe décor; H 32.8 cm, M 12 cm, B 16.2 cm.

Zhou Family Cemetery (Jinqueshan [Linyi Municipality, Shandong]) M14:25, *WW* 1984.11, 54, f. 49:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; white slip; engobe décor; H 26.6 cm, M 9.7 cm, G 16.3 cm, B 12.5 cm.

42: Ca. 70 BC

Water Treatment Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M55:17, KGYWW 1990.6, 49, f. 6:3. Argillaceous red earthenware; green glaze; H 32 cm, M 11.6 cm, B 12.4 cm.

Baimashi (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IIM7:1, KGXB 1995.2, 226, f. 18:19. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 40 cm, M 18 cm, B 18 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) GM95:1, WW 1987.6, Pl. 4:5. Earthenware; green glaze; H 26.1 cm, M 10.2 cm, G 19.2 cm, B 10.5 cm.

Qinguang (Zaoyuan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M9:1, KGYWW 1992.5, 14, f. 8:21. Siliceous red earthenware; green glaze; stamped décor; H 32.5 cm, M 12.8 cm, B 13 cm.

43: Ca. 70 BC

Longshou Military Base (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M13:18, © KGYWW 1992.6, 25, f. 6:13. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. Siliceous red earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 34.8 cm, M 13.2 cm, G 26.4 cm, B 13.8 cm.

Baimashi (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IIM14:5, KGXB 1995.2, 226, f. 18:20. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 32.8 cm, M 13.8 cm, B 14 cm.

Dushan (Weishan, Shandong) M5:1, KG 1995.8, 693, f. 7:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; red and white engobe décor; H 32 cm, M 11 cm, G 20 cm.

Houloushan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) XHM1:91, WW 1993.4, 33, f. 6:7. Earthenware; red and black engobe décor; H 26.6 cm, M 11.6 cm, G 21 cm.

Houma (Shanxi) M2:15, WW 1993.7, 47, f. 8:3. Earthenware; glaze now white-silver (i.e., green lead flux glaze?); stamped, low-relief décor; H 32.8 cm, M 12 cm, G 25 cm, B 14.8 cm.

Jiulishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1:22, KG 1994.12, 1064, f. 3:6. Earthenware; H 26.8 cm, M 11.3 cm, G 20.6 cm.

Mishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1:13, KG 1996.4, 39, f. 6:3. Earthenware; H 28.7 cm, M 11.2 cm.

*Taijishan (Anning, Yunnan) M13:3, KG 1965.9, 453, f. 5:14. Siliceous red earthenware; mouth broken; H 19-20.8 cm, M 8-11.4 cm, B 8-8.7 cm.

44: Ca. 70 BC

Kuishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), KG 1974.2, 121, f. 3:3 (2 examples). Porcelaneous stoneware ("proto-porcelain"); yellow-green

glaze; H 32.8 cm, M 11.7 cm.

Chengbei (Hexian, Anhui), *WWZLCK* 1 (1977), 113, f. 5. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 28 cm, M 12.5 cm.

Sanjiaoyu (Tianchang, Anhui) M6:2, *WW* 1993.9, 6, f. 13. Earthenware; light yellow-green glaze; H 25.4 cm, M 11.6 cm.

Tuanshan (Zhangji, Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 89YTM1:58, *KGXB* 1992.4, 482, f. 6:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware (probable); green glaze; H 36.4 cm, M 12.1 cm, B 13.6 cm.

Tuanshan (Zhangji, Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 90YTM4:2, *KGXB* 1992.4, 502, f. 28:1. Argillaceous grey (?) earthenware; green glaze (?); H 34.6 cm, M 11.4 cm, B 13.6 cm.

Yangzhou (Jiangsu), *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 192, f. 15. Earthenware; yellow-green glazed; H 30 cm, G 24 cm, B 13 cm.

Zifangshan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 61, f. 4:5 (4 examples). Argillaceous grey earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 24–27 cm, M 12 cm.

45: Ca. 70 BC

Taolou (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M3:5, © *KG* 1993.1, 17, f. 4:3. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Argillaceous grey earthenware; engobe décor; H 32.5 cm, M 10 cm, G 21 cm, B 13.9 cm.

Dongjiazhuang (Laixi, Shandong) M2, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 187, f. 9. Bronze; H 26 cm, M 10 cm, G 22 cm.

Dongquanhe (Laiwu Municipality, Shandong), *WW* 1993.12, 31, f. 1:5. Bronze; H 30.5 cm, M 9 cm, G 21.4 cm, B 13.9 cm.

Dushan (Weishan, Shandong) M4:1, *KG* 1995.8, 693, f. 7:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 34 cm, M 11.3 cm, G 23.5 cm.

Gaozhuang (Dilu, Hebei), *KG* 1994.4, Pl. 6:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 49 cm, M 18.5 cm, G 33 cm, B 20 cm.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M15:38, *KGXB* 1976.2, 131, f. 19:7. Earthenware; low fired; H 32.4 cm.

Zifangshan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 61, f. 4:6 (4 examples). Argillaceous grey earthenware; engobe décor; H 31 cm, G 20 cm.

46: Ca. 70 BC

After: Changzhou (Jiangsu), WW 1993.4, 51, f. 1:1. Earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 32.8 cm, M 15.8 cm, B 16 cm.

Houma (Shanxi) M4:3, WW 1993.7, 47, f. 8:4. Earthenware; engobe décor (red, white, pink, pale blue); H 34.8 cm, M 15.6 cm, G 25.6 cm.

Lancheng (Zaozhuang Municipality, Shandong) M3 (assumed), WWZLCK 9 (1985), 140, f. 8:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 36.6 cm, M 15 cm.

Wulantaogegai (Hangjin Banner, Inner Mongolia) find #2, NMGWWKG 1991.1, 42, f. 8:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 22.5 cm, M 9.2 cm, G 15.4 cm, B 7.4 cm.

Wulantaogegai (Hangjin Banner, Inner Mongolia) no identifier, NMGWWKG 1991.1, 42, f. 8:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; glazed; H 24 cm, M 14 cm, G 21 cm, B 16 cm.

Wulantaogegai (Hangjin Banner, Inner Mongolia) find #18, NMGWWKG 1991.1, 42, f. 8:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; black engobe décor; H 17.3 cm, M 8.3 cm, G 15.2 cm, B 11 cm.

47: Ca. 70 BC

Tianchang (Anhui) M2:7, KG 1979.4, 327, f. 15:4. Argillaceous light black earthenware; fired relatively low; H 21 cm, M 9 cm, B 7 cm.

48: Ca. 70 BC

Tuanshan (Zhangji, Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 89YTM1:46, © KGXB 1992.4, 481, f. 5:1. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Argillaceous grey (?) earthenware; green glaze; H 48.8 cm, M 14.8 cm, B 20.4 cm.

49: Ca. 70 BC

Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M3:15, KGXB 1983.3, 399, f. 17:2. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; yellow-green glaze; relatively high fired; H 23.2 cm, M 6.5 cm.

50: Ca. 70 BC

After: Changzhou (Jiangsu), WW 1993.4, 51, f. 1:4. Vitreous grey earthenware; H 26 cm, M 6.3 cm, B 13.4 cm.

Tuanshan (Zhangji, Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 89YTM1:34, KGXB 1992.4, 482, f. 6:9. Argillaceous grey earthenware

(?); green glaze; H 31 cm, M 6.6 cm, B 14.3 cm.

Yinqueshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M4:18, *KG* 1975.6, Pl. 6:4. Earthenware; lacquered.

51: Ca. 70 BC

Leigutai (Xiangyang, Hubei) M1:80, *KG* 1982.2, 154, f. 10:1. Earthenware; H 53 cm, M 23.8 cm, G 38 cm.

Fenghuangshan (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M4:26, *KG* 1993.3, 241, f. 3:10. Siliceous grey earthenware; appliqué décor (animal heads/rings); broken; H 46 cm, M 18 cm, G 32 cm, B 20 cm.

Houloushan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) XHM1:120, *WW* 1993.4, 33, f. 6:5. Earthenware; red engobe décor; H 38.3 cm, M 16.3 cm, G 29.6 cm.

Huaershan (Xinjin, Liaoning) M1-7, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 81, f. 16. Argillaceous earthenware; H 27.5 cm, M 13.6 cm, G 20 cm, B 10 cm.

Huaihua (Hunan) M5:29, *WW* 1988.10, 60, f. 6:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively low fired; H 29.6 cm, M 12 cm, B 14 cm.

Huaihua (Hunan) M10:5, *WW* 1988.10, 62, f. 10:5. Earthenware; H 27 cm, M 11 cm.

Mishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1:14, *KG* 1996.4, 39, f. 6:2 (identified by the excavation report, p. 39 descriptive text as M4:11). Earthenware; red engobe décor; H 25.6 cm, M 10.8 cm.

Qilingang (Nanyang Municipality, Henan) M8:7, *KG* 1996.3, 16, f. 5:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; lacquered black inside, violet outside; lacquer décor in yellow; H 47.5 cm, M 21.5 cm, G 35.5 cm, B 21 cm.

Simutang (Dayong, Hunan) SM11:13, *KG* 1994.12, 1086, f. 11:12. Grey earthenware; dark brown glaze; relatively high fired; broken; H 20 cm, G 23.2 cm.

Tianbaodun (Suzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M27, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 178, f. 9. Earthenware; glazed.

52: Ca. 70 BC

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M34:6, *KGXB* 1976.2, 138, f. 27:12. Argillaceous earthenware; H 30.5 cm.

Bijiashan (Suining, Sichuan) M1:15, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 130, f. 46. Earthenware; H 30.2 cm, M 14.2 cm, B 15.1 cm.

Chengguanzhen (Fangcheng, Henan), WW 1984.3, 42, f. 8:3. Earthenware; dark red glaze; H 39 cm, M 19.6 cm, G 33.2 cm.

Jinzhai (Mianxian, Shaanxi), WW 1984.4, 54, f. 5. Argillaceous red earthenware; reddish- or yellowish-brown glaze; H 37 cm, M 16.5 cm, G 25 cm.

Nanchang Eastern Suburbs (Jiangxi) M4:2, KGXB 1976.2, Pl. 1:4. Vitreous earthenware; glazed (flaking); H 33 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M58:5, *Longshouyuan*, 91, f. 61:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; two molded, appliquéd animal masks with rings; H 45 cm, M 14 cm, G 34 cm, B 20 cm.

Shizhuan (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M16:3, WW 1992.9, 25, f. 6:6. Siliceous red earthenware; H 47 cm, M 20 cm.

Wolongsì (Baoji Municipality, Shaanxi), WWZLCK 9 (1985), 201, f. 12. Red earthenware; red-brown glaze; green glaze décor; broken; H 30.8 cm, M 11.5 cm, G 22.2 cm.

53: Ca. 70 BC

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 3M2:6, WW 1987.6, 55, f. 3:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware (?); engobe décor; H 40.5 cm, M 10.8 cm, G 23.1 cm, B 12.8 cm.

Baimashi (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IM15:19, KGXB 1995.2, 226, f. 18:21. Argillaceous grey earthenware; brownish-yellow glaze; H 31.8 cm, M 12.4 cm, B 12.8 cm.

Dushan (Weishan, Shandong) M3:2, KG 1995.8, 693, f. 7:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; white and red engobe décor; H 32 cm, G 22 cm.

Heshanmiao (Yiyang, Hunan) M25:30, KGXB 1981.4, 538, f. 15:6. Grey earthenware; fired at moderate temperature; H 25 cm, M 11 cm, G 20.6 cm.

Huainan (Anhui), WW 1994.12, 44, f. 7. Bronze; vessel has no lid; broken; H 31 cm, M 11 cm, G 21 cm, B 13 cm, weight 3 kg.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M28:12, *Longshouyuan*, 55, f. 33:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; red, blue, white, green engobe décor; H 45 cm, M 12 cm, G 36 cm, B 17 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M92:5, KGYWW 1992.5, 35, f. 2:12;

Longshouyuan, 116, f. 78:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; red, white, blue engobe décor; H 48.5 cm, M 14 cm, G 34 cm, B 21 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M132:2, *Longshouyuan*, 151, f. 98:4. Bronze; inscribed; H 35 cm, M 13 cm, G 27 cm, B 15 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 3M2:3, *WW* 1987.6, 55, f. 3:6. Earthenware imitating bronze; iron handles; H 56.3 cm, M 15 cm, G 35.5 cm, B 18.9 cm.

Sanjiaoyu (Tianchang, Anhui) M1:214-1, *WW* 1993.9, 7, f. 16:6. Bronze; H 35.4 cm, M 14 cm.

Xianshan (Xiangfan Municipality, Hubei) find, *KG* 1996.5, 43, f. 13:1. Bronze; H 36 cm, M 15 cm.

54: Ca. 70 BC

Huaershan (Xinjin, Liaoning) M1-7, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 77, f. 4:1; 81, f. 15. Earthenware; engobe décor; H 38 cm, M 18 cm, G 33 cm, B 17.5 cm.

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M8:12, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 44, f. 38. Earthenware.

Huaershan (Xinjin, Liaoning) M1-7, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 81, f. 20. Earthenware; H 26 cm, M 13 cm, G 19 cm.

Shizhuan (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M25:2, *WW* 1992.9, 25, f. 6:4. Fine siliceous grey earthenware; H 37.5 cm, M 17.8 cm.

Panmiao (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M24:9, *WW* 1991.12, 57, f. 19:1. Earthenware; H 40.1 cm, M 20.7 cm.

Panmiao (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M24:16, *WW* 1991.12, 59, f. 24:3. Earthenware; H 14.4 cm, M 8.5 cm.

Panmiao (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M47:8, *WW* 1991.12, 59, f. 24:1. Earthenware; H 16.3 cm, M 8 cm.

Panmiao (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M50:5, *WW* 1991.12, 55, f. 14:5. Earthenware; engobe décor.

Shizhuan (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M11:6, *WW* 1992.9, 25, f. 6:3. Fine siliceous grey earthenware; H 15.5 cm, M 7 cm, B 5 cm.

Shizhuan (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M16:2, *WW* 1992.9, 25, f. 6:5. Fine siliceous grey earthenware; H 45 cm, M 20 cm.

55: Ca. 70 BC

Panmiao (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M50:9, WW 1991.12, 55, f. 14:1. Earthenware; engobe décor.

Panmiao (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M32:2, WW 1991.12, 57, f. 19:6. Earthenware; H 38 cm, M 19 cm.

56: Ca. 70 BC

After: **Shizhuan (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M11:3, WW 1992.9, 29, f. 21:8.** Earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 37.4 cm, M 15.5 cm.

Huaershan (Xinjin, Liaoning) M1-7, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 81, f. 16. Earthenware; 27.5 cm, M 13.6 cm, G 20 cm, B 10 cm.

Laoshan (Qingdao Municipality, Shandong) M2, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 243, f. 6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; no glaze; H 34.5 cm, M 17 cm, G 29 cm, B 13 cm.

57: Ca. 55 BC

Liangnanzhuang (Rongcheng Municipality, Shandong) M2:36, © KG 1994.12, 1072, f. 5:1. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 41.6 cm.

+ Dingxian (Hebei) M40, WW 1981.8, 5, f. 7:3. Earthenware.

Liangnanzhuang (Rongcheng Municipality, Shandong) M2:37, KG 1994.12, 1072, f. 5:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 44.2 cm.

Moziuzi (Wuwei, Gansu) M6, KG 1960.5, Pl. 7:5. Red earthenware; yellow-green glaze; décor of broken lines on shoulder, belly, foot; H 28.5 cm.

58: Ca. 55 BC

After: + Dingxian (Hebei) M40, WW 1981.8, 5, f. 7:6. Earthenware.

59: Ca. 45 BC

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) 13:2, KGXB 1990.1, 114, f. 13:13. Argillaceous grey earthenware; engobe décor; relatively high fired; H 52.5 cm, M 18 cm, G 35 cm.

Beiyingsi (Liangcheng, Inner Mongolia) M8:11, NMGWWKG 1991.1, 30, f. 7:1. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; high fired; H 28

cm, M 15.5 cm, G 21 cm.

+Dabaotai (Beijing) M1:2, *Dabaotai*, Pl. 37:1. Argillaceous red earthenware; black slip; H 52 cm, M 17 cm, G 29 cm, B 16 cm.

+Dabaotai (Beijing) M1:4, *Dabaotai*, Pl. 37:2. Argillaceous red earthenware; black slip; H 54 cm, M 19 cm, G 35 cm, B 18 cm.

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M22:8, *KGXB* 1990.1, 114, f. 13:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 41.5 cm, M 18 cm, G 30 cm.

Xiadu (Yixian, Hebei) M32:2, *KG* 1965.11, 556, f. 11:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; white slip; red engobe décor.

Zixing (Hunan) M2:29, *KGXB* 1995.4, 467, f. 17:7. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 32.8 cm.

60: Ca. AD 5

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M7:56, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 34, f. 8:5. Earthenware.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1113:2, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 19:4. Earthenware; H 21 cm, G 17 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1116:11, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 19:3. Earthenware.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M11:24, *Shaogou*, Pl. 17:5 (vessel reported as “*guan*”). Earthenware; relatively low fired; H 15 cm, G 14 cm.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) *M119:12, *KGXB* 1978.2, 228, f. 25:19. Earthenware; H 15 cm.

61: Ca. AD 9

Shixing (Guangdong) M19:1, © *KG* 1993.5, 391, f. 8:3. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 23 cm, M 9.5 cm, G 19 cm, B 13 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2009:21, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 214, f. 120:5. Earthenware; yellow-brown glaze; H 15.3 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M82:45, *Shaogou*, Pl. 21:2. Earthenware; brown glaze; vessel with lid, no lugs.

Wafenyuan (Jingsha Municipality, Hubei) M4:17, *KG* 1995.11, 993, f. 8:3. Bronze; H 21 cm, M 9.6 cm, G 17.3 cm.

Xianshan (Xiangfan Municipality, Hubei) M1:7, *KG* 1996.5, 39, f. 7:5. Bronze; H 17.8 cm, M 8.8 cm.

62: Ca. AD 9

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M18:2, *Shaogou*, 104, f. 51:1. Earthenware; red engobe décor; H 59.6 cm, G 36.8 cm.

Bu Qianqiu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan), *WW* 1977.6, 6, f. 17. Earthenware; H 40 cm, M 19 cm, G 29 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4019:11, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 95:1. Earthenware; glazed; H 31.1 cm, G 22 cm.

Huaihua (Hunan) M6:7, *WW* 1988.10, 58, f. 3:6. Earthenware; H 32.2 cm, M 15.8 cm, G 23.9 cm.

Jingyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM337:33, *WW* 1992.12, 12, f. 7:12. Earthenware; H 23 cm, M 10 cm, G 16 cm, B 10 cm.

Qianjingtou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) CM1231:59, *WW* 1993.5, 4, f. 4:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 46.7 cm, M 19 cm, G 35.5 cm, B 19.5 cm.

Qianjingtou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) CM1231:62, *WW* 1993.5, 4, f. 4:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 27.6 cm, M 10.2 cm, G 18 cm, B 11 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M2:6, *Shaogou*, 104, f. 52:2. Earthenware; H 47 cm, G 32 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M2:29, *Shaogou*, 108, f. 52:2. Earthenware; H 25 cm, G 14.5 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M7:16, *Shaogou*, 108, f. 52:1. Earthenware; H 19.9 cm, G 13.7 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M62:16, *Shaogou*, Pl. 19A:2. Earthenware; engobe décor.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M175:9, *Shaogou*, Pl. 19B, 20:1. Earthenware; engobe décor.

63: Ca. AD 9

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M49:10, *Shaogou*, 108, f. 52:3. Earthenware; inscribed in engobe (salt container); H 25.8 cm, G 17.1 cm.

Bu Qianqiu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan), *WW* 1977.6, 5, f. 10. Earthenware; H 32 cm, M 13 cm, G 21 cm.

Bu Qianqiu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan), WW 1977.6, 6, f. 19. Earthenware; H 22 cm, M 9 cm, G 15 cm.

Fenghuangshan Park (Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan) M1:22, WW 1992.1, 91, f. 5:7. Bronze; gilded; H 9.8 cm, M 3.8 cm, G 6 cm, B 4 cm.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) unnumbered tomb, WWZLCK 9 (1985), 169, f. 19:5. Grey earthenware; red engobe décor; H 44.5 cm.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) unnumbered tomb, WWZLCK 9 (1985), 169, f. 19:6. Grey earthenware; white engobe décor; H 43 cm.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) unnumbered tomb, WWZLCK 9 (1985), 169, f. 19:7. Grey earthenware; inscribed in red (water container); H 43 cm.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M11:83, WW 1983.4, 22, f. 31. Red earthenware; glazed; H 49 cm, M 19 cm, G 33 cm, B 18 cm or H 42 cm, M 16 cm, G 27 cm, B 16 cm.

Luoyang Post and Cable Office (Henan) IM372:30, WW 1994.7, 27, f. 10:1. Earthenware; inscribed in ink (water container); H 23 cm, M 9.2 cm, G 15 cm, B 9.6 cm.

Luoyang Post and Cable Office (Henan) IM372:79, WW 1994.7, 27, f. 10:2. Earthenware; inscribed in ink; H 23.7 cm, M 9 cm, G 14.8 cm, B 10 cm.

64: Ca. AD 9

Painted Tomb (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M61:107, KGXB 1964.2, 119, f. 8:6. Earthenware.

Bu Qianqiu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan), WW 1977.6, 5, f. 8. Grey earthenware; engobe décor; H 49 cm, M 20 cm, G 38 cm.

Bu Qianqiu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan), WW 1977.6, 6, f. 18. Earthenware; H 32 cm, M 14 cm, G 22 cm.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) unnumbered tomb, WWZLCK 9 (1985), 167, f. 9. Grey earthenware; H 45.2 cm.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1:46, *Shaogou*, 104, f. 51:3. Earthenware; H 38 cm, G 34 cm.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M11:66, WW 1983.4, 19, f. 12. Grey earthenware (?); relatively high fired; white slip; engobe

décor; H 51 cm, M 19 cm, G 33 cm, B 19.5 cm.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M11:83, WW 1983.4, 22, f. 31. Grey earthenware (?); glazed; inscribed; H 42–49 cm, M 16–19 cm, G 27–33 cm, B 16–18 cm.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M11:167, WW 1983.4, 22, f. 30. Grey earthenware (?); relatively high fired; inscribed; H 53 cm, M 19.8 cm, G 37 cm, B 20 cm.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM337:40, WW 1992.12, 13, f. 11:1. Earthenware; engobe décor; H 46.4 cm, M 18 cm, G 30.5 cm, B 17 cm.

Luoyang Post and Cable Office (Henan) IM372:18, WW 1994.7, 25, f. 6:3. Earthenware; engobe décor; H 46.5 cm, M 16.8 cm, G 30.4 cm, B 17.2 cm.

Luoyang Post and Cable Office (Henan) IM372:19, WW 1994.7, 25, f. 6:4. Earthenware; engobe décor; inscribed in black.

Luoyang Post and Cable Office (Henan) IM372:47, WW 1994.7, 25, f. 6:5. Earthenware; engobe décor; inscribed in black; H 46.5 cm, M 16.8 cm, G 30.4 cm, B 17.6 cm.

Luoyang Post and Cable Office (Henan) IM372:77, WW 1994.7, 25, f. 6:1. Earthenware; H 40.6 cm, M 13.8 cm, G 28.6 cm, B 16 cm.

Qianjingtou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) CM1231:2, WW 1993.5, 4, f. 4:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; white slip; red engobe décor; H 48 cm, M 18.6 cm, G 32 cm, B 18.4 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M50:16, *Shaogou*, Col. Pl. 2. Earthenware; engobe décor.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M84:28, *Shaogou*, Pl. 19D. Earthenware; engobe décor.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M102:11, *Shaogou*, Pl. 19A:3. Earthenware; engobe décor.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M125:2, *Shaogou*, Col. Pl. 1. Earthenware; yellow slip; engobe décor.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M125:6, *Shaogou*, Pl. 20:3. Earthenware; engobe décor.

65: Ca. AD 9

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M31:9, *Shaogou*, 108, f. 52:4. Earthenware; H 25.8 cm, G 18 cm.

Bu Qianqiu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan), WW 1977.6, 5, f. 9. Earthenware; H 43 cm, M 16 cm, G 32 cm.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) unnumbered tomb, WWZLCK 9 (1985), 169, f. 19:8. Grey earthenware; inscribed in red; H 24–27 cm.

Luoyang Post and Cable Office (Henan) IM372:63, WW 1994.7, 24, f. 5. Earthenware; red engobe décor; H 50 cm, M 16.5 cm, G 31 cm, B 18 cm.

Luoyang Post and Cable Office (Henan) IM372:75, WW 1994.7, 25, f. 6:2. Earthenware; H 46.8 cm, M 16.4 cm, G 32 cm, B 18.2 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M45:33, *Shaogou*, 104, f. 51:4. Earthenware; slip (?); H 47 cm, G 31 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M632:160, *Shaogou*, Pl. 19A:4. Earthenware; slip (?).

Wunüzhong (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM461:44, WW 1995.11, 8, f. 8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; inscribed in white (water [container]); H 47.3 cm, G 30 cm.

Wunüzhong (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM461:45, WW 1995.11, 8, f. 7. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 45.6 cm, G 30 cm.

66: Ca. AD 9

After: Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) unnumbered tomb, WWZLCK 9 (1985), 167, f. 11 (1st of 2 examples). Bronze; H 37 cm, M 15.6 cm

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) unnumbered tomb, WWZLCK 9 (1985), 167, f. 11 (2nd of 2 examples). Bronze; H 33 cm.

67: Ca. AD 24

Pingshuo (Shanxi) TQM158:1, WW 1987.6, 39, f. 75:3. Earthenware; H 29.3 cm, M 10.6 cm, G 23.7 cm, B 12.5 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) GM112:14, WW 1987.6, 40, f. 76:13. Earthenware; H 47 cm, M 12 cm, G 25.3 cm, B 13.4 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) GM188:11, WW 1987.6, 39, f. 75:1. Grey earthenware; H 48.3 cm, M 13.5 cm, G 32.4 cm, B 14.4 cm.

Shangmiangao (Pinglu, Shanxi) PXSM1:10, WW 1989.1, 61, f. 3:7. Argillaceous grey earthenware (?); white slip; engobe décor; H 49.6 cm, M 14.4 cm, B 18.7 cm.

Shangmiangao (Pinglu, Shanxi) PXSM1:14, WW 1989.1, 61, f. 3:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware (?); H 33.9 cm, M 10.5 cm, B 13.8 cm.

68: Ca. AD 24

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 3M58:3, WW 1987.6, 25, f. 53:1. Earthenware; engobe décor; H 35.9 cm, M 10.5 cm, B 23.7 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) GM159:11, WW 1987.6, 40, f. 76:4. Earthenware; engobe décor; H 36.6 cm, M 11.3 cm, G 22.2 cm, B 14 cm.

Shangmiangao (Pinglu, Shanxi) PXSM1:17, WW 1989.1, 61, f. 3:5. Argillaceous (?) grey earthenware; H 50.1, M 14.8 cm, B 19.5 cm.

Xianshan (Xiangfan Municipality, Hubei) find, KG 1996.5, 43, f. 13:4. Bronze; H 30.4 cm, M 10.6 cm.

69: Ca. AD 24

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 3M70:2, WW 1987.6, 16, f. 42:5. Earthenware; H 26.2 cm, M 12 cm, G 18.4 cm.

Gaozhuang (Dilu, Hebei), KG 1994.4, Pl. 6:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 49 cm, M 20.5 cm, G 32 cm, B 23.5 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 6M50:4, WW 1987.6, 11, f. 29:11. Earthenware; H 27.9 cm, M 10.2 cm, G 17.5 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 8M37:2, WW 1987.6, 16, f. 42:8. Earthenware; burnished; H 27 cm, M 11 cm, G 17 cm.

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M24:6, KGXB 1990.1, 114, f. 13:9. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 30 cm, M 11 cm, G 21 cm.

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M28:6, KGXB 1990.1, 114, f. 13:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; engobe décor; relatively high fired; H 34 cm, M 12 cm, G 21 cm.

70: Ca. AD 24

Sanfengou (Yangyuan, Hebei) M3:1, WW 1990.1, 9, f. 16:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; engobe décor; H 42.3 cm, M 12 cm.

Huaershan (Xinjin, Liaoning) M1-7, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 81, f. 19. Earthenware; H 30 cm.

Sanfengou (Yangyuan, Hebei) M1:11, WW 1990.1, 9, f. 16:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; engobe décor; H 28.2 cm, M 7.8 cm.

Sanfengou (Yangyuan, Hebei) M4:2, WW 1990.1, 7, f. 11:4.

Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 40 cm, M 14.4 cm.

Sanfengou (Yangyuan, Hebei) M4:5, WW 1990.1, 9, f. 16:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; engobe décor; H 32.4 cm, M 8 cm.

Sanfengou (Yangyuan, Hebei) M5:6, WW 1990.1, 7, f. 11:6; Pl. 1:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; burnished; H 48.4 cm, M 16 cm.

Sanfengou (Yangyuan, Hebei) M5:15, WW 1990.1, 7, f. 11:10. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 32.2 cm, M 11.2 cm.

71: Ca. AD 24

Nanchang Eastern Suburbs (Jiangxi) M15:5, KGXB 1976.2, 174, f. 5:1. Vitreous red earthenware; H 41.3 cm.

Huaihua (Hunan) M11:16, WW 1988.10, 62, f. 10:6. Earthenware; H 29.3 cm, M 10.4 cm.

72: Ca. AD 43

After: + **Hantanpo (Wuwei, Gansu)**, WW 1993.10, 31, f. 4:4 (one of three supposedly identical pieces). Argillaceous grey earthenware; burnished black slip; wheel thrown; H 27-35.5 cm, M 10.7-13.8 cm, B 11.3-12.1 cm.

73: Ca. AD 43

After: + **Hantanpo (Wuwei, Gansu)**, WW 1993.10, 31, f. 4:5 (described as a “*guan*”). Grey earthenware; H 27.5 cm, M 12 cm.

74: Ca. AD 65

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 9M129:1, WW 1987.6, 25, f. 53:5. Earthenware; engobe décor; H 31.9 cm, M 10.5 cm, G 22.3 cm.

Longshou Military Base (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M9:1, KGYWW 1992.6, 25, f. 6:4; *Longshouyuan*, 193, f. 128:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; red and white engobe décor; no lid; H 47.2 cm, M 16 cm, G 36.8 cm, B 18.4 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M99:1, *Longshouyuan*, 129, f. 86:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; red, white, blue engobe décor; H 49 cm, M 16 cm, G 36 cm, B 17 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 3M63:4, WW 1987.6, Pl. 1:4. Earthenware; engobe décor; H 26.2 cm, M 14.2 cm, G 20.3 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 3M195:3, WW 1987.6, Pl. 1:3. Earthenware; engobe décor; H 32 cm, M 12 cm, G 22.7 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 4M86:2, WW 1987.6, 25, f. 53:2. Earthenware; engobe décor; H 40 cm, M 11.1 cm, G 24.6 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 9M20:1, WW 1987.6, Pl. 1:2. Earthenware; engobe décor; H 28.5 cm, M 9.9 cm, G 20.1 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M16:6, *Shaogou*, 108, f. 52:6. Earthenware; broken; G 7.3 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1040:11, *Shaogou*, 108, f. 52:10. Earthenware; broken; handles, no lid; G 18.5 cm.

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M93:2, *KGXB* 1990.1, 114, f. 13:7. Argillaceous grey earthenware; engobe décor; relatively high fired; H 34 cm, M 12.5 cm, G 23 cm.

75: Ca. AD 65

Longshou Military Base (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M14:1, © *KGYWW* 1992.6, 25, f. 6:14. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. [= *Longshouyuan*, 197, f. 131:1.] Argillaceous grey earthenware; engobe décor; H 48 cm, M 16 cm, G 35.2 cm, B 22.4 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2062:41, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 62:2. Bronze; lid broken; H 27.5 cm, G 17 cm.

Huaihua (Hunan) M12:16, WW 1988.10, 62, f. 10:7. Earthenware; H 27 cm, M 13.6 cm.

Xianshan (Xiangfan Municipality, Hubei) M3:3, *KG* 1996.5, 39, f. 7:4. Bronze; H 25.6 cm, M 10.2 cm.

76: Ca. AD 65

Pengshan (Sichuan) M601:43, *Pengshan*, 31, f. 33:3. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 41.6 cm, M 18 cm, G 28.5 cm, B 22 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5036:45, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 164:1. Bronze; H 18.8 cm, M 8 cm, G 13.2 cm, B 9.6 cm.

Luoning (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M4:18, WW 1987.1, 41, f. 5. Red earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 44 cm.

77: Ca. AD 65

Hepu (Guangxi), *KG* 1972.5, 24, f. 4:3. Bronze; H 35 cm, M 13.5 cm,

B 19 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1175:46, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 111, f. 56:2. Earthenware.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5060:13, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 401, f. 242:1. Earthenware; H 36.8 cm, G 25.6 cm.

Guijiayuanzi (Zhaotong Municipality, Yunnan) M1:13, *KG* 1962.8, Pl. 1:1. Bronze (with Far South bird); H 33.4 cm, M 13.5 cm, height of bird 9.8 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M120:27, *Longshouyuan*, 140, f. 93:10. Argillaceous grey earthenware; red slip; engobe décor; broken; H 28.5 cm, M 10 cm, G 19 cm, B 12 cm.

Suining (Sichuan) M6:8, *KG* 1994.8, 761, f. 3:4. Earthenware; H 34 cm, M 12 cm, B 21.6 cm.

*Xiaosongshan (Chenggong, Kunming Municipality, Yunnan) M1:1, *Yunnansheng bowuguan*, Pl. 111. Bronze; inscribed; H 42 cm, M 11 cm.

78: Ca. AD 65

Dongmenli (Liaoyang [Old] Municipality, Liaoning) M1:63, WW 1985.6, 29, f. 9:8. Argillaceous grey or charcoal-grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 16.3 cm, M 7.8 cm, G 14.9 cm, B 12 cm.

Panmiao (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M16:1, *WW* 1991.12, 57, f. 19:2. Earthenware; H 40.1 cm, M 20.5 cm.

Tianchang (Anhui) M1:2, *KG* 1979.4, 327, f. 16:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; very low fired; H 23.5 cm, M 12 cm.

Wulantaogegai (Hangjin Banner, Inner Mongolia) M7:14, *NMGWWKG* 1991.1, 42, f. 8:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; white slip; black engobe décor; H 20 cm, M 8.2 cm, G 16.5 cm, B 12.7 cm.

79: Ca. AD 65

Qinguang (Zaoyuan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M11:18, © *KGYWW* 1992.5, 14, f. 8:39. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 31.6 cm, M 12 cm, G 24.8 cm, B 15.2 cm.

Fangxin (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M3:17, *KGYWW* 1992.5, 27, f. 5:8. Siliceous red earthenware; yellow glaze outside; brown glaze inside; stamped décor; H 16.4 cm, G 23.6 (? – printing error in report gives girth as 3.6) cm, B 20 cm.

Jingshan (Yishui, Shandong), *WW* 1985.5, 48, f. 3:6. Earthenware; H 22 cm, M 11 cm.

Qinguang (Zaoyuan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M10:3, *KGYYW* 1992.5, 14, f. 8:40. Siliceous red earthenware; green-brown lead glaze; H 34.2 cm, M 15 cm, G 27.6 cm, B 18.6 cm.

80: Ca. AD 65

After: Jijiawan (Binzhou Municipality, Shandong), WW 1990.2, 69, f. 8. Grey earthenware; H 45 cm, M 15.5 cm.

Nanguan (Zhengzhou Municipality, Henan) M159:5, *WW* 1960.8/9, 21, f. 10. Earthenware; yellow glaze; H 54 cm, M 19 cm, G 31 cm.

81: Ca. AD 65

After: Majiashan (Xindu, Sichuan) M1:21, WWZLCK 9 (1985), 117, f. 105. Earthenware; H 57 cm, M 24.7 cm, B 33.3 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M6:6, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 105, f. 58:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 36.4 cm, M 13.2 cm, G 24 cm, B 18 cm.

Xiadu (Yixian, Hebei) M30:28, *KG* 1965.11, Pl. 4:2. Yellow earthenware; H 55.2 cm, M 20 cm.

82: Ca. AD 65

Dayi (Sichuan), *WW* 1981.12, 41, f. 9:5. Grey earthenware; H 63 cm, M 20 cm, G 56 cm.

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M3:45, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 45, f. 39. Earthenware.

Xianshan (Xiangfan Municipality, Hubei) M3:16, *KG* 1996.5, 42, f. 12:10. Argillaceous brown earthenware; H 55.8 cm, M 16.3 cm.

83: Ca. AD 65

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M39:9, KGXB 1990.1, 118, f. 15:13. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 21.5 cm, M 13 cm, G 20 cm.

Nanshanli (Dalian Municipality, Liaoning) M5, *Nan-shan-li*, Pl. 28:8. Earthenware; H 5.2 inches.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an

Municipality, Shaanxi]) M162:3, *Longshouyuan*, 160, f. 105:9. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 20 cm, M 10 cm, G 19 cm, B 9 cm.

Sôgamni (Sekiganri) ([originally, Taedonggangmyôn M9,] Pangyori, P'yôngyang, Democratic People's Republic of Korea) M9, *Lolang*, vol. 2, 74, Pl. 506. Earthenware; H 6.6 inches, M 3.6 inches, G 6.2 inches.

84: Ca. AD 65

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 6M15:1, WW 1987.6, 16, f. 43:1. Earthenware; décor of impressed lines or cording; H 27.4 cm, M 10.5 cm, G 22.9 cm.

*Dadaosanjiazi (Qiqihaer Municipality, Heilongjiang) find 1, *KG* 1988.12, 1092, f. 4:14. Earthenware; red slip over inner and outer lip down to mid-belly; H 16.2 cm, M 7.5 cm, B 6.6 cm.

*Daodunzi (Tongxin, Ningxia) M26:1, *KGXB* 1988.3, 342, f. 8:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 26 cm, M 12 cm, G 21.2 cm, B 8 cm.

*Ivolga (Buriat Republic, Russia) M175, *Ivolga*, vol. 2, Pl. 46:14. Earthenware.

*Maowen (Sichuan) AM9:1, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 42, f. 11:23. Earthenware.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 6M499:1, WW 1987.6, 11, f. 29:2. Earthenware; décor like impressed cording; H 25.9 cm, M 11.1 cm, G 23 cm (? – WW 1987.6, 10 gives dimension as 2.3 cm).

*Shangmashi (Changhai, Liaoning) JBM16:1, *KG* 1982.6, 592, f. 2:7. Earthenware; wheel thrown; H 11.6 cm, M 5.6 cm, B 4 cm.

*Wangong (Chenbaerhu Banner, Inner Mongolia) M1B:72, *KG* 1965.6, 276, f. 4:7. Siliceous brown earthenware; red slip; H 24.8 cm, G 21.2 cm.

*Wenchuan (Sichuan) SLM3:1, *KGXB* 1973.2, 49, f. 11:3. Fine argillaceous grey earthenware; wheel thrown; H 22.5 cm, M 12 cm, G 19 cm.

85: Ca. AD 65

After: Yuantaizi (Chaoyang Municipality, Liaoning) WM7:9, WW 1990.2, 49, f. 2:23. Earthenware.

Sanfengou (Yangyuan, Hebei) M5:8, WW 1990.1, Pl. 1:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 42.2 cm, M 16 cm.

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M54:3, *KGXB* 1990.1, Pl. 17:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 18 cm, M

4 cm, G 17 cm.

86: Ca. AD 65

Dayi (Sichuan), WW 1981.12, 40, f. 6:1. Bronze; H 47 cm, M 19 cm, G 38 cm, B 23 cm.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M15:2, *KGXB* 1976.2, 131, f. 19:8. Earthenware.

*Shizhaishan (Jinning, Yunnan) M7:94, *Shizhaishan*, vol. 1, 68, f. 20:6. Bronze; H 46.8 cm, M 18.4 cm, G 39.6 cm, B 28 cm.

87: Ca. AD 67

Maquan (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M1:29, *KG* 1979.2, 127, f. 4:12. Argillaceous grey earthenware; décor of raised lines over neck and shoulder; H 31 cm, G 26.2 cm.

*Ivolga Fortress (Buriat Republic, Russia) Habitation 25, *Ivolga*, vol. 1, Pl. 46:4. Earthenware.

*Ivolga Fortress (Buriat Republic, Russia) Habitation 41, *Ivolga*, vol. 1, Pl. 84:8. Earthenware.

*Ivolga (Buriat Republic, Russia) M190, *Ivolga*, vol. 2, Pl. 54:4. Earthenware.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M120:22, *Longshouyuan*, 138, f. 92:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; impressed rope décor; H 20 cm, M 8 cm, G 17 cm, B 8 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 7M49:2, WW 1987.6, 6, f. 17:4. Earthenware; décor like impressed cording; H 25 cm, M 10.5 cm, G 20 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M151:4, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 94, f. 51:1. Grey argillaceous earthenware; décor like impressed cording; H 25.8 cm, M 11.6 cm, G 23.1 cm, B 11.6 cm.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M14:2, *KGXB* 1992.2, 246, f. 21:15. Earthenware; vessel with handles on shoulders; H 29.2 cm.

*Ulangom (Mongolia) M23, *Ulangom*, 69, f. 26:1. Earthenware.

88: Ca. AD 67

After: Fangxin (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M3:6, *KGYWW* 1992.5, 28, f. 6:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 5.3 cm, M 1.8 cm, G 4, B 1.4 cm.

89: Ca. AD 67

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M32:4, KGXB 1976.2, 138, f. 27:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 22.5 cm.

Meidai (Hohhot Municipality, Inner Mongolia), WW 1961.8, 24, f. 14. Earthenware.

Wulantaogegai (Hangjin Banner, Inner Mongolia) M3:2, NMGWWKG 1991.1, 42, f. 8:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 23.4 cm, M 13.3 cm, G 18 cm, B 13.4 cm.

90: Ca. AD 67

***Budonggou (Dongsheng Municipality, Inner Mongolia) M2:2, Tian and Guo, *E'erduosishi qingtongqi*, 400, f. 5:3.** Argillaceous earthenware; wheel thrown.

*Budonggou (Dongsheng Municipality, Inner Mongolia) M6:2, Tian and Guo, *E'erduosishi qingtongqi*, 400, f. 5:2. Argillaceous earthenware; wheel thrown; H 48 cm, M 16 cm, G 36 cm, B 14 cm.

91: Ca. AD 67

Fangxin (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M6:4, © KGYWW 1992.5, 27, f. 5:1. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. Siliceous red earthenware; yellow glaze; stamped décor; H 33 cm, M 10.8 cm, G 25.2 cm, B 13.2 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) unnumbered tomb, KGYWW 1992.5, 22, f. 2:1. Siliceous red earthenware; green glaze; stamped décor; H 36 cm, M 13.2 cm, G 28.8 cm, B 15.6 cm.

Qinchuan Machinery Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M4:16, KGYWW 1992.3, 39, f. 6:17. Earthenware; green glaze; stamped décor; H 35 cm, M 14 cm.

Qinguang (Zaoyuan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M4:4, KGYWW 1992.5, 14, f. 8:1. Siliceous red earthenware; green glaze; stamped décor; H 21.2 cm, M 12 cm, G 25.8 cm, B 13.8 cm.

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M1:3, KGXB 1990.1, 114, f. 13:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 23 cm, M 7 cm, G 17 cm.

Xianyang (Shaanxi) M36:19, KG 1982.3, 234, f. 13:2. Earthenware;

green glaze; stamped décor; H 34.5 cm, M 13.5 cm, G 31.7 cm, B 14 cm.

92: Ca. AD 67

Fangxin (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M7:5, © KGYWW 1992.5, 27, f. 5:17. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. Siliceous red earthenware; yellow glaze; stamped décor; H 30 cm, M 13.8 cm, G 23.4 cm, B 18 cm.

Daijialou (Qingzhou Municipality, Shandong) M83:1, *KG* 1995.12, 1079, f. 7:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 25.1 cm, M 13.6 cm.

Wulantaogegai (Hangjin Banner, Inner Mongolia) find #3, *NMGWWKG* 1991.1, 42, f. 8:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 25.5 cm, M 10.3 cm, G 22.5 cm, B 18.5 cm.

93: Ca. AD 67

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M38:3, *KGXB* 1976.2, 131, f. 19:1. Earthenware; low fired; H 23.5 cm.

+ Ganquan (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2:28, *WW* 1981.11, 11, f. 24. Argillaceous grey earthenware; white slip; H 32.5 cm, M 13.2 cm.

Miaonan ([New Village,] Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM528:8, *WW* 1994.7, 38, f. 3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; vessel with lugs; H 26.5 cm, M 12 cm, G 24 cm, B 13.5 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) 170:23, *KGYWW* 1992.6, 16, f. 3:6; *Longshouyuan*, 172, f. 113:2. Argillaceous red earthenware; glazed; stamped décor; H 42 cm, M 10 cm, G 30 cm, B 21 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M61:70, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 132, f. 78:2. Bronze; H 12 cm, M 5 cm, G 9.6 cm, B 6.8 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M77:01, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 105, f. 58:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 34.2 cm, M 13.2 cm, G 25.6 cm, B 15.7 cm.

Xianshan (Xiangfan Municipality, Hubei) M1:1, *KG* 1996.5, 42, f. 12:11. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 35.3 cm, M 16.7 cm.

94: Ca. AD 67

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M33:2, *KGXB* 1976.2, 131, f. 19:5. Earthenware; low fired; H 24.5 cm.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M32:7, *KGXB* 1976.2, Pl. 9:1. Argillaceous earthenware; H 22.5 cm.

Xin'an (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M2:2, *KG* 1994.3, 213, f. 8:1. Siliceous red earthenware; broken; H 17.5 cm, G 19 cm, B 14 cm.

Ziyang (Hunan) M55:18, *KGXB* 1995.4, 467, f. 17:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 30 cm, B 18 cm.

Ziyang (Hunan) M148:19, *KGXB* 1995.4, 467, f. 17:2. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 25.2 cm, B 16.4 cm.

95: Ca. AD 67

Yinqueshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M5:6, *KG* 1975.6, 368, f. 6:6. Argillaceous red earthenware; green glaze; uneven firing temperature; H 38.9 cm, G 31.8 cm.

+ Ganquan (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2:73, *WW* 1981.11, 4, f. 7 left. Red earthenware; yellow-green or yellow-brown glaze; relatively high fired; H 34 cm, M 14 cm.

96: Ca. AD 67

Baonüdu (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 85YBM104:59, *WW* 1991.10, 49, f. 29:3. Vitreous earthenware; yellow glaze; H 26.5 cm, M 11.8 cm, B 11.8 cm.

Baonüdu (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 85YBM104:60, *WW* 1991.10, 49, f. 29:4. Vitreous earthenware; yellow glaze; H 19.8 cm, M 8.1 cm, B 8.2 cm.

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) 87M2:2, *KG* 1993.4, 334, f. 6:8. Vitreous earthenware; H 27.2 cm, M 12.4 cm, G 19.8 cm, B 10.4 cm.

+ Ganquan (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2:71, *WW* 1981.11, 4, f. 7 right. Red earthenware; yellow-green or yellow-brown glaze; relatively high fired; H 21.5 cm, M 10.5 cm.

*Maowen (Sichuan) AM3:1, *WWZLCK* 7 (1983), 42, f. 11:1. Earthenware.

Ningbo (Zhejiang) Y1, *KG* 1980.4, 344, f. 3:3. Vitreous porcelaneous stoneware (white-grey body); yellow-green or red-brown glaze; fired very high.

Niulingbu (Yishui, Shandong), *KG* 1993.10, 954, f. 1:4. Stoneware (pink body); relatively high fired; H 26 cm, M 11.5 cm, G 19 cm, B 11 cm.

Pingshan (Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1 and/or 3, WW 1987.1, Pl. 4:2 left (identified only as coming from M1/M3). Earthenware; glazed.

Pingshan (Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M4:1, WW 1987.1, Pl. 4:1. Earthenware; lacquered brown; H 14 cm, M 5.3 cm, G 11 cm.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M32:3, KGXB 1976.2, 138, f. 27:3. Argillaceous earthenware; H 20 cm.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) 78M110:5, KG 1985.5, 421, f. 13:1. Earthenware; light green glaze; broken; H 18 cm, G 15.2 cm, B 8.8 cm.

Sanjiaoyu (Tianchang, Anhui) M7:1, WW 1993.9, 4, f. 6:7. Earthenware; light yellow-green glaze; H 32 cm, M 13 cm.

Sanjiaoyu (Tianchang, Anhui) M7:7, WW 1993.9, 5, f. 12. Earthenware; light yellow-green glaze; H 30.3 cm, M 8.5 cm.

Suzhou Northern Suburbs (Jiangsu) well SPJ3:3, KG 1993.3, 257, f. 5:1. Argillaceous red earthenware; relatively high fired; H 28 cm, M 12 cm, G 22 cm, B 12 cm.

Wafenyuan (Jingsha Municipality, Hubei) M2:8, KG 1995.11, 990, f. 5:2. Vitreous earthenware; green glaze; H 37.6 cm, M 16.4 cm, G 27.2 cm, B 13.6 cm.

Xicun (Xixian, Anhui) M1:1, KG 1995.11, 1050, f. 3:5. Vitreous grey earthenware; H 24.2 cm, M 11 cm, G 17.5 cm, B 9.8 cm.

Xicun (Xixian, Anhui) M1:3, KG 1995.11, 1050, f. 3:2. Vitreous grey earthenware; H 36 cm, M 13.5 cm, G 24.5 cm, B 11.8 cm.

Zhaoxian (Nanchang Municipality, Jiangxi), KG 1981.5, 427, f. 3:2. Earthenware; brown glaze; H 25.5 cm, M 10.5 cm, B 11 cm.

97: Ca. AD 73

Beizhuang (Dingxian, Hebei) M1:158, KGXB 1964.2, 135, f. 8:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; red slip.

Heshanmiao (Yiyang, Hunan) M22:20 (or M22:10, contradiction between text and figure caption), KGXB 1981.4, 538, f. 15:13. Grey earthenware; fired at moderate temperatures; H 35 cm, M 12.5 cm, G 20.6 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) GM210:9, WW 1987.6, 50, f. 98:2. Earthenware; H 34 cm, M 14.8 cm, G 25.5 cm, B 14.4 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) WM14:76, WW 1983.4, 31, f. 13. Earthenware; engobe décor; H 44 cm, M 16.5 cm, G 28 cm, B

15.5 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) WM14:77, WW 1983.4, 31, f. 12. Red earthenware; green glaze; vessel contained millet; H 49 cm, M 17.3 cm, G 29 cm, B 20 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1008:12, *Shaogou*, Pl. 21:3. Earthenware; glazed; H 45.8 cm, G 29.5 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1008:16, *Shaogou*, Pl. 19A:7. Earthenware; engobe décor.

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M87:19, KGXB 1990.1, 114, f. 13:6. Earthenware; green glaze; H 39.5 cm, M 17 cm, G 28 cm.

+ Tomb of Yao Xiaojing (Yanshi [Luoyang Municipality, Henan]) 90YCBDM1:20, KG 1992.3, 229, f. 2:5. Grey argillaceous earthenware; grass-green glaze; line décor; two moulded animal-masks holding rings were applied; H 46.6 cm, M 17.7 cm, G 32.5 cm, B 18.3 cm.

+ Tomb of Yao Xiaojing (Yanshi [Luoyang Municipality, Henan]) 90YCBDM1:23, KG 1992.3, 229, f. 2:6. Grey argillaceous earthenware; black glaze; line décor; H 40.5 cm, M 15 cm, G 26.5 cm, B 16.5 cm.

98: Ca. AD 87

Baonüdü (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) K1:5, WW 1991.10, 58, f. 48:1. Bronze; H 44 cm (including suspension chain), M 12.3 cm, B 17.6 cm.

Datagang (Dayong, Hunan) DM25:26, KG 1994.12, 1093, f. 23:1. Bronze; H 36 cm, M 17.6 cm, G 28.8 cm, B 17.6 cm.

Fengmenling (Hepu, Guangxi) M10:12, KG 1995.3, Pl. 8:7. Bronze; H 37.2 cm, M 17 cm, B 21 cm.

Fengmenling (Hepu, Guangxi) M10:13, KG 1995.3, Pl. 7:4. Bronze; H 30.5 cm, M 12 cm, G 22 cm, B 18 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4013:17, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 321, f. 191. Earthenware.

Lequn (Zhaoping, Guangxi) M12:3, KGXB 1989.2, Pl. 4:3. Vitreous grey earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 12.9 cm, M 6.2 cm.

Nanhai (Guangdong) M3, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 96, f. 10 left. Grey earthenware; yellowish glaze; H 26 cm, M 13.6 cm, G 21 cm, B 14 cm.

Sôgamni (Sekiganri) ([originally, Taedonggangmyôn M9,] Pangyori, P'yôngyang, Democratic People's Republic of Korea) M9, *Lolang*, vol. 2, 27, Pl. 271. Bronze; H 14.4 inches, M 5.17 inches, G 9.7 inches, B

7.3 inches.

Tangshan (Nanchang Municipality, Jiangxi) M3, *KG* 1981.5, 428, f. 5. Bronze; H 30 cm, M 11.5 cm, B 19 cm.

Wulipai (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M007, *WW* 1960.3, 42, f. 13. Bronze; H 22.5 cm, M 10.3 cm, G 17 cm.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M116:15, *KGXB* 1978.4, 476, f. 12:14. Grey argillaceous earthenware; H 20.8 cm, M 8.8 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M466:1, *KGXB* 1995.4, 468, f. 18:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 34 cm.

+ Old City of Zuocheng (Cangshan, Shandong) habitation site, *Zhongguo qingtongqi, Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji*, vol. 12: *Qin, Han*, 69, Pl. 67. Bronze; vessel inscribed with year of production and name of commissioning client (Lord Huangyang of Jiangling); H 36 cm, M 16 cm, B 21.5 cm.

99: Ca. AD 90

Beiyingsi (Liangcheng, Inner Mongolia) M18:5, *NMGWWKG* 1991.1, 30, f. 7:7. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; white slip; engobe décor; high fired; H 24.5 cm, G 20.5 cm.

100: Ca. AD 90

Beiyingsi (Liangcheng, Inner Mongolia) M18:2, *NMGWWKG* 1991.1, 30, f. 7:6. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; white slip; engobe décor; high fired; H 22.8 cm, M 13.7 cm, G 23 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4013:17E, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 95:2. Earthenware.

Juxian (Shandong) find, *KG* 1995.11, 984, f. 1 (called “*guan*” in report). Siliceous grey earthenware; H 24 cm, M 13.9 cm, B 14.5 cm.

Muqian (Weishan, Shandong) M3:2, *KG* 1995.11, 999, f. 3:6. Earthenware; H 30.5 cm, M 15 cm, G 23.5 cm, B 14 cm.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) 78M109:15, *KG* 1985.5, 419, f. 11:6. Red earthenware; red-brown glaze; H 26 cm, M 13.5 cm, G 25.5 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M59A:37, *Shaogou*, 108, f. 52:9. Earthenware; red engobe décor; H 19.3 cm, G 16.9 cm.

Wafenyuan (Jingsha Municipality, Hubei) M3:4, *KG* 1995.11, 991, f. 6:2. Earthenware; yellow-brown glaze (flaking); H 39.2 cm, M 18.8 cm, G 35.2 cm.

Xin'an (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M3:1, *KG* 1994.3, 213, f. 8:3. Grey-white stoneware; light yellow glaze; broken; H 17.5 cm, G 20.5 cm, B 13 cm.

101: Ca. AD 90

Baonüdün (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 85YBM104:49, *WW* 1991.10, 49, f. 29:8. Vitreous earthenware; yellow glaze; H 35.8 cm, M 15.8 cm, B 13.6 cm.

Baonüdü (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 85YBM104:47, *WW* 1991.10, 49, f. 29:5. Vitreous earthenware; yellow glaze; H 45.2 cm, M 16 cm, B 20.2 cm.

Baonüdü (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 85YBM104:55, *WW* 1991.10, 49, f. 29:1. Vitreous earthenware; yellow glaze; H 40.2 cm, M 17.2 cm, B 15.8 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2030:38, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 62:1. Bronze; H 41 cm, G 31 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2060:39, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 56:3. Earthenware.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2060:49, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 56:4. Earthenware; H 49 cm, G 33.5 cm.

Lijiaoqiao (Sanmenxia Municipality, Henan) M5:4, *HXKG* 1994.1, 18, f. 7:10. Red earthenware; green glaze.

Shixing (Guangdong) M5:1, *KG* 1993.5, 391, f. 8:7. Earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 23.5 cm, M 10.5 cm, G 20 cm, B 11.5 cm.

Shixing (Guangdong) M9:8, *KG* 1993.5, 391, f. 8:9. Earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 25 cm, M 10 cm, G 21.5 cm, B 13 cm.

Wafenyuan (Jingsha Municipality, Hubei) M4:55, *KG* 1995.11, 992, f. 7:8. Earthenware; H 39 cm, M 18 cm, G 35.2 cm.

Yinchuan (Ningxia), *WW* 1978.8, 90, f. 3. Argillaceous red earthenware; red glaze; H 21.7 cm.

102: Ca. AD 90

Baonüdün (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 85YBM104:6, *WW* 1991.10, 41, f. 3:2. Bronze; inscribed; H 31.1 cm, M 13.1 cm, B 16.7 cm.

Sanjiaoyu (Tianchang, Anhui) M1:202, *WW* 1993.9, 7, f. 16:9. Bronze; inscribed; H 45 cm, M 16.5 cm.

103: Ca. AD 90

Tangpai (Hepu, Guangxi) M2A:3, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 48, f. 3:8. Earthenware.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1174:40, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 18:6. Earthenware; inscribed; H 23.4 cm, G 23.6 cm.

104: Ca. AD 90

Tangpai (Hepu, Guangxi) M4:5, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 48, f. 3:5. Earthenware.

Hepu (Guangxi), *KG* 1972.5, Pl. 5:3. Vitreous grey earthenware; H 34.3 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M7:5, *KGXB* 1995.4, 468, f. 18:6. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 29.2 cm, B 21.6 cm.

105: Ca. AD 90

Tangpai (Hepu, Guangxi) M2A:15, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 48, f. 3:9. Earthenware.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2022:25, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 216, f. 122:2. Earthenware; G 15.5 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2046:26, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 216, f. 122:1. Earthenware.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2046:27, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 56:6. Earthenware; G 19.1 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M3020:39, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, Pl. 75:11. Earthenware; H 29.4 cm, G 15.5 cm.

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M3:42, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 40, f. 22:5. Earthenware.

106: Ca. AD 90

Nanhai (Guangdong) M4, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 92, f. 4:7. Vitreous light grey or lower-fired brick yellow earthenware; light green or brownish yellow glaze; H 32 cm, M 14 cm, G 24 cm, B 14.2 cm.

Fengqing (Zhaoping, Guangxi) M7:26, *KGXB* 1989.2, Pl. 4:4. Vitreous grey earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 23.8 cm, M 11.4 cm.

Futianzhen (Boluo, Guangdong) M1:11, *KG* 1993.4, 383, f. 4:1.

Argillaceous grey earthenware; broken; H (broken) 22.6 cm, M 11.2 cm, G 18 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4019:11, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 320, f. 189:3. Earthenware; H 31.1 cm, G 22 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4024:33, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 320, f. 189:4. Earthenware.

Shafu (Shunde, Guangdong) SM3:2, *WW* 1991.4, 50, f. 5. Argillaceous earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 29.5 cm, M 11.6 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M184:14, *KGXB* 1995.4, 468, f. 18:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 34 cm.

107: Ca. AD 90

Jiutou (Liuzhou Municipality, Guangxi) M1, *WW* 1984.4, 51, f. 2:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; yellow-brown glaze; relatively high fired; H 27 cm, M 10.2 cm, G 20.4 cm.

Chencun (Shunde, Guangdong), *WW* 1991.12, 73, f. 1:2. Vitreous argillaceous light yellow earthenware; yellow-brown glaze; fired high; H 28 cm, M 10.8 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2017:18, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 56:1. Earthenware; inscribed.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M3029:22, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 84:2. Earthenware; H 10.3 cm.

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M6:11, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 40, f. 22:6. Earthenware.

Honghuagang (Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong), *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 56:2. Earthenware; inscribed.

Jijiawan (Binzhou Municipality, Shandong), *WW* 1990.2, 69, f. 8. Grey earthenware; H 45 cm, M 15.5 cm.

Shafu (Shunde, Guangdong) SM1:1, *WW* 1991.4, 48, f. 1:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; friable; H 41.2 cm, M 12.5 cm.

Shafu (Shunde, Guangdong) SM1:2, *WW* 1991.4, 48, f. 1:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; friable; H 33.5 cm, M 13.5 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M196:22, *KGXB* 1995.4, 467, f. 17:9. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 30 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M300:13, *KGXB* 1995.4, 468, f. 18:1. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 34 cm.

108: Ca. AD 90

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M5:20, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 34, f. 9. Earthenware.

Dongyang (Xuyi, Jiangsu) M4:1, *KG* 1979.5, 422, f. 10:1. Bronze; H 35.5 cm, M 14 cm, G 27.5 cm, B 18.2 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2010:15, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 214, f. 120:2. Earthenware.

Hetoushan (Wuzhou Municipality, Guangxi) M2, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 139, f. 13. Earthenware; H 25.8 cm, M 10.3 cm, G 22 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M42:7, *Longshouyuan*, 65, f. 41:7. Argillaceous grey earthenware; broken; H 45 cm (broken), G 40 cm, B 20 cm.

Tianzifen (Wulong, Sichuan), *KGYYW* 1990.6, 44, f. 8:4. Red earthenware; brown glaze; H 33 cm, M 16 cm, B 16.6 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M8:20, *KGXB* 1995.4, 467, f. 17:10. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 28.4 cm.

109: Ca. AD 90

Tangpai (Hepu, Guangxi) M2A:4, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 48, f. 3:6. Earthenware.

Datagang (Dayong, Hunan) DM56:3, *KG* 1994.12, 1093, f. 23:2. Bronze; broken; H 28 cm, G 27.2 cm, B 12.8 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2055:13, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 214, f. 120:1. Earthenware.

Hepu (Guangxi), *KG* 1972.5, Pl. 5:4. Vitreous grey earthenware; H 35–49 cm.

*Lijiashan (Jiangchuan, Yunnan) M18:2, *KGXB* 1975.2, 129, f. 34:4. Bronze; H 29.2 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M183:3, *Shaogou*, Pl. 19A:1. Earthenware; yellow engobe décor.

Tangpai (Hepu, Guangxi) M1:22, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 48, f. 3:7. Earthenware.

Yangling (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) accompanying cemetery M85, *Han Yangling kaogu chenlie guan*, 117, f. 196. Earthenware; red engobe décor; H 21.7 cm, M 8.4 cm, G 17 cm, B 11 cm.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) *M94:4, *KGXB* 1978.4, Pl. 3:3. Grey

argillaceous earthenware; incised/impressed line décor; H 23.5 cm, G 16 cm.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M117:6, *KGXB* 1978.4, 476, f. 12:13. Grey argillaceous earthenware; incised/impressed line décor; H 22 cm, G 17 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M419:29, *KGXB* 1995.4, 467, f. 17:6. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 29.2 cm.

110: Ca. AD 90

***Lijiashan (Jiangchuan, Yunnan) M17:11**, *KGXB* 1975.2, 129, f. 34:5. Bronze; vessel with lid; lid surmounted by column topped with bull cast in the round; lid (including column) and body with geometric décor; H 28.5 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5080:23, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 131:4. Earthenware; vessel with two lugs, lid; H 37 cm, G 21.7 cm.

111: Ca. AD 96

+**Sujiayituo (Suide, Shaanxi)**, *WW* 1983.5, 32, f. 12. Grey earthenware; H 33 cm, M 13 cm, B 17 cm.

112: Ca. AD 101

After: Dongcheng (Suizhou Municipality, Hubei) M1:27, *WW* 1993.7, 56, f. 7:8 (listed as “*guan*” in report). Earthenware; broken; H 27 cm, M 14.5 cm, G 22.3 cm, B 11.6 cm.

Liujiajudui (Huainan Municipality, Anhui), *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 111, f. 31. Vitreous earthenware; red-brown glaze; H 35.5 cm, M 17.8 cm.

113: Ca. AD 101

+**Danyang (Zhenjiang Municipality, Jiangsu)**, *KG* 1978.3, 155, f. 2. Bronze; H 38 cm.

Gongxian (Henan), *KG* 1974.2, 124, f. 2:1. Bronze; inscribed; H 40 cm, M 11 cm, B 22 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5069:67, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 131:2. Earthenware; inscribed.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M8:2, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 107, f. 60:5. Earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 32.6 cm, M 11.8 cm, G 23.2 cm, B 13.6 cm.

Taoyuan (Hunan), *KG* 1993.7, 658, f. 1:1. Bronze; broken; H 35 cm, M 12 cm, G 23.2 cm, B 22 cm.

114: Ca. AD 109

Fanji (Xinye, Henan) M37:4, *KGXB* 1990.4, 490, f. 12:11. Earthenware; H 20.3 cm, M 8.3 cm, G 16 cm.

115: Ca. AD 109

Baizhuang (Jiaozuo Municipality, Henan) M6, © *KG* 1995.5, 400, f. 5:5. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Earthenware; H 40 cm, M 18 cm, B 18 cm.

116: Ca. AD 109

+ **Haoba (Shangyu, Zhejiang) M52:2**, *WW* 1983.6, 42, f. 5:1. Vitreous porcelaneous stoneware (grey kaolin body); fired high; H 34 cm, M 15.2 cm, G 25.5 cm, B 17 cm.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M18:7, *KGXB* 1976.2, 138, f. 27:14. Argillaceous earthenware; red-brown glaze; H 30.7 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M364:5, *KGXB* 1995.4, 467, f. 17:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 24 cm.

117: Ca. AD 109

After: **Dongcheng (Suizhou Municipality, Hubei) M1:47**, *WW* 1993.7, 56, f. 7:1. Earthenware; yellow-brown glaze; stamped décor; H 33 cm, M 16 cm, G 23 cm, B 17.8 cm

Dongcheng (Suizhou Municipality, Hubei) M1:33, *WW* 1993.7, 56, f. 7:2. Earthenware; yellow-brown glaze; stamped décor; H 34.5 cm, M 16 cm, G 23 cm, B 17.8 cm.

118: Ca. AD 132

After: **Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M7:7**, *KGXB* 1992.2, 248, f. 22:5. Earthenware; H 27 cm (broken), M 13.8 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1040:11, *Shaogou*, 108, f. 52:10. Earthenware; broken; G 18.5 cm.

119: Ca. AD 135

+ **Tomb of Liu Qi (Yuemiao [Huayin, Shaanxi]) M1:161**, *KGYYWW* 1986.5, 47, f. 2:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; green glaze.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) *MB-1:7, *Shangsunjiazhai*, Pl. 31:1; *WW* 1979.4, 51, f. 5:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 34.5 cm, M 11.4 cm, B 14.6 cm.

120: Ca. AD 135

Jining (Shandong), © *KG* 1994.2, 131, f. 6:1. Reproduced with permission, *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo*. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 41 cm, M 20 cm, B 20.9 cm.

121: Ca. AD 135

+ **Tomb of Liu Qi (Yuemiao [Huayin, Shaanxi]) M1:168**, *KGYYWW* 1986.5, 47, f. 2:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; dark green glaze; H 32 cm, M 16 cm, G 21.5 cm, B 13 cm.

Dingxian (Hebei) M43, *WW* 1973.11, 17, f. 24. Vitreous dark red earthenware; relatively high fired; H 28 cm, M 13.7 cm, G 27.6 cm.

122: Ca. AD 135

Dongyuan (Boxian, Anhui) M1, *WW* 1978.8, 40, f. 5. Earthenware; black slip; colored engobe décor.

Dongguan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan), *WW* 1973.2, 62, f. 14. Earthenware; H 47 cm, M 17.5 cm, G 27 cm.

Jining (Shandong), *KG* 1994.2, 131, f. 6:5. Argillaceous earthenware; black slip; red engobe décor; H 45 cm, M 17.1 cm, B 19.4 cm.

+ **Tomb of Liu Qi (Yuemiao [Huayin, Shaanxi]) M1:66**, *KGYYWW* 1986.5, 47, f. 2:1. Fine argillaceous grey earthenware; traces of color; H 46.8 cm, M 16.5 cm, G 28.8 cm, B 11.5 cm.

Qilihe (Jianxi, Luoyang Municipality, Henan), *KG* 1975.2, 120, f. 7:5. Earthenware; glazed; H 36 cm, M 13 cm, G 24 cm.

123: Ca. AD 170

+ **Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1037:34**, *Shaogou*, 104, f. 51:8. Earthenware; traces of color; H 43.4 cm, G 27.5 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1035:20, *Shaogou*, Pl.

19C:1. Earthenware; engobe décor.

Tomb of Wang Dang (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1:4, WW 1980.6, 53, f. 2:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 44.5 cm, M 15 cm, G 26 cm.

124: Ca. AD 175

After: Pengshan (Sichuan) M128:14, Pengshan, 31, f. 33:1. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 55.2 cm, M 17.2 cm, G 36.8 cm, B 16 cm.

Shiyang (Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan), KGYWW 1983.2, 27, f. 2:5. Argillaceous brown earthenware; relatively high fired; H 38 cm, M 14.4 cm, B 17 cm.

125: Ca. AD 175

Linjiangzhilu (Chongqing Municipality, Sichuan) M3:7, KG 1986.3, 235, f. 5:3. Bronze; traces of gilding; H 40.4 cm, M 12.9 cm.

Baimashi (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IIM12:2, KGXB 1995.2, 226, f. 18:22. Argillaceous grey earthenware; yellow-brown glaze; H 35.6 cm, M 15.2 cm, B 15.2 cm.

126: Ca. AD 175

Linhe (Shunyi, Beijing Municipality) M1:45, KG 1977.6, 378, f. 2:1. Earthenware; green glaze; H 42 cm, M 16.4 cm.

Balimiao (Yanggu, Shandong) M1, WW 1989.8, 49, f. 3:5. Argillaceous red earthenware; broken; H 37.2 cm, M 16.8 cm.

Fenghuangshan Park (Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan) M1:1, WW 1992.1, 91, f. 5:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 49.5 cm, M 20.8 cm, B 23.2 cm.

Hewang (Yingyang, Henan) CHM1, WW 1960.5, 63, f. 6:5. Red earthenware; green glaze; H 30.5 cm, M 12.5 cm.

Pangjiasi (Ningjin, Shandong), WWZLCK 4 (1981), Pl. 14:9. Earthenware; glazed; H 48 cm, M 17 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) *MB-1, WW 1979.4, 51, f. 5:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 32.5 cm, M 11.9 cm, B 16.7 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M2:13, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 107, f. 60:2. Earthenware; glazed; H 30.4 cm, M 11.6 cm, G 17.6 cm, B 12.8 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M4:2, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 107, f. 60:4. Earthenware; dark green/brown-green glaze; broken; H 28.8 cm, G 17.8 cm, B 17.2 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M4:28, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 107, f. 60:6. Earthenware; yellow-green glaze oxidizing to silver (i.e., lead flux glaze?); H 40.6 cm, M 16 cm, G 18.4 cm, B 16.8 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M6:20, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 107, f. 60:1. Earthenware; dark green/brown-green glaze; H 46.2 cm, M 15.8 cm, G 16.4 cm, B 16.8 cm.

Shibeizhai (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi), WW 1960.5, 70, f. 4. Earthenware; green glaze; H 42.5 cm, M 15.5 cm, G 34.5 cm.

Water Treatment Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M13:6, KGYWW 1990.6, 49, f. 6:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 32 cm, M 11.2 cm.

127: Ca. AD 175

*After: Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) *MB-1:9*, WW 1979.4, 51, f. 5:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 36.2 cm, M 12.7 cm, B 17.3 cm.

128: Ca. AD 175

*After: Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) *MB-1:8*, WW 1979.4, 51, f. 5:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 34.4 cm, M 12.8 cm, G 14.2 cm.

129: Ca. AD 175

Laodaosi (Mianxian, Shaanxi) M3, KG 1985.5, 444, f. 23:9. Red earthenware; H 33 cm, M 15 cm, B 17 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) *MB-1, WW 1979.4, 51, f. 5:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 30 cm, M 12.6 cm, B 14.9 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M35:19, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 106, f. 59:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 38.8 cm, M 21.2 cm, G 26.8 cm, B 20 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M67:1, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 106, f. 59:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 29.2 cm, M 14.8 cm, G 18 cm, B 16 cm.

130: Ca. AD 176

Water Treatment Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M18:44, KGYWW 1990.6, 49, f. 6:4. Argillaceous red earthenware; green glaze; H 42 cm, M 15 cm.

Dongdaying (Gaixian, Liaoning) M1:10, WW 1993.4, 67, f. 28:2. Earthenware; H 34 cm, M 14 cm, B 15.4 cm.

Liujiaqu (Sanmenxia Municipality, Henan) M3:15, HXKG 1994.1, 25, f. 4:8. Argillaceous red earthenware; green glaze; H 49 cm, M 10 cm.

Miaonan ([New Village,] Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM528:7, WW 1994.7, 39, f. 5:2. Argillaceous red earthenware; green glaze; H 40.4 cm, M 13.5 cm, G 28.5 cm, B 17.7 cm.

Qinchuan Machinery Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M8:1, KGYWW 1992.3, 39, f. 6:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 31.8 cm, M 14 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M113:13, *Shaogou*, 104, f. 51:6. Earthenware; H 34.6 cm, G 25.3 cm.

Zhangwan (Lingbao, Henan) M3:49, WW 1975.11, 92, f. 54. Earthenware; green glaze.

131: Ca. AD 176

After: Pengshan (Sichuan) M666:40, Pengshan, 31, f. 33:2. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 44.5 cm, M 20 cm, G 34 cm, B 28 cm.

132: Ca. AD 176

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 5M36:1, WW 1987.6, 50, f. 98:1. Earthenware; green lead glaze (lead flux specified in text); H 33.7 cm, M 16.5 cm, G 24.1 cm, B 16 cm.

Hewang (Yingyang, Henan) CHM1, WW 1960.5, 63, f. 6:4. Grey earthenware; black coloring on the exterior (slip?); red engobe décor; H 42 cm, M 16.2 cm.

Holingor ([Helin'ge'er,] Inner Mongolia), *Holingor*, 4, f. 6:8. Earthenware; green glaze, now silvery (i.e., lead flux glaze?); broken.

Linhe (Shunyi, Beijing Municipality) M1:5, KG 1977.6, 378, f. 2:2. Grey earthenware; H 27.6 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1009A:2, *Shaogou*, Pl.

19A:5. Earthenware; engobe décor.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1019:14, *Shaogou*, 104, f. 51:5. Earthenware; H 38 cm, G 26.5 cm.

Xiadu (Yixian, Hebei) M38:20, *KG* 1965.11, 560, f. 17:9. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 44.2 cm, M 16.2 cm.

133: Ca. AD 176

Puzhen (Hanzhong Municipality, Shaanxi) 85M1:2, *KGYYW* 1989.6, 39, f. 9:5. Vitreous earthenware; yellow glaze; H 32 cm, M 17 cm, G 25.7 cm, B 16.8 cm.

Laodaosi (Mianxian, Shaanxi) M2, *KG* 1985.5, 441, f. 19:1. Red earthenware; green lead glaze (lead flux specified in report); H 39 cm, B 19 cm.

134: Ca. AD 179

+Tomb of Wang Dang (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1:10, *WW* 1980.6, 53, f. 2:3. Red earthenware; glazed.

Miaonan ([New Village,] Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM528:6, *WW* 1994.7, 39, f. 5:1. Argillaceous red earthenware; brown-green glaze; H 45.4 cm, M 14.7 cm, G 29.2 cm, B 17.7 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M2:8, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 107, f. 60:3. Earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 40.1 cm, M 14 cm, G 25.6 cm, B 14.6 cm.

135: Ca. AD 190

After: +*Chuping yuannian* (Han city of Chang'an [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]), *WW* 1987.6, 72, f. 1-2. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; inscribed.

Guan and other pots

1: Ca. 217 BC

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M29:2, *KG* 1981.1, 41, f. 21:4. Earthenware; H 27 cm, M 11.8 cm, G 29 cm.

Fangmatan (Tianshui Municipality, Gansu) M5:2, *WW* 1989.2, 5, f. 10:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware.

Mujiangfen (Yunmeng, Hubei) M2:6, *WW* 1992.1, 80, f. 6:5.

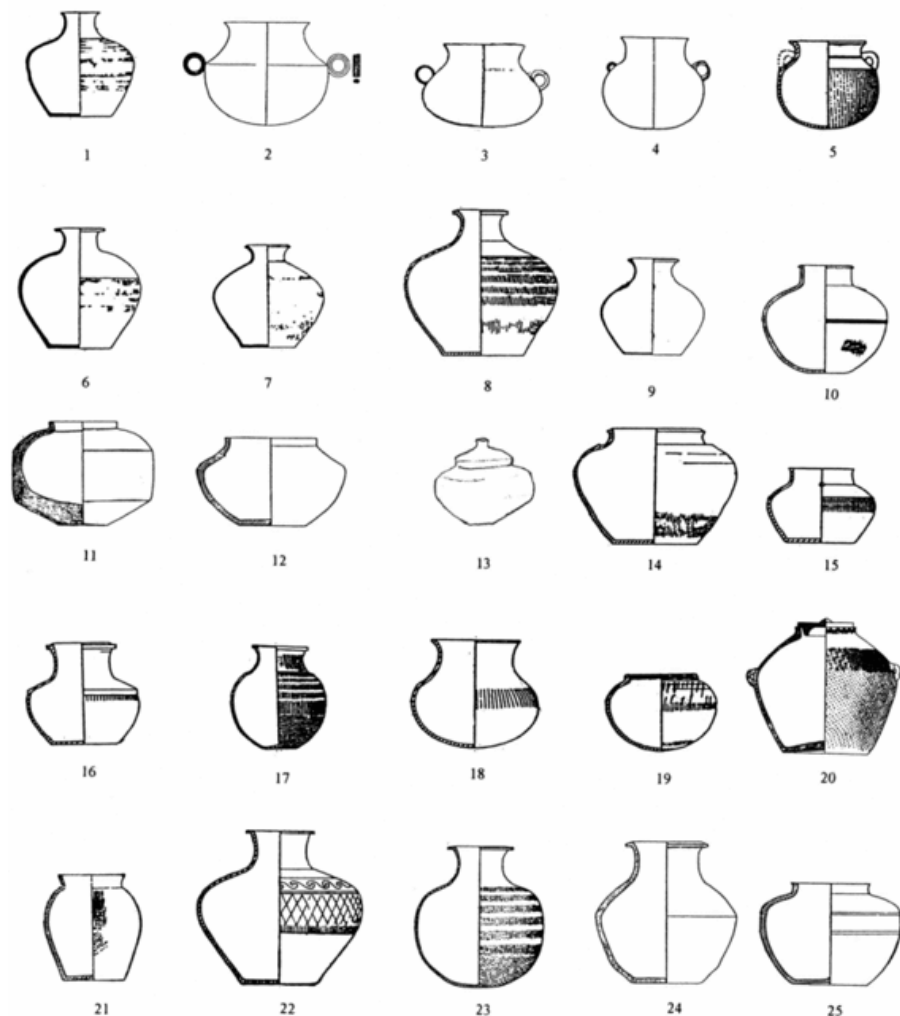
Earthenware; H 30 cm, M 14 cm, B 16 cm.

+ Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M11:41, *Shuihudi*, 47, f. 69.
Earthenware; stamped inscription; H 32.5 cm, M 14.4 cm, B 14.8 cm.

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M51:7, *KGXB* 1986.4, 506, f. 30:10.
Earthenware; H 35 cm, M 14.5 cm, B 17 cm.

Yunxian (Hubei) M301:5, *KGXJK* 6 (1989), Pl. 15:5. Argillaceous
grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 31 cm, G 40 cm.

Guan and other pots





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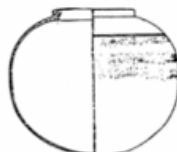
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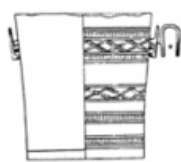
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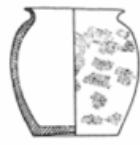
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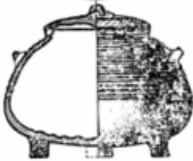
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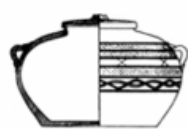
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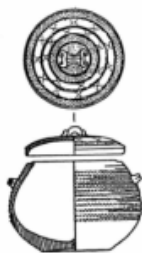
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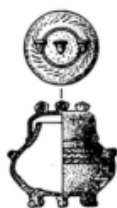
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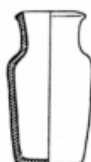
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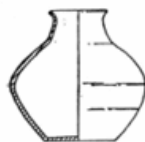
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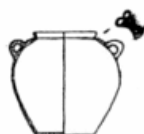
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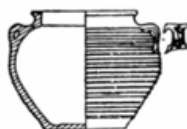
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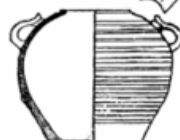
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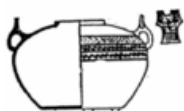
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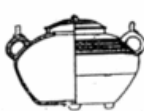
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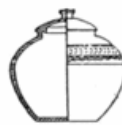
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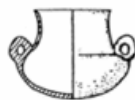
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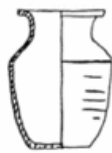
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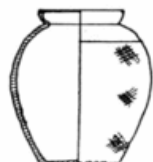
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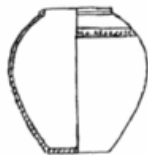
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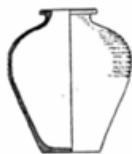
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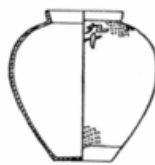
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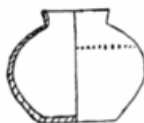
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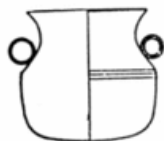
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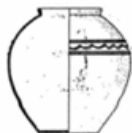
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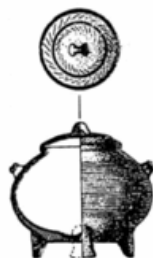
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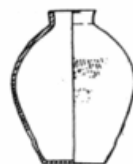
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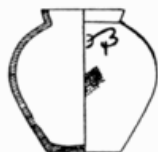
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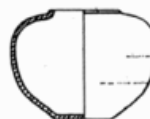
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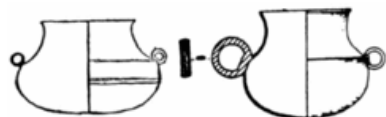
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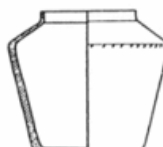
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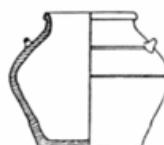
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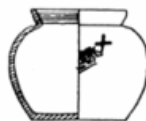
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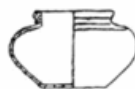
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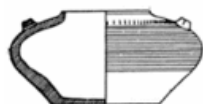
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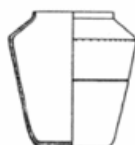
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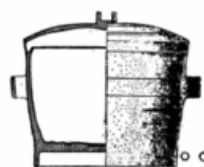
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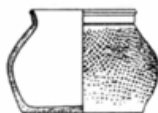
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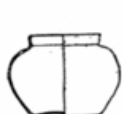
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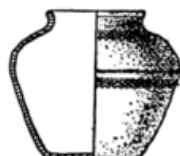
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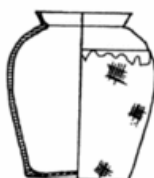
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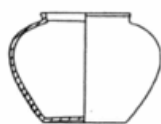
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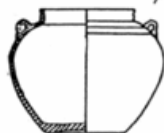
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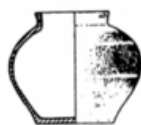
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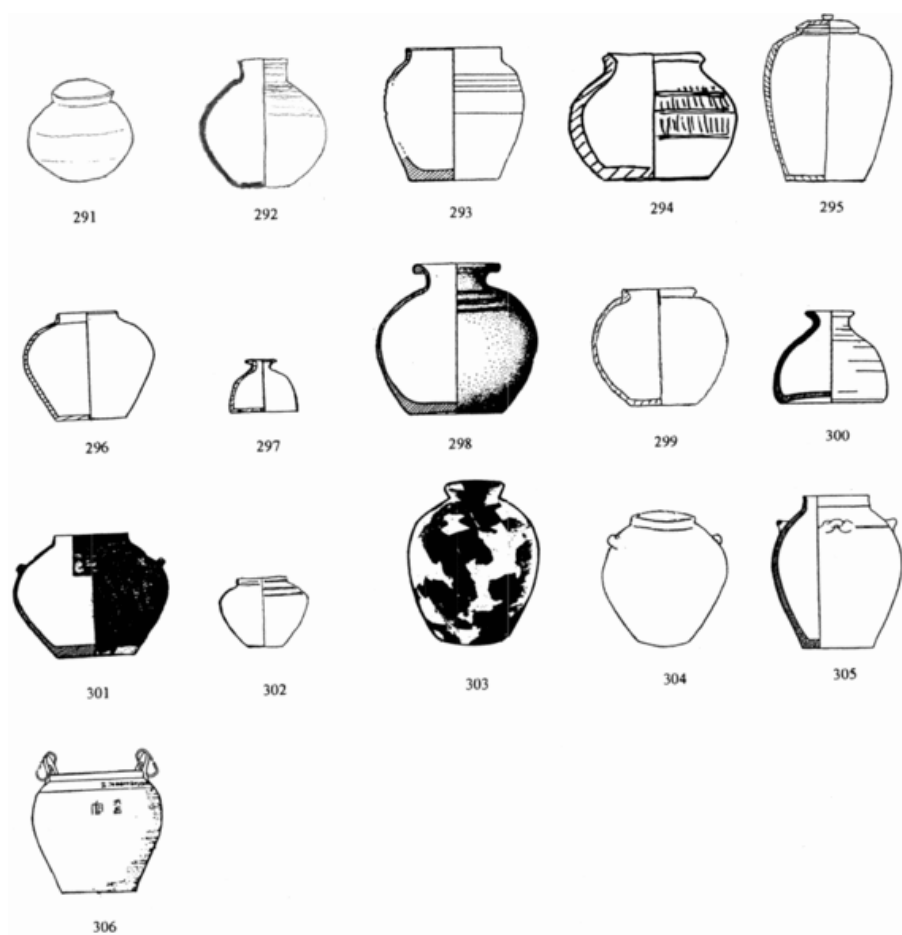
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2: Ca. 210 BC

+ **Miyang (Henan) M3:11**, WW 1980.9, 16, f. 4:3. Bronze; H 15.3 cm, M 13.2 cm, G 18.6 cm.

Dafentou (Yunmeng, Hubei) M1:47, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 14, f. 41:8 (see also WW 1973.9, 33, f. 33, identified as Dafentou M1). Bronze; H 15.6 cm, M 11.8 cm.

Zhangjiashan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M127:2, WW 1992.2, 9, f. 32. Bronze; H 15 cm, M 12.8 cm.

3: Ca. 173 BC

Yunxian (Hubei) M308:3, KGXJK 6 (1989), 166, f. 20:4. Bronze; H 10.5 cm, M 12 cm.

4: Ca. 173 BC

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M39:15, KG 1981.1, 40, f. 19:5. Bronze; H 16.4 cm, M 12.4 cm.

Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) G67, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 280, f. 194:2. Bronze; vessel contained bird bones and wood ash; H 15 cm, M 12.3 cm, G 18 cm.

Shangjiao (Lintong, Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M18:38C, *KGYYW* 1980.2, 46, f. 5:13. Bronze; soot marks on bottom of vessel; H 13.2 cm, M 10.6 cm.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M11:1, *KGXB* 1992.2, 233, f. 9:17. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 18 cm, M 15.5 cm.

5: Ca. 173 BC

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M28:3, KGXB 1986.4, 509, f. 33:2. Earthenware; H 13.2 cm, M 12 cm.

Yunxian (Hubei) M305:5, *KGXJK* 6 (1989), 164, f. 19:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; vessel with one handle; H 14.5 cm, M 14 cm.

6: Ca. 173 BC

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M39:2, KG 1981.1, 41, f. 21:1. Earthenware; H 32.7 cm, M 11 cm, G 31 cm.

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M3:13, *Shuihudi*, 47, f. 66. Earthenware; inscribed; H 34.5 cm, M 14.2 cm, B 19 cm.

Yangjiashan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M135:78, *WW* 1993.8, 7, f. 13:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; grey-brown slip; wheel thrown; H 34.1 cm, M 11.2 cm, G 40 cm, B 18.7 cm.

7: Ca. 173 BC

Dafentou (Yunmeng, Hubei) M1, WW 1973.9, 29, f. 11. Argillaceous grey earthenware; lacquered brown; H 22.6 cm, M 13.5 cm, B 13.6 cm.

Dafentou (Yunmeng, Hubei) M1:48, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 14, f. 41:19. Grey earthenware; lacquered black; H 27.2 cm, M 12.4 cm, B 14.8 cm.

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M29:34, *Gaotai*,

Pl. 10:6. Grey earthenware; black lacquer exterior; raised line and incised décor; H 33.6 cm, M 14 cm, G 32.8 cm, B 14.4 cm.

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M47:1, *KGXB* 1986.4, 506, f. 30:12. Earthenware; stamped inscription; H 28.6 cm, M 13 cm, B 15.6 cm.

Yunxian (Hubei) M230:4, *KGXJK* 6 (1989), 164, f. 19:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 26 cm, M 9.6 cm.

+ Zhangjiashan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M136:31, *WW* 1992.2, 8, f. 24. Argillaceous grey earthenware; black slip; H 28.6 cm, M 13.2 cm.

8: Ca. 173 BC

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M45:8, *KGXB* 1986.4, 506, f. 30:6. Earthenware; stamped inscription; H 32 cm, M 12.8 cm, B 17.8 cm.

Fenghuangshan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M8, *WW* 1974.6, 57, f. 22. Grey earthenware; with lid.

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M33:35, *Gaotai*, 70, f. 62:2. Grey argillaceous earthenware; black slip; geometric décor; vessel with lid; H 34 cm, M 13.6 cm, G 35 cm, B 13.6 cm.

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M14:2, *Shuihudi*, 47, f. 70. Earthenware; stamped inscription; H 28 cm, M 13 cm, B 14.5 cm.

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M33:37, *KG* 1981.1, 41, f. 21:7. Earthenware; stamped inscription; H 29.6 cm, M 11.5 cm, G 30 cm.

9: Ca. 173 BC

Dafentou (Yunmeng, Hubei) M1, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 14, f. 41:18. Grey earthenware; lacquered black; H 26.2 cm, M 13.6 cm, B 15 cm.

Fangmatan (Tianshui Municipality, Gansu) M12:7, *WW* 1989.2, 5, f. 10:14. Grey argillaceous earthenware; broken; H 13.8 cm, B 9.3 cm.

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M6:93, *Gaotai*, 70, f. 62:4. Grey argillaceous earthenware; black lacquer exterior; vessel with lid; H 27.4 cm, M 12.8 cm, G 29 cm, B 15.5 cm.

Mujiangfen (Yunmeng, Hubei) M1:7, *WW* 1992.1, 80, f. 6:7. Earthenware; H 13.5 cm, M 10 cm.

10: Ca. 173 BC

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) 78M97:17, *KG* 1985.5,

416, f. 6:6. Earthenware; H 29 cm, M 16 cm, G 32 cm.

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M28:120, *Gaotai*, 73, f. 63:5. Grey argillaceous earthenware tempered with fine sand; impressed cord-like décor; inscribed; H 29.6 cm, M 16.4 cm, G 31.7 cm.

11: Ca. 173 BC

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) 78M97:21, *KG* 1985.5, 416, f. 6:2. Earthenware; H 12 cm, M 7.6 cm, G 15.2 cm.

Fenghuangshan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M8, *WW* 1974.6, 58, f. 28. Grey (?) earthenware.

Suizhou (Hubei), *WW* 1989.8, 47, f. 9. Argillaceous earthenware; wheel thrown; relatively high fired; H 44.8 cm, M 30 cm.

12: Ca. 173 BC

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) 78M103:2, *KG* 1985.5, 416, f. 6:3. Earthenware; H 9.3 cm, M 10 cm, G 16.5 cm.

Xiangbizui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1, *KGXB* 1981.1, Pl. 18:4. Vitreous earthenware; red engobe; H 11.6 cm, M 10.7 cm, G 15.5 cm.

13: Ca. 173 BC

After: **Fenghuangshan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M8**, *WW* 1974.6, 58, f. 29. Argillaceous grey earthenware; vessel with lid; H 18.2 cm, G 21.5 cm.

Fenghuangshan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M168:278, *KGXB* 1993.4, 496, f. 41:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; black slip; fired low; vessel with lid; H 14.5 cm, M 10.5 cm, B 6.2 cm.

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M3:75, *Gaotai*, 80, f. 67:5. Grey argillaceous earthenware; black lacquer exterior; incised geometric décor; vessel with lid; H 19.4 cm, M 13.2 cm, G 22.7 cm, B 9.6 cm.

+ Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M18:5, *WW* 1993.8, 13, f. 2:4. Grey earthenware; black slip (flaking); incised/impressed line décor; vessel with lid; H 14.8 cm, M 10.8 cm, G 18.8 cm, B 6 cm.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M20:6, *KGXB* 1976.2, Pl.

6:1. Earthenware; fired low; vessel with lid; H 10.9 cm.

Yangjiashan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M135:43, WW 1993.8, 7, f. 13:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; grey-brown slip; wheel thrown; vessel with lid; H 19 cm, M 13.2 cm, G 20.5 cm, B 8.4 cm.

+ Zhangjiashan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M136:117, WW 1992.9, 8, f. 25. Argillaceous grey earthenware; black slip; vessel with lid; H 15 cm, M 8.5 cm.

14: Ca. 173 BC

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M49:4, KGXB 1986.4, 506, f. 30:5. Earthenware; H 25.8 cm, M 20.2 cm, B 19 cm.

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M35:5, *Gaotai*, 80, f. 67:2. Grey argillaceous earthenware; black slip (flaking); impressed/incised geometric décor; H 11 cm, M 9.2 cm, G 17 cm, B 8.2 cm.

15: Ca. 173 BC

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M18:1, KGXB 1986.4, 508, f. 31:2. Earthenware; H 11.6 cm, M 9.8 cm, B 10.6 cm.

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M14:15, *Shuihudi*, 48, f. 75. Earthenware; H 12 cm, M 10.8 cm, B 10.2 cm.

16: Ca. 173 BC

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M44:22, KGXB 1986.4, 509, f. 33:10. Earthenware; stamped inscription; H 15.5 cm, M 11 cm, B 10.5 cm.

Fangmatan (Tianshui Municipality, Gansu) M1:2, WW 1989.2, 5, f. 10:10. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 12.3 cm, M 8 cm, B 7.5 cm.

Fangmatan (Tianshui Municipality, Gansu) M13:5, WW 1989.2, 5, f. 10:9. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 10.5 cm, M 7.5 cm, B 6.9 cm.

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M12:16, *Gaotai*, 78, f. 66:5. Grey argillaceous earthenware; black slip; raised line and geometric décor; H 16.8 cm, M 11.2 cm, G 20 cm, B 9.6 cm.

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M45:39, KGXB 1986.4, 509, f. 33:11. Earthenware; H 16.7 cm, M 10.2 cm, B 9.5 cm.

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M49:21, KGXB 1986.4, 509, f. 33:8. Earthenware; stamped inscription; H 15.8 cm, M 11 cm, B 20.8 cm.

17: Ca. 173 BC

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M19:2, *KGXB* 1986.4, 506, f. 30:13. Earthenware; H 22.6 cm, M 12 cm.

Dafentou (Yunmeng, Hubei) M3:01, *KGXB* 1986.4, 506, f. 30:9. Earthenware; H 22.5 cm, M 11.5 cm.

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M28:59, *Gaotai*, 73, f. 63:6. Grey argillaceous earthenware tempered with fine sand; impressed cord-like décor; H 29.6 cm, M 14.4 cm, G 27.2 cm.

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M35:4, *Gaotai*, 244, f. 172:7. Grey argillaceous earthenware tempered with fine sand; impressed cord-like décor; H 29 cm, M 13.6 cm, G 28.6 cm.

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M25:8, *KGXB* 1986.4, 506, f. 30:7. Earthenware; vessel with two lugs; H 27.6 cm, M 16.5 cm, B 10 cm.

18: Ca. 173 BC

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M24:3, *KGXB* 1986.4, 509, f. 33:7. Earthenware; H 17 cm, M 13.5 cm.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M39:8, *KGXB* 1992.2, 236, f. 12:8. Red argillaceous earthenware; vessel with one handle; report classifies as *mingqi*; H 11.2 cm, M 10.8 cm.

Yunxian (Hubei) M304:1, *KGXJK* 6 (1989), 168, f. 25:4. Iron; vessel with two handles (one broken off); H 15 cm, M 12.8 cm.

19: Ca. 173 BC

Dafentou (Yunmeng, Hubei) M3:10, *KGXB* 1986.4, 511, f. 35:2. Earthenware; red engobe décor; H 11.5 cm, M 11.5 cm.

Mujiangfen (Yunmeng, Hubei) M1:15, *WW* 1992.1, 80, f. 6:4. Earthenware; H 20.8 cm, M 18.3 cm.

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M3:7, *Shuihudi*, 52, f. 89. Earthenware; impressed/incised décor of fine lines. H 20 cm, M 17.5 cm.

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M22:9, *KGXB* 1986.4, 511, f. 35:7. Earthenware; H 18.5 cm, M 18.6 cm.

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M28:2, *KGXB* 1986.4, 511, f. 35:6. Earthenware; H 18.5 cm, M 17.2 cm.

Wangjiatai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M15:1, *WW* 1995.1, 39, f. 4:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; vessel contained pig

bones; H 16 cm, M 17.9 cm.

20: Ca. 168 BC

Mawangdui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1:274, *Mawangdui* (A), vol. 1, 124, f. 108:6. Vitreous earthenware; red-brown glaze; vessel with lid and 2 handles; H 26 cm, M 12 cm, G 30 cm, B 17 cm.

Xuanbitang (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M1:20, *KG* 1995.3, 216, f. 5:2. Vitreous earthenware; vessel with lid and two handles; H 29 cm, M 9 cm, B 17 cm.

21: Ca. 168 BC

Xuanbitang (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M2:22, © *KG* 1995.3, 216, f. 4:10. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Vitreous earthenware; H 15.5 cm, M 10 cm, B 9.5 cm.

Mawangdui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1:133, *Mawangdui* (A), vol. 1, 124, f. 108:9. Vitreous earthenware; red/yellow-brown glaze; vessel contained arbutus; H 33 cm, M 15 cm, G 24 cm, B 15 cm (?).

Xiangbizui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1, *KGXB* 1981.1, Pl. 18:5. Argillaceous earthenware; black slip; H 36.5 cm, M 17.3 cm, G 29 cm.

Xuanbitang (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M2:13, *KG* 1995.3, 217, f. 6:2. Earthenware; H 34.8 cm, M 16 cm, B 15 cm.

Xuanbitang (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M2:16, *KG* 1995.3, 216, f. 5:1. Vitreous earthenware; H 23.5 cm, M 13.5 cm, B 13.5 cm.

22: Ca. 167 BC

+ Fenghuangshan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M168:276, © *KGXB* 1993.4, 496, f. 41:4. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Argillaceous grey earthenware; black slip; fired low; H 19.5 cm, M 8.8 cm, B 10.5 cm.

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M3:57, *Gaotai*, 70, f. 62:3. Grey argillaceous earthenware; black lacquer exterior; vessel with lid; H 32.6 cm, M 13.4 cm, G 30.8 cm, B 14.6 cm.

23: Ca. 167 BC

+ Fenghuangshan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M168:298, © KGXB 1993.4, 496, f. 41:6. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Argillaceous grey earthenware; black slip; fired low; H 27.5 cm, M 13.2 cm, B 8 cm.

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M37:5, *Gaotai*, 73, f. 63:3. Grey argillaceous earthenware tempered with fine sand; impressed cord-like décor; H 26.2 cm, M 14.2 cm, G 27.8 cm.

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M10:5, *Shuihudi*, 48, f. 73. Earthenware; inscribed (marked); H 30.7 cm, M 14.5 cm.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M34:2, KGXB 1992.2, 233, f. 9:20. Grey earthenware; H 24.9 cm, M 15 cm.

24: Ca. 164 BC

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) 78M91:16, KG 1985.5, 416, f. 6:5. Earthenware; H 16.5 cm, M 9.8 cm, G 16 cm.

Zhongzhoulu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) habitation site T1104:03, *Zhongzhoulu*, 41, f. 21:1. Earthenware; H 19 cm, G 17.3 cm.

25: Ca. 164 BC

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) 78M91:1, KG 1985.5, 416, f. 6:1. Earthenware; H 15 cm, M 8.7 cm, G 16.8 cm.

Fangmatan (Tianshui Municipality, Gansu) M14:2, WW 1989.2, 5, f. 10:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; grey-brown slip; relatively high fired; H 20.5 cm, M 15 cm, G 29 cm, B 11 cm.

+ Fenghuangshan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M9, WW 1974.6, 58, f. 30. Grey (?) earthenware.

Suizhou (Hubei), WW 1989.8, 45, f. 3:4. Argillaceous earthenware; inscribed; wheel thrown; fired relatively high; H 15.6 cm, M 14.2 cm.

26: Ca. 164 BC

Suizhou (Hubei), WW 1989.8, 45, f. 3:6. Argillaceous earthenware; wheel thrown; relatively high fired; H 22 cm, M 13.6 cm.

27: Ca. 164 BC

Suizhou (Hubei), WW 1989.8, 45, f. 3:9. Argillaceous earthenware;

wheel thrown; relatively high fired; H 44.8 cm, M 30 cm.

28: Ca. 164 BC

Suizhou (Hubei), *WW* 1989.8, 45, f. 3:12. Argillaceous earthenware; wheel thrown; relatively high fired; H 32.8 cm, M 20.8 cm.

29: Ca. 141 BC

After: + **Yangling (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi)** K21:12, *WW* 1994.6, 20, f. 39:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 17.5 cm, M 7.7 cm.

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M27:1, *Gaotai*, 82, f. 68:7. Grey-brown argillaceous earthenware tempered with fine sand; impressed/incised geometric décor; H 30.5 cm, M 10 cm, G 29 cm, B 12.8 cm.

30: Ca. 141 BC

After: + **Yangling (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi)** K21:7, *WW* 1994.6, 20, f. 39:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 10.7 cm, M 14 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M200:16, *KGXB* 1995.4, 471, f. 20:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 11.2 cm, M 12 cm.

31: Ca. 141 BC

After: + **Yangling (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi)** K21:18, *WW* 1994.6, 20, f. 39:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 8 cm, M 7 cm.

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M3:72, *Gaotai*, 82, f. 68:7. Grey argillaceous earthenware; black slip; geometric décor; H 15.5 cm, M 13.6 cm, G 21.6 cm, B 9.2 cm.

Jiangshan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), *WWZLCK* 1 (1977), 109, f. 10. Earthenware.

32: Ca. 141 BC

After: + **Yangling (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi)** K21:49, *WW* 1994.6, 20, f. 39:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 11.5 cm, M 5.3 cm.

33: Ca. 136 BC

+ **Hongtushan (Juye, Shandong) M1:218**, *KGXB* 1983.4, 489, f. 18:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 31.5 cm, M 21.5 cm (approximately).

34: Ca. 136 BC

+ **Hongtushan (Juye, Shandong) M1:40**, *KGXB* 1983.4, 489, f. 18:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 23.7 cm.

35: Ca. 136 BC

+ **Hongtushan (Juye, Shandong) M1:34**, *KGXB* 1983.4, 489, f. 18:10. Argillaceous grey earthenware; black engobe décor; H 14 cm.

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M17:4, *Gaotai*, 78, f. 66:8. Grey argillaceous earthenware; black slip; geometric décor; vessel with lid; H 20.6 cm, M 10.4 cm, G 17.6 cm, B 7.2 cm.

36: Ca. 136 BC

+ **Hongtushan (Juye, Shandong) M1:211**, *KGXB* 1983.4, 489, f. 18:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 31.5 cm, M 21.5 cm.

Huoshan (Anhui) M2:7, *WW* 1991.9, 46, f. 16:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 14.8 cm, M 8.4 cm, G 18.8 cm, B 8 cm.

37: Ca. 136 BC

Burial Goods Pits of the King of Qi (Wotuo [Zibo Municipality, Shandong]) K1:23, *KGXB* 1985.2, 233, f. 10:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 34.3 cm, M 15.4 cm.

+ **Hongtushan (Juye, Shandong) M1:220**, *KGXB* 1983.4, 489, f. 18:9. Argillaceous grey earthenware; low fired; H 29.1 cm.

Jiangshan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), *WWZLCK* 1 (1977), 109, f. 9. Earthenware.

Burial Goods Pits of the King of Qi (Wotuo [Zibo Municipality, Shandong]) K1:35, *KGXB* 1985.2, 236, f. 13:2. Bronze; inscribed; vessel with lid; H 37.5 cm, M 15.2 cm.

Burial Goods Pits of the King of Qi (Wotuo [Zibo Municipality, Shandong]) K1:56, *KGXB* 1985.2, 236, f. 13:10. Bronze; inscribed; H 32.5 cm, M 15 cm.

38: Ca. 132 BC

+ Burial Goods Pits of the King of Qi (Wotuo [Zibo Municipality, Shandong]) K1:47, *KGXB* 1985.2, 233, f. 10:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 68 cm, M 38 cm.

39: Ca. 122 BC

Linjiangzhilu (Chongqing Municipality, Sichuan) M4:1, *KG* 1986.3, 236, f. 6:6. Bronze; H 14.6 cm, M 14.2 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1065:10, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 27:5. Bronze; H 14-19.2 cm, G 18.8-25.1 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1121:2, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 133, f. 75:11. Bronze; H 14 cm, G 18.8 cm.

Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M1:38, *Luobowan*, Pl. 14:3. Bronze; vessel has bar-form handle; soot marks on bottom of vessel; H 11 cm, M 10 cm, G 12 cm.

+ Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) C7, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 82, f. 55:1. Bronze; vessel wrapped in silk for burial; H 9.6 cm, M 8.6 cm, G 11.2 cm.

+ Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) G63, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 280, f. 194:3. Bronze; H 14.7 cm, M 13.2 cm, G 18 cm.

+ Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) G76, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 280, f. 194:1. Bronze; vessel contained clams and turtle feet; H 11.3 cm, M 9.7 cm, G 12.7 cm.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M10:11, *KGXB* 1976.2, 125, f. 13:2. Bronze; H 11.4 cm.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M10:10, *KGXB* 1992.2, 238, f. 14:1. Iron; vessel with two handles (broken off); broken; H 14.6 cm, M 14 cm.

40: Ca. 122 BC

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1181:49, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 120, f. 64:5. Earthenware; H 41 cm, M 32.5 cm.

Chongan (Fujian) T29(3):38, *KGXB* 1990.3, 361, f. 19:14. Earthenware; H 29 cm, M 30.8 cm.

+ Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) B57, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 17:4. Bronze; H 50

cm, M 45.5-46.5 cm, B 44.3 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) B58, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 18:2. Bronze; H 49 cm, M 43 cm, B 39.5 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) B59, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 54, f. 37. Bronze.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) C61, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 33:4. Bronze; vessel with lid; H 23.5 cm, width of lid 21.7 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) C88, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 65:2, left. Earthenware; inner walls of vessel show traces of coil construction; vessel contains carbonized food matter; H 23.5 cm, M 19 cm, B 17 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) E78, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 130:3. Bronze; vessel contained an earthenware pot E80, a bronze incense burner E79, a bronze ewer E81, and a bronze seal E85; H 39.3 cm, M 34.5 cm, B 29 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) G44, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 287, f. 200:2 (detail only; *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 283–284, description identifies form as like that of G47, listed here below). Bronze; vessel contained bones of cattle, pigs, domestic fowl, Chinese turtle (*ocadia sinensis*), clams, a *hu* G46, and a small, three-footed box G45; H 34.3 cm, M 31.5 cm, B 25.5 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) G47, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 185:3. Bronze; inscribed; vessel found inside G48 (see below, *guan* 41); vessel contained bones of domestic fowl, pigs, ox, and clams; H 29 cm, M 25 cm, B 22.5 cm.

41: Ca. 122 BC

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1097:28, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 136, f. 76:1. Bronze; broken; H 31.8 cm, M 30 cm, B 26 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1175:66, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 136, f. 76:2 (detail only; *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 134, identifies form as like M1097:28, listed here above). Bronze.

Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M1:1, *Luobowan*, Pl. 11:1. Bronze; vessel with lid; H 36 cm, M 35.5 cm, B 30.2 cm.

Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M1:2, *Luobowan*, Pl. 11:2. Bronze; H

32.5 cm, M 30.3 cm, B 27.2 cm.

Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M1:3, *Luobowan*, Pl. 11:3. Bronze; H 28.4 cm, M 27.4 cm, B 24.4 cm.

Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M1:4, *Luobowan*, Pl. 11:4-5. Bronze; inscribed; H 27.1 cm, M 26.2 cm, B 22.6 cm, weight 3.484 kg.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) C89, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 65:2, right. Earthenware; inner walls of vessel show traces of coil construction; vessel contains carbonized food matter; H 24.3 cm, M 21.5 cm, B 19.52 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) G37, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 185:2. Bronze; vessel contained ox bones, Chinese turtle (*ocadia sinensis*), clams; H 21.4 cm, M 20.6 cm, B 17.4 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) G48, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 185:1. Bronze; H 29.5 cm, M 31 cm, B 27 cm.

42: Ca. 122 BC

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1088:1, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 94, f. 46:4. Earthenware; H 37.5 cm, G 37.3 cm.

Chongan (Fujian) T6(3):5, *KGXB* 1990.3, 359, f. 17:1. Vitreous argillaceous earthenware; H 56.8 cm, M 25.2 cm.

Chongan (Fujian) T17(3):8, *KGXB* 1990.3, 359, f. 17:4. Vitreous argillaceous earthenware; H 61.8 cm, M 26.4 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1121:10, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 10:5. Earthenware.

Luogang (Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong) M3:5, *KG* 1962.8, Pl. 7:1. Vitreous grey-white earthenware; low fired. H 47.5 cm, G 42.7 cm.

43: Ca. 122 BC

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) C111-2, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 114, f. 76:3. Earthenware; H 11.7 cm, M 10.5 cm, G 14.5 cm, B 9.1 cm.

Anzhangzi (Lingyuan, Liaoning) M3:1, *KGXB* 1996.2, 225, f. 24:2. Earthenware; H 14.6 cm, M 10.8 cm, B 7 cm.

Chongan (Fujian) T11(3):26, *KGXB* 1990.3, 359, f. 17:6. Earthenware; H 11 cm, M 10.2 cm.

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M27:7-3, *Gaotai*, 82, f. 68:6. Grey argillaceous earthenware tempered with fine sand; fired high; vitreous; impressed geometric décor; H 15.5 cm, M 10.4 cm, G 16.8 cm, B 9.6 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1048:70, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 11:7. Earthenware.

Luogang (Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong) M4:8, *KG* 1962.8, Pl. 7:2. Vitreous grey-white earthenware; high fired; H 12.6 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) D8, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 107:7. Earthenware; vessel with lid; H 23.2 cm, M 17 cm, G 28.9 cm, B 19 cm.

44: Ca. 122 BC

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) F6, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 267, f. 184:4. Earthenware.

Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M2:54, *Luobowan*, Pl. 49:4. Grey-white earthenware; originally with colored slip; engobe décor; H 23.5 cm, M 18 cm, B 16 cm.

Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M2:96, *Luobowan*, 102, f. 65:1. Earthenware; white slip; red and black lacquer décor; H 48 cm, M 29.5 cm, G 50 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) F2, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 267, f. 184:1. Earthenware.

45: Ca. 122 BC

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) F45, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 267, f. 184:6. Vitreous grey-white earthenware; vessel with lid; H 13-16 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1152:46, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 12:4. Earthenware; inscribed; vessel with handles; G 20.7 cm.

Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M2:9, *Luobowan*, Pl. 49:7. Earthenware; H 19.5 cm, M 15 cm, B 12 cm.

46: Ca. 122 BC

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) F5, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 267, f. 184:2. Earthenware.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) *M1026:22, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 10:3. Earthenware.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1173:4, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 96, f. 47:4. Earthenware.

Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M1:345, *Luobowan*, Pl. 8:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 17.6 cm, M13.4 cm, B 12 cm.

Luogang (Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong) M4:1, *KG* 1962.8, Pl. 7:3. Vitreous grey-white earthenware; high fired; H 29.5 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) F9, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 267, f. 184:3. Grey earthenware; H 21.2 cm, M 18.9 cm, G 26.8 cm, B 16 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) G22, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 296, f. 208:1. Earthenware.

47: Ca. 122 BC

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) G94, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 296, f. 208:2. Earthenware.

Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M2:57, *Luobowan*, Pl. 49:3. Light green-grey earthenware; H 27 cm, M 17.2 cm, B 16.5 cm.

Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M2:117, *Luobowan*, Pl. 49:5. Light green-grey earthenware; white slip; black engobe décor; H 14 cm, M 11 cm, B 10.6 cm.

48: Ca. 122 BC

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1148:31, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 99, f. 49:1. Earthenware.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1097:7, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 13:5. Earthenware; vessel with no lid; H 16 cm, M 14 cm, G 27.2 cm, B 19 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1152:8, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 13:3.

Earthenware; G 15.3 cm.

Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M1:344, *Luobowan*, Pl. 8:2. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; “natural glaze” of light green-yellow (i.e., accidental ash glazing?); fired high; vessel with no lid; H 9.2 cm, M 5.9 cm, G 12 cm, B 5.5 cm.

49: Ca. 122 BC

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) B46, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 62, f. 44:8. Earthenware; H 16 cm, M 10.3 cm, G 24.4 cm, B 17 cm.

Chongan (Fujian) T22(3):4, *KGXB* 1990.3, 361, f. 19:1. Earthenware; H 12 cm, M 9.2 cm.

Chongan (Fujian) T24(3):2 (or F24[3]:2?), *KGXB* 1990.3, 361, f. 19:3. Earthenware; H 15 cm, M 14.4 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1043:9, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 109, f. 55:3. Earthenware.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1085:5, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 17:4. Earthenware; G 39.2 cm.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) *M21:2, *KGXB* 1978.2, 228, f. 25:6. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; fired high; H 12.5 cm.

50: Ca. 122 BC

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1066:40, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 109, f. 55:7. Earthenware; G 24 cm.

51: Ca. 122 BC

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) E37, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 237, f. 159:5. Earthenware; H 11.7 cm, M 7.8 cm, G 14.5 cm, B 11 cm.

Chongan (Fujian) T22(3):4 (or F22[3]:4?), *KGXB* 1990.3, 361, f. 19:1. Earthenware; H 12 cm, M 9.2 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1028:14, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 17:3. Earthenware; G 24.6 cm.

52: Ca. 122 BC

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) E61, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 237, f. 159:6.

Earthenware; H 12 cm, M 10.5 cm, G 17.7 cm, B 8 cm.

Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M2:13, *Luobowan*, Pl. 52:1. Earthenware; H 12 cm, M 10.2 cm, B 12.4 cm.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) *M15:5, *KGXB* 1978.2, 228, f. 25:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; fired high; H 11.5 cm.

53: Ca. 122 BC

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M9:16, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 33, f. 6:2. Earthenware; vessel with lid; H 45 cm, M 15.6 cm, G 40.6 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1084:1, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 94, f. 46:2. Vitreous grey-white earthenware; glaze; vessel with no lid.

Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M2:45, *Luobowan*, Pl. 50:2. Vitreous siliceous red-violet earthenware; vessel with no lid; H 24.8 cm, M 12.8 cm, B 16 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) C42, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 64:2. Earthenware; vessel with lid; H 20.5 cm, M 9.8 cm, G 24.5 cm, B 14.7 cm.

54: Ca. 122 BC

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1180:83, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 94, f. 46:1. Earthenware; H 50.4 cm, G 42.2 cm.

55: Ca. 122 BC

Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M2:13, *Luobowan*, 105, f. 68:1. Grey-green hard earthenware, incised line décor; H 12 cm, M 10.2 cm, B 12.4 cm.

56: Ca. 122 BC

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) E63, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 237, f. 159:1. Siliceous grey earthenware; red and black engobe décor; H 13.5 cm, M 9 cm, B 8 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1040:10, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 13:1. Earthenware; H 12.1 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) C46, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 63:6. Earthenware; H 11.5 cm, M 9 cm, G 12 cm, B 6 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) C47, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 114, f. 76:5. Earthenware; H 11 cm, M 7 cm, G 13.1 cm, B 8.5 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) G52, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 197:3. Earthenware; H 9.4 cm, M 8.1 cm, G 12.5 cm, B 6.6 cm.

57: Ca. 122 BC

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1177:64, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 97, f. 48:3. Earthenware; G 15 cm.

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M9:27, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 33, f. 6:4. Earthenware; H 10 cm, M 5.4 cm, G 11.2 cm.

58: Ca. 122 BC

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1177:33, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 99, f. 49:4. Earthenware.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1105:1, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 20:8. Earthenware; vessel with no lid.

59: Ca. 122 BC

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) B88, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 62, f. 44:4. Earthenware.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1107:9, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 15:3. Earthenware; H 5.5 cm, G 9.8 cm, B 5.8 cm.

Luogang (Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong) M3:9, *KG* 1962.8, Pl. 7:7. Earthenware.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) *M48:4, *KGXB* 1978.4, Pl. 2:4. Earthenware; incised/impressed line décor; H 7 cm, M 9.2 cm.

60: Ca. 122 BC

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) B90, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 62, f. 44:5. Earthenware; black engobe décor; H 6 cm, M 11.3 cm, B 6.5 cm.

61: Ca. 122 BC

+ **Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) E10**, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 237, f. 159:2. Earthenware; H 7 cm, M 7.6 cm, G 8.6 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1069:18, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 105, f. 53:2. Earthenware; H 11 cm, G 13.8 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1070:30, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 105, f. 53:8. Earthenware.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1082:29, *Guangzhou*, vol.2, Pl. 15:10. Earthenware.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1116:20, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 105, f. 53:7. Earthenware.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1177:86, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 105, f. 53:6. Earthenware.

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M9:7, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 33, f. 7:1. Earthenware; H 8.6 cm, M 8 cm.

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M9:9, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 33, f. 7:2. Earthenware; H 9.4 cm, M 12 cm.

Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M2:22, *Luobowan*, Pl. 53:3. Earthenware; H 7.8 cm, G 9.2 cm.

Luogang (Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong) M3:7, *KG* 1962.8, Pl. 7:6. Earthenware; H 7 cm.

62: Ca. 122 BC

+ **Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) E7**, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 237, f. 159:4. Earthenware; H 8.7 cm, M 13 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1097:8, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 15:6. Earthenware.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1143:7, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 105, f. 53:1. Earthenware; H 12.2 cm, G 18.8 cm.

63: Ca. 122 BC

+ **Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) E49**, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 237, f. 159:3. Earthenware; H 5.3 cm, M 6.5 cm, G 7.5 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1139:22, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 107, f. 54:2. Grey-white earthenware; H 14 cm, M 17 cm, G 19 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1180:29, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 107, f. 54:1. Grey-white earthenware; glazed; H 14.8 cm, M 24.4 cm, G 28.2 cm.

64: Ca. 118 BC

Mancheng (Hebei) M1:3292, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 124, f. 83:13. Argillaceous grey (?) earthenware; H 24.7 cm, M 11 cm, G 13.5 cm, B 10.5 cm.

Guishan ([originally, Xiaoguishan], Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1:TG85, *WW* 1973.4, 31, f. 27–28. Earthenware.

65: Ca. 113 BC

Dajiangkou (Shupu, Hunan) M3:33, © *KG* 1994.1, 28, f. 7:6. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Earthenware; green glaze; inscribed; H 23.3 cm, M 13 cm, G 21.8 cm, B 11.4 cm.

66: Ca. 113 BC

Dajiangkou (Shupu, Hunan) M3:41, © *KG* 1994.1, 28, f. 7:8. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Earthenware; H 13.5 cm, M 9 cm, G 17.3 cm, B 7.4 cm.

67: Ca. 113 BC

After: Yuantaizi (Chaoyang Municipality, Liaoning) WM11:12, *WW* 1990.2, Pl. 5:3. Earthenware.

Anzhangzi (Lingyuan, Liaoning) M2:1, *KGXB* 1996.2, 225, f. 24:1. Earthenware; H 60 cm, M 15.4 cm, G 60 cm.

+ **Mancheng (Hebei) M1:3502**, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 127, f. 85:2. Earthenware; thick walled; contained fish and rat (*sciurotamias davidianus* and *rattus confucianus*) bones, Siberian mussels (*mustela sibirica*); H 62 cm, M 41 cm, G 62 cm.

Mancheng (Hebei) M2:4105, *Mancheng*, vol. 2, Pl. 200:2. Earthenware; H 30.7 cm, M 17.8 cm, G 34 cm.

68: Ca. 113 BC

+ **Mancheng (Hebei) M1:3070**, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 124, f. 83:8. Argillaceous grey (?) earthenware; H 32.5 cm, M 13.8 cm, G 33.7 cm,

B 11.5 cm.

Mancheng (Hebei) M2:2144, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 287, f. 191:9. Earthenware; H 23.7 cm, G 22.5 cm.

69: Ca. 113 BC

Mancheng (Hebei) M2:2143, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 287, f. 191:10. Earthenware; H 30.7 cm, M 16.3 cm, G 34.5 cm.

Jiagezhuang (Tangshan Municipality, Hebei) M3:4, *KGXB* 1953.1/2, Pl. 24:2. Argillaceous light grey earthenware; H 47 cm, M 29.2 cm, G 50.2 cm.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M36:2, *KGXB* 1992.2, Pl. 12:4. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 28 cm, M 14.5 cm.

Yuantaizi (Chaoyang Municipality, Liaoning) EM48:6, *WW* 1990.2, 54, f. 9. Earthenware.

Yuantaizi (Chaoyang Municipality, Liaoning) WM11:11, *WW* 1990.2, 55, f. 12. Earthenware.

70: Ca. 113 BC

+Mancheng (Hebei) M1:3063, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 124, f. 83:11. Argillaceous grey earthenware; vessel may have contained fish bones (the excavation report notes that three of the four vessels considered to be of this form contained fish bones); H 31.4 cm, M 16.4 cm, G 38.9 cm, B 25.8 cm.

71: Ca. 113 BC

+Mancheng (Hebei) M1:3157, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 124, f. 83:9. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 25.7 cm, M 18 cm, G 34.8 cm, B 18 cm.

Yuantaizi (Chaoyang Municipality, Liaoning) WM11:9, *WW* 1990.2, 49, f. 2:20. Earthenware.

72: Ca. 113 BC

Mancheng (Hebei) M2:4105, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 287, f. 191:11. Earthenware; H 30.7 cm, M 17.8 cm, G 34 cm.

Jiagezhuang (Tangshan Municipality, Hebei) M17:2, *KGXB* 1953.1/2, Pl. 23:2. Argillaceous light grey earthenware; H 26.8 cm, M 15.1 cm, G 24.5 cm.

73: Ca. 113 BC

+ **Mancheng (Hebei) M1:3210**, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 124, f. 83:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 25.8 cm, M 12.8 cm, G 20.7 cm.

74: Ca. 113 BC

+ **Mancheng (Hebei) M1:3220**, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 124, f. 83:6. Earthenware; red-brown glaze; fired high; H 25.4 cm, M 12.3 cm, G 25.4 cm, B 12.5 cm.

Fangmatan (Tianshui Municipality, Gansu) M6:1, *WW* 1989.2, 5, f. 10:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 23.2 cm, M 8.8 cm, B 11.6 cm.

*Maoqinggou (Liangcheng, Inner Mongolia) M23:1, Tian and Guo, *E'erdusishi qingtongqi*, 256, f. 29:4. Earthenware; H 18.4 cm, M 9.6 cm, G 18 cm.

Xingyi (Guizhou) M8:7, *WW* 1979.5, Pl. 6:2. Bronze; inscribed; H 28.3 cm, M 9.6 cm.

75: Ca. 70 BC

Fenghuangshan (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M1:9, © *KG* 1993.3, 241, f. 3:1. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Vitreous siliceous light grey earthenware; H 33.5 cm, M 14 cm, B 16 cm.

76: Ca. 70 BC

Fenghuangshan (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M1:11, © *KG* 1993.3, 241, f. 3:2. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Siliceous light grey earthenware; H 15.5 cm, M 10 cm, B 10 cm.

Fenghuangshan (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M8:7, *KG* 1993.3, 241, f. 3:4. Siliceous light grey earthenware; H 14.6 cm, M 9.4 cm, B 9 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M470:6, *KGXB* 1995.4, 471, f. 20:16. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 16.4 cm.

77: Ca. 70 BC

Fenghuangshan (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M1:13, © *KG* 1993.3, 241, f. 3:5. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui

kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Vitreous siliceous light grey earthenware; H 10.8 cm, M 9.5 cm, B 6 cm.

78: Ca. 70 BC

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1125:3, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 94, f. 46:3. Earthenware; H 48.8 cm.

79: Ca. 70 BC

Baimashi (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IM3:2, © *KGXB* 1995.2, 224, f. 17:11. Reproduced with permission, *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo*. Earthenware; H 17.2 cm, M 15.2 cm.

80: Ca. 70 BC

Zhou Family Cemetery (Jinqueshan [Linyi Municipality, Shandong]) M15:4, *WW* 1984.11, 48, f. 26:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 22.7 cm, M 11.5 cm, G 20.8 cm, B 6 cm.

*Maoqinggou (Liangcheng, Inner Mongolia) M33:1, Tian and Guo, *E'erdusishi qingtongqi*, 256, f. 29:2. Earthenware; H 15.2 cm, M 8.5 cm, G 13.5 cm.

Xiadu (Yixian, Hebei) M36:4, *KG* 1965.11, 556, f. 11:7. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 24.8 cm, M 12.9 cm.

Yuantaizi (Chaoyang Municipality, Liaoning) EM62:2, *WW* 1990.2, 49, f. 2:9. Earthenware; H 22.4 cm, M 13.2 cm.

81: Ca. 70 BC

Qingyunshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M2:9, *WW* 1988.10, 74, f. 17:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 22 cm, M 11.2 cm, G 20 cm, B 7.2 cm.

Panmiao (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M6A:4, *WW* 1991.12, 56, f. 15:4. Earthenware; H 25.7 cm, M 14.4 cm.

82: Ca. 70 BC

After: **Baimashi (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IIM14:3**, *KGXB* 1995.2, 223, f. 16:7. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 27.6 cm, M 13.8 cm, B 15.6 cm.

Baimashi (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IM9:1, *KGXB* 1995.2, 223, f. 16:12.

Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 23.5 cm, M 9.2 cm, B 15.4 cm.

*Daodunzi (Tongxin, Ningxia) M5:1, *KGXB* 1988.3, 342, f. 8:9. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 36 cm, M 12.4 cm, G 35.2 cm, B 20 cm.

Yangzhou (Jiangsu), *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 192, f. 14. Earthenware; glazed; H 20 cm, G 20 cm, B 14 cm.

83: Ca. 70 BC

Baimashi (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IIM15:2, © *KGXB* 1995.2, 223, f. 16:5. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 29.4 cm, M 12 cm, B 15.6 cm.

Baimashi (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IM6:3, *KGXB* 1995.2, 223, f. 16:9. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 28.5 cm, M 12.8 cm, B 15.6 cm.

84: Ca. 70 BC

Baimashi (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IM5:4, © *KGXB* 1995.2, 223, f. 16:11. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 25.2 cm, M 13.2 cm, B 15.6 cm.

Baimashi (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IM2:8, *KGXB* 1995.2, 223, f. 16:10. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 26.6 cm, M 13.6 cm, B 16.2 cm.

85: Ca. 70 BC

Baimashi (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IIM15:4, © *KGXB* 1995.2, 223, f. 16:2. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 225.2 cm, M 9 cm, B 15 cm.

*Ivolga Fortress (Buriat Republic, Russia) habitation 9, *Ivolga*, vol. 1, f. 25:3. Earthenware.

86: Ca. 70 BC

Qingyunshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M2:7, *WW* 1988.10, 74, f. 17:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 31.6 cm, M 14.4 cm, G 30 cm, B 10 cm.

Jinqueshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M9, *WW* 1977.11, 27, f. 7. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 6.5 cm, G 10 cm, B 8 cm.

Panmiao (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M19:7, WW 1991.12, 56, f. 15:1. Earthenware; H 28.2 cm, M 14.2 cm.

Shuangrushan (Changqing, Shandong) M1, no inventory number, *Jibeiwang ling*, 61, bottom. Earthenware.

87: Ca. 70 BC

Zhou Family Cemetery (Jinqueshan [Linyi Municipality, Shandong]) M14:3, WW 1984.11, 48, f. 26:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; inscribed; H 38.5 cm, M 18.9 cm, G 40 cm, B 13 cm.

Jinqueshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M33:20, WW 1989.1, 31, f. 18:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; inscribed; H 36.5 cm, M 19 cm.

Panmiao (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M7:1, WW 1991.12, 56, f. 15:3. Earthenware; H 28 cm, M 15.1 cm.

Panmiao (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M47:4, WW 1991.12, 56, f. 15:2. Earthenware; H 29.3 cm, M 14.3 cm.

Shizhuan (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M10:8, WW 1992.9, 26, f. 13:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; inscribed; H 33.8 cm, M 14 cm.

Shuangrushan (Changqing, Shandong) M1, no inventory number, *Jibeiwang ling*, 61, top. Earthenware.

88: Ca. 70 BC

Guolufang (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M11:3, © KGYWW 1992.2, 20, f. 10:4. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 25.2 cm, M 8.5 cm, G 23 cm, B 10.3 cm.

*Maowen (Sichuan) DM4:2, WWZLCK 7 (1983), 42, f. 11:8. Earthenware.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M112:10, *Shangsunjiazhai*, Pl. 28:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 28.8 cm, M 15.3 cm, G 26.8 cm, B 14.2 cm.

89: Ca. 70 BC

Yandaishan (Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) YYM1:18, KGXB 1987.4, 482, f. 11:6. Vitreous earthenware; high fired; light green (ash?) glaze from mouth to upper shoulders; H 30 cm, M 9.4

cm.

Tianbaodun (Suzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M27, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 179, f. 14. Earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 35 cm, M 18 cm, G 41 cm, B 20 cm.

90: Ca. 70 BC

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) M12:16 (or 87M12:16; this inventory number is reused for a garment hook in both the illustrations and text of the report), *KG* 1990.4, 331, f. 3:1. Purple-red earthenware; green glaze; H 45 cm, M 24 cm, G 57 cm, B 24 cm.

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) 87M12:6 (or M12:6), *KG* 1993.4, 334, f. 7:1. Earthenware; glazed; H 45 cm, M 24 cm, G 57 cm, B 24 cm.

Haizhou (Lianyungang Municipality, Jiangsu) M1:12, *KG* 1975.3, 176, f. 8:2. Earthenware.

91: Ca. 70 BC

Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M2:12, *KGXB* 1983.3, 394, f. 10:3. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; red engobe on lower portion of vessel; incised décor; H 32.4 cm, M 16.4 cm.

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) 87M6:10, *KG* 1993.4, 334, f. 7:3. Vitreous earthenware; H 29.8 cm, M 19 cm, G 35.9 cm, B 15.6 cm.

Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M1:22, *KGXB* 1983.3, Pl. 20:1. Grey earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 22.5 cm, M 9.2 cm.

92: Ca. 70 BC

Baonüdu (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 85YBM104:68, *WW* 1991.10, 49, f. 29:12. Vitreous earthenware; glazed; H 18.8 cm, M 11.4 cm, B 11 cm.

Dongyang (Xuyi, Jiangsu) M7:28, *KG* 1979.5, 420, f. 9:2. Earthenware; red-brown glaze; H 23.5 cm, M 7.5 cm, G 24 cm, B 13.4 cm.

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M8:24, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 43, f. 28. Earthenware; H 15.5 cm, M 10 cm, G 17.5 cm.

Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M3:23, *KGXB* 1983.3, 399, f. 17:9. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; yellow-green glaze; relatively high fired; H 26.4 cm, M 14 cm.

+Huchang (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M5, WW 1981.11, 23, f. 39. Earthenware; green glaze; H 15.8 cm, M 10.7 cm, G 17.6 cm, B 11.8 cm.

Suzhou Northern Suburbs (Jiangsu) well SPJ4:4, KG 1993.3, 257, f. 5:4. Vitreous red earthenware; glazed; H 19.6 cm, M 12 cm, G 20.4 cm, B 12.8 cm.

Xupu (Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M101:11, WW 1987.1, 16, f. 38. Grey earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 20.8 cm, G 23 cm.

93: Ca. 70 BC

Datagang (Dayong, Hunan) DM62:3, © KG 1994.12, 1087, f. 13:10. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Argillaceous earthenware; relatively low fired; H 13.2 cm, M 11.6 cm, G 16.8 cm, B 8.8 cm.

Baonüdu (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 85YBM104:70, WW 1991.10, 49, f. 29:15. Vitreous earthenware; glazed; H 9.8 cm, M 9.2 cm, B 6.6 cm.

Changzhou (Jiangsu), WW 1993.4, 52, f. 7. Earthenware; yellow-green glaze; vessel with double lip; H 22.8 cm, M 18.4 cm (with extension), B 16 cm.

Chenghu (Wuxian, Jiangsu) well 74Wch find #314, WWZLCK 9 (1985), 12, f. 16:5. Argillaceous grey-black earthenware; vessel with double lip; handle broken off; H 21 cm.

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) 87M5:23, KG 1993.4, 335, f. 8:5. Vitreous earthenware; H 19.4 cm, M 13 cm, G 20.2 cm, B 9.8 cm.

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) 89M28:10, KG 1993.4, 335, f. 8:2. Vitreous earthenware; H 16.5 cm, M 12.5 cm, G 20.5 cm, B 10 cm.

Huchang (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1, WW 1980.3, 10, f. 13:1. Earthenware; yellow-green glaze.

Liujiajudui (Huinan Municipality, Anhui), WWZLCK 4 (1981), 111, f. 26 (poor quality photo). Vitreous grey-brown earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 12 cm, M 8.6 cm.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M2:9, KGXB 1976.2, 138, f. 27:5. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 13.2 cm.

Sanlidun (Lianshui, Jiangsu) M1:72, KG 1973.2, 86, f. 9:5. Earthenware; light yellow-brown glaze; H 17.6 cm.

Tianzigang (Anji, Zhejiang) M1:6, WW 1995.6, 32, f. 8:3. Earthenware; H 11.7 cm, M 8.1 cm, B 7.4 cm.

Xicun (Xixian, Anhui) M1:5, KG 1995.11, 1050, f. 3:3. Body: vitreous grey earthenware; yellow glaze (flaking); lid: white-grey stoneware; yellow glaze; lid consists of an inverted bowl; vessel with two handles, double lip; H 15.5 cm, M 15.8 cm (with the extension), G 17.8 cm, B 16.5 cm.

Xupu (Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M101:64, WW 1987.1, 16, f. 39. Grey earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 18.4 cm, G 19.4 cm.

Zifangshan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 62, f. 5:2. Grey-white stoneware; light yellow glaze; relatively high fired; H 20 cm, M 17 cm, G 30 cm.

94: Ca. 70 BC

After: Houma (Shanxi) M4:6, WW 1993.7, 47, f. 8:9. Earthenware; H 15.6 cm, M 10 cm, G 18.4 cm, B 11.4 cm.

Fenghuangshan (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M4:33, KG 1993.3, 241, f. 3:3. Vitreous siliceous light grey earthenware; inscribed; H 14 cm, M 10.4 cm, B 11.6 cm.

Wunüzhong (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM461:27, WW 1995.11, 9, f. 14. Argillaceous grey earthenware; vessel contained 3 small water dippers; H 37.8 cm, G 41.5 cm.

95: Ca. 70 BC

Dongyang (Xuyi, Jiangsu) M5:3, KG 1979.5, 420, f. 9:1. Earthenware; green glaze; H 25 cm, M 13 cm, G 28.2 cm, B 16.5 cm.

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) 87M5:37, KG 1993.4, 335, f. 8:3. Vitreous earthenware; H 19.1 cm, M 12.2 cm, G 20.9 cm, B 9.8 cm.

Ershidian (Huainan Municipality, Anhui), WWZLCK 4 (1981), 238, f. 1:1. Vitreous grey-brown earthenware; light yellow-green glaze; H 25.7 cm, M 8.3 cm.

Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M3:14, KGXB 1983.3, 399, f. 17:8. Grey earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 26.4 cm, M 8.8 cm.

Suzhou Northern Suburbs (Jiangsu) well SPJ3:11, KG 1993.3, 257, f. 5:3. Earthenware; light green glaze; H 14 cm, M 8 cm, G 15.6 cm, B 8.8 cm.

Yinqueshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M6:14, KG 1975.6, 368,

f. 6:8. Argillaceous red earthenware; green glaze; uneven firing temperatures; H 25.9 cm, G 30 cm.

96: Ca. 70 BC

After: Sanjiaoyu (Tianchang, Anhui) M10:27, WW 1993.9, 5, f. 9:4. Earthenware; H 16.2 cm, M 10.8 cm.

Suzhou Northern Suburbs (Jiangsu) well SPJ1:8, KG 1993.3, 257, f. 5:5. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 15.6 cm, M 10 cm, G 17 cm, B 10 cm.

97: Ca. 70 BC

After: Sanjiaoyu (Tianchang, Anhui) M12:11, WW 1993.9, 5, f. 9:2. Earthenware; H 16.2 cm, M 7.5 cm.

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) 87M3:11, KG 1993.4, 335, f. 8:1. Earthenware; glazed; H 19.4 cm, M 10.2 cm, G 20.9 cm, B 12.5 cm.

Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M1:23, KGXB 1983.3, Pl. 20:3. Argillaceous red earthenware; green glaze; low fired; H 18.2 cm, M 10.6 cm.

Pingshan (Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M3:32, WW 1987.1, 34, f. 28:2. Earthenware; glazed; H 17 cm, G 16 cm.

98: Ca. 70 BC

Pingshan (Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M3:31, WW 1987.1, 34, f. 28:3. Earthenware; glazed; H 25 cm, G 46 cm.

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) M12:13 (87M12:13), KG 1990.4, 331, f. 3:9; KG 1993.4, 332, f. 5:8. Light grey-white stoneware; green glaze; incised décor; H 33.8 cm, M 12.2 cm, G 36 cm, B 19.5 cm.

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) 79M22:5, KG 1993.4, 332, f. 5:7. Stoneware/porcelain; H 39.5 cm, M 13.6 cm, G 45.5 cm, B 17.2 cm.

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) 89M28:3, KG 1993.4, 332, f. 5:6. Stoneware/porcelain; H 30.3 cm, M 11.2 cm, G 31.1 cm, B 15.3 cm.

Dongjiazhuang (Laixi, Shandong) M2, WWZLCK 9 (1985), 187, f. 12. White-grey stoneware; H 31 cm, G 35 cm.

Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M2:22, KGXB 1983.3, Pl. 23:4. Vitreous grey earthenware; yellow-green glaze; relatively high fired; H 28.8 cm, M 8.5 cm.

Heshanmiao (Yiyang, Hunan) M25:5, KGXB 1981.4, Pl. 23:4.

Vitreous grey-white stoneware; yellow and red glaze; incised décor; H 34 cm, G 38 cm.

+ Huchang (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M5, WW 1981.11, 23, f. 36 (2 examples cited). Earthenware; green glaze on upper portion of vessel; H 23.2 cm, M 11 cm, G 27.9 cm, B 15 cm.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM337:44, WW 1992.12, 13, f. 11:4. Dark red earthenware; green-brown glaze; incised décor; H 29 cm, M 9 cm, G 35 cm, B 15 cm.

Qilidian (Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), KG 1962.8, Pl. 5:4 (2 examples cited). Earthenware; glazed.

Sanjiaoyu (Tianchang, Anhui) M10:2, WW 1993.9, 4, f. 6:5. Earthenware; H 24.2 cm, M 8 cm.

Sanjiaoyu (Tianchang, Anhui) M17:7, WW 1993.9, 3, f. 4:8. Earthenware; H 26.6 cm, M 9.2 cm.

Shamaosi (Lianyungang Municipality, Jiangsu) LSM1:7, WW 1990.4, 81, f. 2:4. Earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 32.5 cm, M 12.5 cm.

Suzhou Northern Suburbs (Jiangsu) well SPJ5:2 (fragment), KG 1993.3, 258, f. 6:2. Earthenware; M 12 cm, G 24 cm.

Tianbaodun (Suzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M27, WWZLCK 9 (1985), 178, f. 11. Earthenware; glazed.

Tianchang (Anhui) M9:22, KG 1979.4, 326, f. 14:3. Argillaceous but slightly grainy grey earthenware; light yellow-green glaze; H 33.5 cm, M 12 cm, B 19 cm.

Water Treatment Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M55:36, KGYWW 1990.6, 49, f. 6:11. Vitreous earthenware; red-brown glaze; H 32.9 cm, M 12 cm, B 15.5 cm.

Xupu (Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M101:65, WW 1987.1, 15, f. 34. Grey earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 30.1 cm, G 31.4 cm.

Xupu (Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M101:77, WW 1987.1, 15, f. 33. Grey earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 25 cm, G 27.2 cm.

Yandaishan (Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) YYM1:20, KGXB 1987.4, 482, f. 11:5. Vitreous earthenware; high fired; H 24 cm, M 11.2 cm.

Yeling (Gongxian, Henan), KG 1974.2, 134, f. 2 left. Red

earthenware; green glaze; H 29 cm, M 9 cm, G 35 cm, B 15 cm.

99: Ca. 70 BC

After: Shizhuan (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M10:7, WW 1992.9, 29, f. 21:1. Earthenware; H 43.3 cm, M 31.8 cm.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M11:92, WW 1983.4, 22, f. 28 bottom. Earthenware; H 13 cm, M 10.5 cm, B 8 cm.

Jinqueshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M28:63, WW 1989.1, 31, f. 18:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; lacquered dark red-brown; H 33 cm, M 19.8 cm.

Shizhuan (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M13:1, WW 1992.9, 29, f. 21:2. Earthenware; H 37.2 cm, M 24.4 cm.

100: Ca. 70 BC

Zifangshan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 62, f. 5:3. Stoneware/porcelain; three feet; two handles; incised line, meander décor; H 21 cm, M 11 cm, G 26.5 cm.

Chengbei (Hexian, Anhui), WWZLCK 1 (1977), 113, f. 13 (2 examples cited). Argillaceous red earthenware; thin (ash?) glaze; H 18 cm, M 9.7 cm.

Nanchang Eastern Suburbs (Jiangxi) M15:9, KGXB 1976.2, 174, f. 5:3. Vitreous earthenware; H 27 cm.

Zifangshan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 62, f. 5:1. Grey-white stoneware; light yellow glaze; fired relatively high; three feet; two handles; incised line, meander décor; H 21.5 cm, M 11 cm, G 29 cm.

Yangzhou (Jiangsu), WWZLCK 9 (1985), 193, f. 19. Earthenware; unglazed or yellow-green glaze.

H 16–26 cm, G 20–30 cm.

101: Ca. 70 BC

Zifangshan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 62, f. 5:4. Stoneware/porcelain; three feet; two handles; incised line, meander décor; H 23.5 cm, M 10.5 cm, G 31 cm.

Changzhou (Jiangsu), WW 1993.4, 51, f. 1:6. Red-brown earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 16 cm, M 9 cm.

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M4:7, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 44, f.

35. Earthenware; with lid.

Tuanshan (Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 89YTM1:74, *KGXB* 1992.4, 481, f. 5:4. Earthenware; green glaze; inscribed; vessel with spout; H 33.1 cm, M 13.6 cm, B 23.2 cm.

Yangzhou (Jiangsu), *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 192, f. 17. Earthenware; yellow glaze; H 18 cm, G 25 cm, B 17 cm.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) *M108:13, *KGXB* 1978.2, Pl. 2:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; high fired; H 13 cm.

102: Ca. 70 BC

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M8:11, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 34, f. 8:1. Earthenware; H 17.3 cm, M 12.4 cm, G 28.4 cm.

Changzhou (Jiangsu), *WW* 1993.4, 51, f. 1:7. Grey-white earthenware; yellow-green glaze (chipping); H 27.6 cm, M 13.8 cm, B 20.1 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1100:11, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 17:2. Earthenware; G 32.5 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1125:5, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 109, f. 55:1. Earthenware.

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M4 (no specific inventory number), *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 44, f. 34. Earthenware.

103: Ca. 70 BC

Kuishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), *KG* 1974.2, 121, f. 3:1. Porcelaneous stoneware ("proto-porcelain"); green-brown glaze; H 23 cm.

Sanjiaoyu (Tianchang, Anhui) M18:4, *WW* 1993.9, 3, f. 4:7. Vitreous earthenware; light yellow-green glaze; H 25.4 cm, M 11 cm.

Tuanshan (Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 89YTM1:62, *KGXB* 1992.4, 481, f. 5:6. Earthenware; green glaze; H 35.6 cm, M 14.8 cm, B 20 cm.

Yangzhou (Jiangsu), *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 192, f. 18. Earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 24 cm, G 26 cm, B 14 cm.

Yangzhou (Jiangsu), *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 193, f. 20. Earthenware; unglazed or green glaze; H 29 cm, G 30 cm.

104: Ca. 70 BC

Tuanshan (Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 89YTM1:48, © *KGXB* 1992.4, 482, f. 6:11. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Earthenware; green glaze; H 20.1 cm, M 10.5 cm, B 11 cm.

Jiagezhuang (Tangshan Municipality, Hebei) M27:3, *KGXB* 1953.1/2, Pl. 23:5. Argillaceous light grey earthenware; H 19.2 cm, M 10.7 cm, G 19.2 cm.

Tuanshan (Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 89YTM1:22, *KGXB* 1992.4, 482, f. 6:12. Earthenware; yellow glaze; H 20 cm, M 10.1 cm, B 11 cm.

Tuanshan (Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 89YTM1:28, *KGXB* 1992.4, 482, f. 6:17. Earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 25.2 cm, M 11.1 cm, B 17.2 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M218:25, *KGXB* 1995.4, 471, f. 20:12. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 20.8 cm.

105: Ca. 70 BC

Baimashi (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IM5:1, © *KGXB* 1995.2, 224, f. 17:2. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Earthenware; H 12.8 cm, M 18.6 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M33:28, *KGXB* 1995.4, 476, f. 24:2. Siliceous red earthenware; H 10.8 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M333:2, *KGXB* 1995.4, 476, f. 24:1. Siliceous red earthenware; H 12.8 cm.

106: Ca. 70 BC

Guduiwang (Dingyuan, Anhui) M8:6, *KG* 1985.5, 425, f. 3:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 35.8 cm, M 20.8 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 3M60:3, *WW* 1987.6, 39, f. 75:7. Earthenware; H 32.2 cm, M 18.4 cm, G 36 cm, B 18.5 cm.

107: Ca. 70 BC

Zhou Family Cemetery (Jinqueshan [Linyi Municipality, Shandong]) M11:4, *WW* 1984.11, 48, f. 26:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; white slip; black engobe décor; H 17.4 cm, M 11.2 cm, G 18.2 cm, B 13 cm.

Panmiao (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M15:11, WW 1991.12, 56, f. 15:10. Earthenware; H 17.8 cm, M 12.8 cm.

108: Ca. 70 BC

Zhou Family Cemetery (Jinqueshan [Linyi Municipality, Shandong]) M11:1, WW 1984.11, 48, f. 26:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 27.3 cm, M 15.5 cm, G 31 cm, B 26.7 cm.

Panmiao (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M18B:2, WW 1991.12, 56, f. 15:11. Earthenware; H 15 cm, M 10.9 cm.

Panmiao (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M27:6, WW 1991.12, 56, f. 15:6. Earthenware; H 18 cm, M 13.1 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M168:3, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 98, f. 53:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 17.6 cm, M 8.8 cm, G 17.8 cm, B 13.2 cm.

109: Ca. 70 BC

Baimashi (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IIM8:1, © KGXB 1995.2, 224, f. 17:9. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Earthenware; H 11.9 cm, M 11.2 cm.

Baimashi (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IM2:3, KGXB 1995.2, 224, f. 17:10. Earthenware; yellow and red-brown glaze; H 11.6 cm, M 16.8 cm.

Baimashi (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IM6:1, KGXB 1995.2, 224, f. 17:14. Earthenware; yellow and red-brown glaze; H 13.2 cm, M 15.2 cm.

Baimashi (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IIM4:1, KGXB 1995.2, 224, f. 17:12. Earthenware; H 16 cm, M 13.6 cm.

Baimashi (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IIM14:4, KGXB 1995.2, 224, f. 17:13. Earthenware; H 16 cm, M 14.4 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1077:7, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 125, f. 68:1. Earthenware; vessel with no handles.

Luoyang Post and Cable Office (Henan) IM372:50, WW 1994.7, 31, f. 20. Iron; vessel with two ring handles; H 23.6 cm, M 22 cm, G 28.4 cm.

*Maowen (Sichuan) CM6:8, WWZLCK 7 (1983), 45, f. 13:5. Iron; vessel with no handles.

110: Ca. 45 BC

Dabaotai (Beijing Municipality) M2:34, *Dabaotai*, 67, f. 65:2 (listed

in report as *hu*). Vitreous argillaceous red earthenware; green glaze (principally silica [quartz] SiO_2 , with enstatite $\text{MgO} + \text{SiO}_2$ and $\text{Ca}_2\text{MgAlFeO}_6$); wheel thrown; H 24 cm, M 13 cm, B 18 cm.

111: Ca. 45 BC

After: Xiadu (Yixian, Hebei) M35:9, KG 1965.11, 556, f. 11:5.
Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 22.8 cm, M 16.1 cm.

112: Ca. 45 BC

After: Xiadu (Yixian, Hebei) M35:1, KG 1965.11, 556, f. 11:6.
Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 25 cm, M 16 cm.

113: Ca. 45 BC

Dabaotai (Beijing Municipality) M2:36, *Dabaotai*, 68, f. 66:1.
Argillaceous grey earthenware; wheel thrown; H 53 cm, M 32.4 cm, G 51 cm.

+Dabaotai (Beijing Municipality) M1:36, *Dabaotai*, 36, f. 38:1.
Argillaceous grey earthenware; black slip (SiO_2 [silica], $\text{MgO} + \text{SiO}_2$ [enstatite], Al_2TiO_5); wheel thrown; H 60 cm, M 24.8 cm, G 51.2 cm.

114: Ca. 45 BC

+**Dabaotai (Beijing Municipality) M1:11, *Dabaotai*, 36, f. 37:6.**
Argillaceous grey earthenware; wheel thrown; H 28 cm, M 18 cm, G 32 cm, B 13 cm.

+Dabaotai (Beijing Municipality) M1:37, *Dabaotai*, Pl. 37:3.
Argillaceous grey earthenware; wheel thrown; vessel contained animal bones including rabbit and domestic cat; H 84 cm, M 50 cm.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M42:1, *KGXB 1992.2, Pl. 12:5.*
Earthenware; H 25 cm, M 15 cm.

Xiadu (Yixian, Hebei) M35:15, *KG 1965.11, 556, f. 11:13.*
Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 36.4 cm, M 21.1 cm.

115: Ca. 45 BC

Dabaotai (Beijing Municipality) M2:32, *Dabaotai*, 67, f. 65:3.
Argillaceous red earthenware; wheel thrown; H 30 cm, M 16 cm, G 34 cm, B 9 cm.

116: Ca. 45 BC

Dabaotai (Beijing Municipality) M2:33, *Dabaotai*, 67, f. 65:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; wheel thrown; H 37 cm, M 21 cm, G 37.5 cm.

Jiagezhuang (Tangshan Municipality, Hebei) M27:1, *KGXB* 1953.1/2, Pl. 24:1. Argillaceous light grey earthenware; H 33.5 cm, M 19.5 cm, G 36.5 cm.

117: Ca. AD 5

Shixing (Guangdong) M19:3, © *KG* 1993.5, 390, f. 7:5. Reproduced with permission, *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo*. Earthenware; brown slip; H 22 cm, M 12 cm, B 11 cm;

Fenghuangshan (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M6:6, *KG* 1993.3, 245, f. 8:2. Earthenware; H 24 cm, M 12 cm, B 12 cm.

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M7:9, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 43, f. 27. Earthenware; unglazed; H 49 cm, M 19.5 cm, G 43.4 cm.

Wanfu (Xingjian, Hunan) M4:2, *KG* 1992.5, 474, f. 4:2. Vitreous siliceous grey earthenware; impressed cross-hatching décor; H 18.6 cm, M 11.2 cm, B 11 cm.

+ Xupu (Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M101:66, *WW* 1987.1, 6, f. 9. Vitreous earthenware; green-black glaze; H 28.2 cm, G 25 cm.

118: Ca. AD 5

After: **Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M7:54**, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 43, f. 29. Earthenware; broken; H 15 cm, M 6.9 cm, G 17.6 cm.

119: Ca. AD 5

After: **Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1116:19**, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 13:9. Earthenware; G 11.2 cm.

120: Ca. AD 9

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M312:4, *Shaogou*, 98, f. 49:6. Earthenware; H 28.2 cm, G 22.8 cm.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM337:24, *WW* 1992.12, 13, f. 10. Earthenware; H 19 cm, M 11 cm, B 9 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M38:5, *Shaogou*, 98, f. 49:9. Black-grey/greenish-grey earthenware; H 12.8 cm, G 10.8 cm.

Wunüzhong (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM461:29, *WW* 1995.11, 8, f. 9. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 13.2 cm, M 7.8 cm.

121: Ca. AD 9

Shixing (Guangdong) M10:1, © *KG* 1993.5, 390, f. 7:6. Reproduced with permission, *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo*. Earthenware; H 23 cm, M 15.5 cm, B 16.5 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2060:28, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 211, f. 118:1. Earthenware.

Shixing (Guangdong) M19:4, *KG* 1993.5, 390, f. 7:1. Earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 31 cm, M 16.7 cm, B 19.5 cm.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M116:1, *KGXB* 1978.4, Pl. 3:1. Earthenware.

Zixing (Hunan) M116:16, *KGXB* 1995.4, 474, f. 22:1. Siliceous red earthenware; H 36 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M218:22, *KGXB* 1995.4, 474, f. 22:7. Siliceous red earthenware; H 34 cm.

122: Ca. AD 9

Fenghuangshan (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M9:6, © *KG* 1993.3, 245, f. 8:3. Reproduced with permission, *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo*. Earthenware; H 14.2 cm, M 11.4 cm, B 10.4 cm.

Ermutang (Dayong, Hunan) RM5:2, *KG* 1994.12, 1090, f. 15:1. Yellowish earthenware; H 12 cm, M 12 cm, G 15 cm, B 8.2 cm.

Wanfu (Xingjian, Hunan) M4:1, *KG* 1992.5, 474, f. 4:7. Siliceous grey earthenware; high fired; impressed cross-hatching décor; H 10.8 cm, M 9.4 cm, B 10.8 cm.

Wulipai (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M012, *WW* 1960.3, 43, f. 19. Earthenware.

Xin'an (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M4:2, *KG* 1994.3, 212, f. 7:7. Siliceous grey earthenware; inscribed; H 14.5 cm, M 11.8 cm, B 9.6 cm.

123: Ca. AD 9

After: Luoyang Post and Cable Office (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM372:15, WW 1994.7, 28, f. 11:2. Earthenware; H 48.3 cm, M 18.5 cm, G 45.6 cm, B 17.5 cm.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) unnumbered tomb, WWZLCK 9 (1985), 169, f. 19:2. Earthenware; inscribed in red; vessel with lid; H 32.4-40.5 cm.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M11:129, WW 1983.4, 22, f. 27. Grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 24 cm, M 12.5 cm, B 12.5 cm.

124: Ca. AD 9

Weixiao (Dayong, Hunan) WM1:3, © KG 1994.12, 1090, f. 15:7. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Earthenware; H 24.3 cm, M 12 cm, G 22 cm, B 10.5 cm.

Fenghuangshan (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M9:1, KG 1993.3, 245, f. 8:9. Earthenware; red-brown glaze; H 26 cm, M 13 cm, B 10.5 cm.

Ganzhou (Jiangxi), WW 1982.6, 52, f. 3. Vitreous earthenware; brown-green glaze; H 29.5 cm, M 15 cm, B 14 cm.

Ganzhou (Jiangxi), WW 1982.6, 52, f. 4. Vitreous earthenware; unglazed; H 17.9 cm, M 11.5 cm, B 8 cm.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) unnumbered tomb, WWZLCK 9 (1985), 169, f. 19:1. Earthenware; inscribed in red; H 32.4-40.5 cm.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M30:1, KGXB 1976.2, 138, f. 27:10. Vitreous earthenware; low fired; H 24 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M125:12, *Shaogou*, 110, f. 53:9. Earthenware; vessel with small hole near base.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M159B:2, *Shaogou*, 98, f. 49:2. Earthenware.

Shixing (Guangdong) M19:2, KG 1993.5, 390, f. 7:7. Earthenware; H 24 cm, M 14 cm, B 10 cm.

Wunüzhong (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM461:2, WW 1995.11, 9, f. 15. Argillaceous grey earthenware; vessel with small (2.7 cm) circular hole near base; H 39.6 cm, G 43 cm.

Xin'an (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M11:1, KG 1994.3, 212, f.

7:6. Siliceous grey earthenware; H 20.5 cm, M 12 cm, B 10.5 cm.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) *M26:2, *KGXB* 1978.2, Pl. 4:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; very high fired; H 48 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M2:25, *KGXB* 1995.4, Pl. 12:2. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 30 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M19:18, *KGXB* 1995.4, 471, f. 20:4. Siliceous red earthenware; H 13 cm.

125: Ca. AD 9

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M30:2, *KGXB* 1976.2, 138, f. 27:9. Argillaceous brown earthenware; low fired; H 17.4 cm.

Jiulishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1:28, *KG* 1994.12, 1064, f. 3:3. Argillaceous red earthenware; vessel with lid; H 12 cm, M 6.4 cm, B 7.8 cm.

126: Ca. AD 9

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M74:10, *Shaogou*, 110, f. 53:2. Earthenware; H 56 cm, G 55 cm.

Tomb of Bu Qianqiu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan), *WW* 1977.6, 6, f. 20. Earthenware.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) unnumbered tomb, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 167, f. 8. Earthenware; H 57 cm.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M11:63, *WW* 1983.4, 22, f. 29. Grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 54 cm, M 30.5 cm, G 52.5 cm, B 20.5 cm.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM337:42, *WW* 1992.12, 12, f. 7:8. Earthenware; H 34.2 cm, M 17.2 cm, G 32 cm, B 12 cm.

Luoyang Post and Cable Office (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM372:13, *WW* 1994.7, 28, f. 11:1. Earthenware; H 49.2 cm, M 29.4 cm, G 49 cm, B 18 cm.

Painted Tomb (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M61:25, *KGXB* 1964.2, 119, f. 8:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; wheel thrown.

Qianjingtou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) CM1231:38, *WW* 1993.5, 4, f. 4:11. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 47 cm, M 27.5 cm, G 47 cm, B 19 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M412:5, *Shaogou*, 110, f. 53:1. Earthenware; H 49.4 cm, G 45 cm.

Tianzhuangtuo (Ninghe, Tianjin Municipality), WWZLCK 9 (1985), 213, f. 4. Argillaceous grey earthenware.

Wunüzhong (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM461:18, WW 1995.11, 9, f. 13. Argillaceous grey earthenware; inscribed in white (alcohol [container]); H 53.3 cm, G 51.7 cm.

127: Ca. AD 9

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M413:1, *Shaogou*, 98, f. 49:8. Grey earthenware; high fired.

Tomb of Bu Qianqiu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan), WW 1977.6, 5, f. 13. Earthenware; H 42 cm, M 18 cm, G 33 cm.

Qianjingtou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) CM1231:56, WW 1993.5, 4, f. 4:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; inscribed; H 32.6 cm, M 15 cm, G 26 cm, B 13 cm.

Qianjingtou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) CM1231:65, WW 1993.5, 4, f. 4:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 37 cm, M 16 cm, G 27 cm, B 16.3 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M74:61, *Shaogou*, 98, f. 49:7. Grey earthenware; high fired; H 32.8 cm, G 25.6 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M410:32, *Shaogou*, 98, f. 49:1. Vitreous grey earthenware; H 42.5 cm, G 33 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1026:2, *Shaogou*, 98, f. 49:3. Vitreous grey earthenware.

128: Ca. AD 9

Painted Tomb (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M61:59, KGXB 1964.2, 119, f. 8:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; wheel thrown; H 39 cm, G 25 cm.

Xincun (Yanshi, Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1:2, WW 1992.12, 7, f. 13. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 44 cm, M 16 cm, G 35 cm, B 18 cm.

129: Ca. AD 9

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M74:50, *Shaogou*, 98, f. 49:10. Grey earthenware; H 28 cm, G 21.2 cm.

Tomb of Bu Qianqiu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan), WW 1977.6, 6,

f. 21. Earthenware; H 31 cm, M 14 cm, G 22 cm.

Painted Tomb (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M61:34, *KGXB* 1964.2, 119, f. 5:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; wheel thrown; H 21.6 cm, G 18 cm.

Qianjingtou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) CM1231:1, *WW* 1993.5, 5, f. 7. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 29.2 cm, M 13.7 cm, G 22 cm, B 11.5 cm.

Xiadu (Yixian, Hebei) M34:8, *KG* 1965.11, 556, f. 11:9. Argillaceous grey earthenware.

Zhongzhoulu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M801:1, *Zhongzhoulu*, 133, f. 102:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 25.5 cm, G 20 cm.

130: Ca. AD 24

Datagang (Dayong, Hunan) DM25:9, © *KG* 1994.12, 1090, f. 15:2. Reproduced with permission, *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo*. Vitreous earthenware; high fired; inscribed; H 28.8 cm, M 14.8 cm, G 28 cm, B 11 cm.

Nanchang Eastern Suburbs (Jiangxi) M15:8, *KGXB* 1976.2, Pl. 4:2. Vitreous earthenware; vessel with double lip; H 34.5 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 3M58:1, *WW* 1987.6, 41, f. 77. Earthenware; H 44.7 cm, M 23 cm, G 45.9 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M6:22, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 94, f. 51:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 24.5 cm, M 13.6 cm, G 28.7 cm, B 13.6 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M140:21, *KGXB* 1995.4, 474, f. 22:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 38.6 cm.

131: Ca. AD 24

Pingshuo (Shanxi) GM232:8, *WW* 1987.6, 50, f. 89:9. Earthenware; H 20.7 cm, M 12.9 cm, G 27 cm, B 17.4 cm.

Nanshanli (Dalian Municipality, Liaoning) M4, *Nan-shan-li*, Pl. 28:2. Earthenware; H 4.5 inches, M 3 inches.

Nanshanli (Dalian Municipality, Liaoning) M4, *Nan-shan-li*, Pl. 28:4. Earthenware; H 4.5 or 7.5 inches, M 3 or 4.5 inches.

132: Ca. AD 24

Pingshuo (Shanxi) GM232:9, *WW* 1987.6, 50, f. 89:5. Earthenware;

H 22.2 cm, M 13.2 cm, G 26 cm, B 17.1 cm.

Beiyngzi (Liangcheng, Inner Mongolia) M22:4, *NMGWWKG* 1991.1, 30, f. 7:12. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; high fired; H 20.7 cm, M 11.2 cm, G 23.3 cm, B 14 cm.

Pengshan (Sichuan) M153:5, *Pengshan*, 24, f. 20:6. Earthenware.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M91:13, *Shangsunjiazhai*, Pl. 24:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 18.8 cm, M 11.6 cm, G 21.6 cm, B 14.8 cm.

Tianma-Qucun (Quwo and Yicheng, Shanxi) M3:02, *WW* 1993.3, 29, f. 45:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; broken; M 15.6 cm.

*Waxigou (Baoting, Sichuan) M3:1, *KGWW* 1983.6, 10, f. 3:2. Light grey earthenware; wheel thrown; H 15 cm, M 10.5 cm, G 18.5 cm, B 10 cm.

133: Ca. AD 24

Pingshuo (Shanxi) GM232:14, *WW* 1987.6, 50, f. 89:4. Earthenware; H 19.7 cm, M 9.8 cm, G 22.8 cm, B 17.4 cm.

Beiyngzi (Liangcheng, Inner Mongolia) M21:3, *NMGWWKG* 1991.1, 30, f. 7:11. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; high fired; H 13 cm, M 7.5 cm, G 14 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) GM73:14, *WW* 1987.6, 39, f. 75:2. Earthenware; H 25.1 cm, M 11 cm, G 27.6 cm, B 17 cm.

Shangmiangao (Pinglu, Shanxi) PXSM1:4, *WW* 1989.1, 61, f. 3:2. Argillaceous grey (?) earthenware; H 21.9 cm, M 11.2 cm, B 14.5 cm.

134: Ca. AD 24

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M28:2, *KGXB* 1990.1, 118, f. 15:15. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 26.5 cm, M 16 cm, G 33 cm.

Beiyngzi (Liangcheng, Inner Mongolia) M11:7, *NMGWWKG* 1991.1, 30, f. 7:8. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; high fired; H 30 cm, M 18.8 cm, G 35 cm, B 18 cm.

Nanchang Eastern Suburbs (Jiangxi) M1:21, *KGXB* 1976.2, Pl. 2:1. Earthenware; grey-yellow glaze (flaking); inscribed; H 17.5-24.3 cm.

Pengshan (Sichuan) M682:1, *Pengshan*, 24, f. 20:1. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 9M67:9, WW 1987.6, 16, f. 43:4. Earthenware; H 16.1 cm, M 10.7 cm, G 19.5 cm.

Qianjingtou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) CM1231:57, WW 1993.5, 4, f. 4:10. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 25.3 cm, M 17 cm, G 32.5 cm, B 18.2 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) *MB-1, WW 1979.4, 51, f. 4:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; inscribed; H 27.4 cm, M 17.6 cm, B 15.5 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) *MB-1, WW 1979.4, 51, f. 4:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 24.5 cm, M 15.8 cm, B 15.4 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M8:44, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 94, f. 51:10. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 22.4 cm, M 14.6 cm, G 27.2 cm, B 13.8 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M108:4, *Shangsunjiazhai*, Pl. 24:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 17.7 cm, M 12 cm, G 19.6 cm, B 11.5 cm.

Yuantaizi (Chaoyang Municipality, Liaoning) WM7:13, WW 1990.2, 58, f. 23. Earthenware.

135: Ca. AD 24

Wulantaogegai (Hangjin Banner, Inner Mongolia) M7:3, NMGWWKG 1991.1, 41, f. 7:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; burnished décor; H 32.5 cm, M 12.8 cm, G 30.6 cm, B 13 cm.

*Daodunzi (Tongxin, Ningxia) M19:1, *KGXB* 1988.3, Pl. 13:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 33.2 cm, M 12.8 cm, G 33.2 cm, B 12.6 cm.

*Maowen (Sichuan) AM9:11, *WWZLCK* 7 (1983), 42, f. 11:23. Earthenware.

Panmiao (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M6B:5, WW 1991.12, 56, f. 15:7. Earthenware; H 27.3 cm, M 21.2 cm.

Pengshan (Sichuan) M682:9, *Pengshan*, 24, f. 20:4. Earthenware.

Sanfengou (Yangyuan, Hebei) M3:8, WW 1990.1, 7, f. 11:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 28.6 cm, M 11 cm.

Shangmiangao (Pinglu, Shanxi) PXSM1:1, WW 1989.1, 61, f. 3:1. Argillaceous grey (?) earthenware; H 28 cm, M 11.7 cm, B 14.2 cm.

Yuantaizi (Chaoyang Municipality, Liaoning) EM23:7, WW 1990.2, 49, f. 2:18. Earthenware.

136: Ca. AD 24

After: Shangmiangao (Pinglu, Shanxi) PXSM1:12, WW 1989.1, 61, f. 3:3. Argillaceous grey (?) earthenware; H 19 cm, M 11.8 cm, B 13.2 cm.

Nanshanli (Dalian Municipality, Liaoning) M4, *Nan-shan-li*, Pl. 28:3. Earthenware; H 4.5 or 7.5 inches, M 3 or 4.5 inches.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M6:06, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 96, f. 52:7. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 19.2 cm, M 8.8 cm, G 21.8 cm, B 11.6 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M112:3, *Shangsunjiazhai*, Pl. 26:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 25.8 cm, M 12.4 cm, G 28.5 cm, B 14.7 cm.

Wulantaogegai (Hangjin Banner, Inner Mongolia) M6:18, *NMGWWKG 1991.1, 41, f. 7:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; yellow glaze; H 12.2 cm, M 7.4 cm, G 14.5 cm, B 8.4 cm.*

137: Ca. AD 63

After: + Pengshan (Sichuan) M682:1, Pengshan, 24, f. 20:1. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; wheel thrown.

Maquanzi (Wafangdian Municipality, Liaoning) M2:7, *KG 1993.1, 25, f. 5:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 10 cm, M 8 cm, G 14.4 cm, B 9.6 cm.*

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M19:1, *KGXB 1992.2, 246, f. 21:6. Earthenware; H 20 cm, M 14.3 cm.*

138: Ca. AD 63

After: + Pengshan (Sichuan) M682:9, Pengshan, 24, f. 20:4. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; wheel thrown.

Dayi (Sichuan), *WW 1981.12, 41, f. 9:13. Grey earthenware; H 13 cm, M 10 cm, G 18 cm, B 9 cm.*

139: Ca. AD 65

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M21:2, *KGXB 1986.4, 508, f. 31:4. Earthenware; H 14.8 cm, M 12 cm, B 10 cm.*

Longshou Military Base (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M9:11, *Longshouyuan, 193, f. 128:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 24 cm, M 17.6 cm, G 32 cm, B 14.4 cm.*

Longshou Military Base (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M14:5, KGYWW 1992.6, 25, f. 3:6; *Longshouyuan*, 198, f. 132:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 24.8 cm, M 17.6 cm, G 36 cm, B 19.2 cm.

140: Ca. AD 65

*Maowen (Sichuan) AM3:8, WWZLCK 7 (1983), 43, f. 12:10. Bronze; vessel with one handle; H 12.2 cm, G 12 cm.

*Maowen (Sichuan) AM5:2, WWZLCK 7 (1983), 45, f. 13:4. Iron; vessel with one handle.

Qianxi (Guizhou) M12:13, WW 1972.11, 47, f. 18:3. Earthenware; vessel with one handle; H 10.4 cm, M 8 cm.

Guchengping (Yingjing, Sichuan) M2:4, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 74, f. 20. Bronze; H 12 cm, M 20.8 cm.

141: Ca. AD 65

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) 78M109:3, KG 1985.5, 419, f. 11:14. Bronze; H 17.5 cm, M 16.6 cm, G 18.8 cm.

*Lijiashan (Jiangchuan, Yunnan) M27:5, KGXB 1975.2, 129, f. 34:7. Bronze; H 15.8 cm.

*Shizhaishan (Jinning, Yunnan) M6:60, *Shizhaishan*, vol. 1, 66, f. 18. Bronze; vessel has soot marks on bottom; H 14.6 cm, M 13 cm (broken), G 18 cm.

Wafenyuan (Jingsha Municipality, Hubei) M4:38, KG 1995.11, 993, f. 8:6. Bronze; H 12.3 cm, M 9.2 cm, G 13.8 cm.

Xichang (Liangshan, Sichuan) M101, KG 1990.5, 423, f. 9:2. Earthenware; broken; vessel has soot marks on bottom.

142: Ca. AD 65

Pingshuo (Shanxi) GM116:53, WW 1987.6, 39, f. 75:6. Earthenware; H 42.8 cm, M 23.6 cm, G 44.4 cm, B 21.6 cm.

Ermutang (Dayong, Hunan) RM3:11, KG 1994.12, 1090, f. 15:5. Vitreous earthenware; high fired; H 23.4 cm, M 13.4 cm, G 24 cm, B 12.6 cm.

Nanshanli (Dalian Municipality, Liaoning) M4, *Nan-shan-li*, Pl. 28:5. Earthenware; H 4.5 or 7.5 inches, M 3 or 4.5 inches.

Water Treatment Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M51:5,

KGYYWW 1990.6, 49, f. 6:7. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 13.5 cm, M 7.5 cm, B 7.8 cm.

Xicheng (Suizhou Municipality, Hubei) M1:34, WW 1993.7, 67, f. 3:1. Vitreous earthenware; red-brown and yellow glaze; broken; H 33.7 cm, M 18.8 cm, G 32 cm, B 16.3 cm.

Zengjiabao (Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan) M1 or M2, WW 1981.10, 30, f. 15. Grey-white stoneware; green glaze; H 19.5 cm, M 10.7 cm, B 12 cm.

143: Ca. AD 65

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1068:4, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 99, f. 49:2. Earthenware.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1014:19, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 13:4. Earthenware.

144: Ca. AD 65

***Guoxianyaozi (Liangcheng, Inner Mongolia) M26:1**, *KGXB* 1989.1, 64, f. 10:5. Earthenware; smoke marks on lower belly; H 28.6 cm, M 12 cm.

Longshou Military Base (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M10:15, *KGYYWW* 1992.6, 25, f. 6:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 39 cm, M 10.2 cm, G 36.6 cm, B 16.8 cm.

145: Ca. AD 65

Guolufang (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M10:6, © *KGYYWW* 1992.2, 20, f. 10:18. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 30 cm, M 9 cm, G 21.5 cm, B 11 cm.

Guolufang (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M6:4, *KGYYWW* 1992.2, 21, f. 11:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 31.5 cm, M 8.5 cm, G 20 cm, B 9.5 cm.

Majiashan (Xindu, Sichuan) M4:32, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 103, f. 20:10. Earthenware; H 34 cm, M 8 cm, B 12.8 cm.

146: Ca. AD 65

Wulantaogegai (Hangjin Banner, Inner Mongolia) M7:5, *NMGWWKG* 1991.1, 41, f. 7:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; burnished décor; H 38.7 cm, M 20.7 cm, G 43 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1014:2, *Guangzhou* vol. 1, 97, f. 48:6. Earthenware; yellow-brown and green glaze; H 26.5 cm, G 29 cm.

Sôgamni (Sekiganri) ([originally, Taedonggangmyôn M9,] Pangyori, P'yôngyang, Democratic People's Republic of Korea) M9, *Lolang*, vol. 2, 74, Pl. 505 (reported as *hu*). Earthenware; H 8.6 inches, M 4.8 inches, G 9 inches.

Xicun (Xixian, Anhui) M1:2, *KG* 1995.11, 1050, f. 3:7. Vitreous grey earthenware; unglazed; H 29 cm, M 17.2 cm, G 33.5 cm, B 12.8 cm.

147: Ca. AD 65

Datagang (Dayong, Hunan) DM9:1, © *KG* 1994.12, 1086, f. 11:14. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Argillaceous grey earthenware; glazed; H 29.2 cm, M 13.6 cm, G 28 cm, B 17.4 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1068:23, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 10:6. Earthenware; H 39 cm, G 31.5 cm.

148: Ca. AD 65

Majiashan (Xindu, Sichuan) M1:25, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 103, f. 20:2. Earthenware; H 8 cm, M 3.4 cm, B 4.2 cm.

Fangxin (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M4:3, *KGYYW* 1992.5, 27, f. 5:21. Siliceous red earthenware; brown glaze; stamped décor; H 11.2 cm, M 7.2 cm, G 14.4 cm, B 6.4 cm.

Fangxin (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M6:6, *KGYYW* 1992.5, 27, f. 5:3. Siliceous red earthenware; yellow glaze; stamped décor; H 14.4 cm, M 6.4 cm, G 16 cm, B 8 cm.

Fangxin (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M7:11, *KGYYW* 1992.5, 27, f. 5:19. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 14.8 cm, M 6.4 cm, G 16 cm, B 7.2 cm.

Gongxian (Henan), *KG* 1974.2, 125, f. 5. Earthenware; vessel contained beads; H 56 cm, M 37 cm.

Guijiayuanzi (Zhaotong Municipality, Yunnan), *KG* 1962.8, Pl. 4:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 19.8 cm, M 8.8 cm, B 10.5 cm.

Longshou Military Base (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M3:7, *KGYYW* 1992.6, 26, f. 7:9. Argillaceous grey earthenware; engobe décor; H 16 cm, M 8 cm, G 16 cm, B 8 cm.

Longshou Military Base (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M10:17, *KGYYW* 1992.6, 26, f. 7:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; engobe décor; H 14.4 cm, M 6.4 cm, G 15.8 cm, B 8 cm.

Majiashan (Xindu, Sichuan) M2:33, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 103, f. 20:5. Earthenware; H 21.4 cm, M 8.8 cm, B 11.6 cm.

+ Majiashan (Xindu, Sichuan) M5:25, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 103, f. 20:1. Earthenware; H 14 cm, M 8.4 cm, B 8.8 cm.

Majiashan (Xindu, Sichuan) M12:1, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 103, f. 20:4. Earthenware; inscribed in red; H 21 cm, M 11.8 cm, B 10.8 cm.

Maquan (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M1:21, *KG* 1979.2, 127, f. 4:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 17.2 cm, G 18.9 cm.

Pengshan (Sichuan) M684:19, *Pengshan*, 24, f. 20:7. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; H 17.5 cm, M 10.6 cm, G 20.4 cm, B 11.2 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 6M147:2, *WW* 1987.6, 6, f. 17:8. Earthenware; H 14.4 cm, M 12.6 cm, G 17.8 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 8M96:1, *WW* 1987.6, 3, f. 5:3. Earthenware; H 14.3 cm, M 11.7 cm, G 16.4 cm.

Qinguang (Zaoyuan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M2:2, *KGYYW* 1992.5, 14, f. 8:32. Siliceous red earthenware; green glaze; stamped décor; H 13.6 cm, M 8 cm, B 7.2 cm.

Qinguang (Zaoyuan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M5:9, *KGYYW* 1992.5, 14, f. 8:43. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 25.6 cm, M 13.6 cm, G 30 cm, B 13.5 cm.

Qinguang (Zaoyuan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M11:12, *KGYYW* 1992.5, 14, f. 8:23. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 13.4 cm, M 6.4 cm, G 14.4 cm, B 6.4 cm.

Qinguang (Zaoyuan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M13:2, *KGYYW* 1992.5, 14, f. 8:26. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 14.8 cm, M 7.2 cm, G 16 cm, B 8 cm.

Qinguang (Zaoyuan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M14:19, *KGYYW* 1992.5, 14, f. 8:7. Siliceous red earthenware; yellow glaze; stamped décor; H 13.2 cm, M 7.2 cm, G 15.6 cm, B 7.6 cm.

Qinguang (Zaoyuan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M15:1, *KGYYW* 1992.5, 14, f. 8:2. Siliceous red earthenware; yellow glaze; H 12.5 cm, M 6 cm, G 15 cm, B 7.5 cm.

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M35:17, *KG* 1981.1, 41, f. 21:6. Earthenware; H 24.4 cm, M 20.6 cm, G 31 cm.

Xianyang (Shaanxi) M34:37, *KG* 1982.3, 226, f. 3:4. Earthenware; H 14 cm, M 9 cm, B 7.8 cm.

Xianyang (Shaanxi) M36:21, *KG* 1982.3, 226, f. 3:2. Earthenware; H 13.2 cm, M 8 cm, G 15.4 cm, B 7 cm.

Xiaoshanzi (Ya'an, Sichuan) M5:4, *KGYWW* 1988.3, 112, f. 2:3. Grey earthenware; wheel thrown; broken; H 24 cm, M 12.8 cm, B 12.4 cm.

Xichang (Liangshan, Sichuan) M1:30, *KG* 1990.5, 423, f. 9:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 24.5 cm, G 24 cm, B 13.8 cm.

Xijian (Shangxian, Shaanxi), *KG* 1988.6, 574, f. 1:6. Vitreous earthenware; H 24.9 cm, M 16.9 cm, G 29.2 cm, B 12 cm.

Xijian (Shangxian, Shaanxi), *KG* 1988.6, 574, f. 1:7. Vitreous earthenware; H 17.8 cm, M 12 cm, G 22.1 cm, B 11.5 cm.

Zengjiabao (Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan) M1 or M2, *WW* 1981.10, 30, f. 18. Earthenware; H 18.2 cm, M 8.4 cm, B 9.7 cm.

Zengjiabao (Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan) M1 or M2, *WW* 1981.10, 30, f. 19. Earthenware; vessel contained minerals presumed to have had medicinal uses; H 19.8 cm, M 9.2 cm, B 9 cm.

149: Ca. AD 65

Xin'an (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M4:1, © *KG* 1994.3, 212, f. 7:1. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Siliceous red earthenware; H 23 cm, M 13.5 cm, B 12 cm.

Cigou (Xiangcheng, Henan) object #54, *KGXB* 1964.1, Pl. 3:2. Grey earthenware; H 21 cm, G 22.5 cm.

Gaozhuang (Dilu, Hebei), *KG* 1994.4, Pl. 6:1. Earthenware; glazed; H 22 cm, M 16 cm, B 12 cm.

Guangyan (Zhungar Banner, Inner Mongolia), *WW* 1977.5, 36, f. 23. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 31.5-39 cm, G 34-43 cm.

Guijiayuanzi (Zhaotong Municipality, Yunnan) M1:16a, *KG* 1962.8, Pl. 4:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 23 cm, M 11.6 cm.

Luoning (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M4:1, *WW* 1987.1, 41, f. 12. Red earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 25 cm.

Maquan (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M1:12, *KG* 1979.2, 127, f. 4:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 38.2 cm, G 44 cm.

Meidai (Hohhot Municipality, Inner Mongolia) MI, WW 1961.8, 24, f. 12. Earthenware; vessel was used as a jar coffin and contained a child; H 32.5 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M39:4, *Longshouyuan*, 59, f. 36:7. Argillaceous grey earthenware; impressed décor of vertical lines on lower belly; vessel has two small holes in neck, one small hole on lower belly; H 20.1 cm, M 9.6 cm, G 22.2 cm, B 10.2 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) GM119:8, WW 1987.6, 25, f. 54:4. Earthenware; H 25.6 cm, M 16.2 cm, G 30 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M116:4, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 94, f. 51:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 20.8 cm, M 11.9 cm, G 22.8 cm, B 11.6 cm.

150: Ca. AD 65

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M92:11, © KGYWW 1992.5, 35, f. 2:4. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. [= *Longshouyuan*, 117, f. 79:8.] Argillaceous grey earthenware; incised/impressed cord-like décor; H 22.8 cm, M 6 cm, G 21 cm, B 9 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M12:3, *Longshouyuan*, 41, f. 23:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; incised/impressed line décor; H 26.4 cm, M 6.5 cm, G 22.8 cm, B 8.4 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M54:14, *Longshouyuan*, 82, f. 54:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; incised/impressed line and dot décor; H 19.6 cm, M 7.2 cm, G 17.6 cm, B 7.2 cm.

151: Ca. AD 65

Dayi (Sichuan), WW 1981.12, 41, f. 9:12. Grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 45 cm, G 46 cm.

Chôngbaengni (Teihakuri) ([originally, Taedonggangmyôn M4], Pangyori, P'yôngyang, Democratic People's Republic of Korea) M151, *Lolang*, vol. 3, 154, Pl. 732. Earthenware; H 7.22 inches, M 3.75 inches.

Guangyan (Zhungar Banner, Inner Mongolia), WW 1977.5, 36, f. 28. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 28.5-32 cm, G 32 cm.

*Ivolga (Buriat Republic, Russia) M216, *Ivolga*, vol. 2, Pl. 68:11.

Earthenware.

*Kara-kol (Tuva), Rudenko, *Noin-Ula*, Pl. 26:3. Earthenware.

Nanshanli (Dalian Municipality, Liaoning) M2, *Nan-shan-li*, Pl. 28:7. Earthenware; H 4 inches.

Yima ([New Municipality,] Henan) 84M5:1, WW 1995.11, 21, f. 2:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 37.5 cm, M 12.4 cm, G 34 cm, B 17.6 cm.

152: Ca. AD 65

Dayi (Sichuan), WW 1981.12, 41, f. 9:1. Brown earthenware; H 53 cm, M 18 cm, G 50 cm, B 24 cm.

Dayi (Sichuan), WW 1981.12, 41, f. 9:11. Brown earthenware; H 45 cm, G 50 cm, M 20 cm.

153: Ca. AD 65

Guolufang (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M9:6, © KGYWW 1992.2, 20, f. 10:8. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 23 cm, M 16.5 cm, G 29.8 cm, B 15.2 cm.

Bijiashan (Suining, Sichuan) M5:2, WWZLCK 9 (1985), 128, f. 28:4. Earthenware; H 13.2 cm, M 8.7 cm, B 8.2 cm.

Fuling (Sichuan) M1:10, KG 1984.4, 340, f. 3:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 20.4 cm, M 12 cm, G 25.6 cm, B 9.2 cm.

Fuling (Sichuan) M1:12, KG 1984.4, 340, f. 3:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 24 cm, M 14 cm, G 30.4 cm, B 14 cm.

Nanshanli (Dalian Municipality, Liaoning) M2, *Nan-shan-li*, Pl. 27:2. Earthenware; H 9 inches, M 6.5 inches, G 15 inches.

Suzhou Northern Suburbs (Jiangsu) well SPJ1:4, KG 1993.3, 256, f. 4:1 (listed as *hu*). Argillaceous grey earthenware; black slip; H 28 cm, M 12.6 cm, G 28.4 cm, B 9 cm.

154: Ca. AD 65

Wulantaogegai (Hangjin Banner, Inner Mongolia) M7:6, NMGWWKG 1991.1, 41, f. 7:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; burnished décor; H 15 cm, M 11.2 cm, G 20 cm, B 10 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M62:1, *Longshouyuan*, 95, f. 64:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; incised/impressed line décor; H 10 cm, M 6.4 cm, G 12.8 cm, B 8.4 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 9M67:11, *WW* 1987.6, 16, f. 43:14. Earthenware; H 24 cm, M 16.2 cm, G 29.8 cm.

Sanfengou (Yangyuan, Hebei) M9:3, *WW* 1990.1, 7, f. 11:9. Argillaceous grey earthenware; inscribed; H 16.2 cm, M 9.8 cm.

Wulantaogegai (Hangjin Banner, Inner Mongolia) M9:5, *NMGWWKG* 1991.1, 41, f. 7:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; yellow glaze; H 11.6 cm, M 8.7 cm, G 15.4 cm, B 8.6 cm.

155: Ca. AD 65

Guolufang (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M9:1, © KGYWW 1992.2, 21, f. 11:9. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. Siliceous grey-black earthenware; H 19.6 cm, M 6-6.8 cm, G 16-17 cm, B 8.5-8.8 cm.

*Daodunzi (Tongxin, Ningxia) M6:10, *KGXB* 1988.3, 342, f. 8:2. Argillaceous black earthenware; H 42.2 cm, M 14.8 cm, G 35.2 cm, B 18 cm.

*Ivolga (Buriat Republic, Russia) M158, *Ivolga*, vol. 2, Pl. 43:12. Earthenware.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M3:8, *Longshouyuan*, 24, f. 8:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 16.8 cm, M 9.2 cm, G 16.4 cm, B 8.4 cm.

Water Treatment Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M19:11, *KGYWW* 1990.6, 49, f. 6:9. Earthenware; H 21.6 cm, M 9.2 cm, B 10 cm.

156: Ca. AD 65

Qinchuan Machinery Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M35:6, © KGYWW 1992.3, 39, f. 6:10. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 13.5 cm, M 7.5 cm, B 7.3 cm.

Bijiashan (Suining, Sichuan) M6:5, *WWZLC* 9 (1985), 128, f. 28:3. Earthenware; broken; H 6.7 cm, M 4.4 cm, B 3.9 cm.

Guolufang (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M10:8 (? illustration not identified; *KGYWW* 1992.2, p. 19 cites four examples of the form,

of which two are described, one being identified as shown in f. 10:8, the other identified as M10:8.), *KGYYW* 1992.2, 21, f. 11:3. Grey argillaceous earthenware; H 25 cm, M 18.5 cm, G 28.4 cm, B 14.5 cm.

*Ivolga (Buriat Republic, Russia) M119, *Ivolga*, vol. 2, Pl. 35:5. Earthenware.

Nanshanli (Dalian Municipality, Liaoning) M4, *Nan-shan-li*, Pl. 28:1. Earthenware; H 4.5 inches, M 3 inches.

*Ulangom (Mongolia) M14B, *Ulangom*, 58, f. 15 bottom. Earthenware.

*Wangong (Chenbaerhu Banner, Inner Mongolia) M1B:71, *KG* 1965.6, 276, f. 4:6. Siliceous grey earthenware; H 13.8 cm, G 17.5 cm.

Wulantaogegai (Hangjin Banner, Inner Mongolia) find #1, *NMGWWKG* 1991.1, 41, f. 7:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 13.8 cm, M 8 cm, G 15.4 cm, B 7.4 cm.

Yuantaizi (Chaoyang Municipality, Liaoning) WM7:6, *WW* 1990.2, 49, f. 2:21. Earthenware.

Zixing (Hunan) M11:3, *KGXB* 1995.4, 471, f. 20:13. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 16.6 cm.

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Guolufang (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M10:7, © *KGYYW* 1992.2, 21, f. 11:2. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 36.5 cm, M 22.5 cm, B 21.5 cm.

Longshou Military Base (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M15:1, *KGYYW* 1992.6, 25, f. 6:3; *Longshouyuan*, 204, f. 136:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 50 cm, M 28 cm, G 66 cm, B 25 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M27:1, *Longshouyuan*, 49, f. 30:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 41 cm, M 28 cm, G 54 cm, B 18 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) WM14:22, *WW* 1983.4, 31, f. 7. Earthenware; H 53 cm, M 31.5 cm, G 57 cm, B 29 cm.

158: Ca. AD 65

After: Mozuizi (Wuwei, Gansu) M6, *KG* 1960.5, 11, f. 2 right. Grey earthenware; H 23.5 cm, M 13.5 cm.

Nanchang Eastern Suburbs (Jiangxi) M13:13, *KGXB* 1976.2, Pl. 2:4. Earthenware; red-brown glaze; H 20.8 cm.

Pengshan (Sichuan) M601:01, *Pengshan*, 24, f. 20:5. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware.

159: Ca. AD 65

Pengshan (Sichuan) M601:45, *Pengshan*, 24, f. 20:2. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M19:5, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 96, f. 52:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 16.3 cm, M 11.2 cm, G 24.4 cm, B 13.8 cm.

160: Ca. AD 65

Pengshan (Sichuan) M684:14, *Pengshan*, 24, f. 20:3. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; H 21.5 cm, M 13 cm, B 21.8 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M155:7, *Shangsunjiazhai*, Pl. 25:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 19.7 cm, M 16.8 cm, G 28.2 cm, B 19.2 cm.

161: Ca. AD 65

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1008:34, *Shaogou*, 98, f. 49:13. Earthenware; H 36.5 cm, G 46 cm.

Jingshi (Huayin, Shaanxi) 80T1(3):13, *Jingshi*, 53, f. 47:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 19.2 cm, M 14 cm.

Luoning (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M4:14, *WW* 1987.1, 41, f. 11. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 24 cm, G 24 cm.

Miaonan ([New Village,] Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM528:51, *WW* 1994.7, 38, f. 2:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 10.3 cm, M 5 cm, G 11.5 cm, B 9 cm.

Sanfengou (Yangyuan, Hebei) M11:4, *WW* 1990.1, 7, f. 11:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 21.6 cm, M 11 cm (? – cited as 1.1 cm, which appears to be a typographical error).

Sanfengou (Yangyuan, Hebei) M11:6, *WW* 1990.1, 7, f. 11:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 26.2 cm, M 13.2 cm.

Wolongs (Baoji Municipality, Shaanxi), *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 202, f. 18. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 18 cm, M 7.2 cm, G 19 cm.

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Guolufang (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M9:7, © KGYWW

1992.2, 21, f. 11:8. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 27.5 cm, M 8 cm, G 34 cm, B 13.5 cm.

Fuling (Sichuan) M2:24, *KG* 1984.4, 340, f. 3:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 29.2 cm, M 10.8 cm, G 36.8 cm, B 14.4 cm.

Guolufang (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M10:9, *KG YWW* 1992.2, 21, f. 11:13. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 34.5 cm, M 8.2 cm, G 40 cm, B 17.5 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M7:3, *Longshouyuan*, 32, f. 14:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; incised/impressed line décor; inscribed; H 33.6 cm, M 12 cm, G 41.6 cm, B 19.2 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M10:1, *Longshouyuan*, 35, f. 18:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; inscribed; H 33.6 cm, M 9.6 cm, G 42 cm, B 16.8 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M49:3, *Longshouyuan*, 73, f. 47:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; incised/impressed line décor; inscribed; H 32 cm, M 9.6 cm, G 40.8 cm, B 19.2 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M51:2 (same description said to apply for M51:11), *Longshouyuan*, 78, f. 51:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; impressed geometric décor; H 32.8 cm, M 8 cm, G 40 cm, B 19.2 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M54:15, *Longshouyuan*, 82, f. 54:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; inscribed; H 34 cm, M 8 cm, G 43 cm, B 17.5 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M84:5, *Longshouyuan*, 105, f. 72:9. Argillaceous grey earthenware; incised/impressed line décor; H 32 cm, M 8 cm, G 40 cm, B 18.4 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M92:1, *KG YWW* 1992.5, 35, f. 2:3; *Longshouyuan*, 116, f. 78:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 32 cm, M 8 cm, G 42.4 cm, B 20 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M162:2, *Longshouyuan*, 160, f. 105:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 32.5 cm, M 8 cm, G 42 cm, B 19 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M164:4, *Longshouyuan*, 163, f. 107:13. Argillaceous grey earthenware; impressed geometric décor; inscribed; H 34 cm, M 8 cm, G 42 cm, B 20 cm.

Pengshan (Sichuan) M161:42, *Pengshan*, 24, f. 20:16. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware.

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M14:6, *KGXB* 1990.1, 118, f. 15:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 31.5 cm, M 14 cm, G 38 cm.

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M21:7, *KGXB* 1990.1, 118, f. 15:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 24 cm, M 18 cm, G 38 cm.

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M29:1, *KGXB* 1990.1, 118, f. 15:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 28 cm, M 12.5 cm, G 32 cm.

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Guolufang (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M9:5, © KGYWW 1992.2, 20, f. 10:20. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 45 cm, M 9.2 cm, G 45.5 cm, B 25.4 cm.

Longshou Military Base (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M11:3, *KGYWW* 1992.6, 25, f. 6:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 40.2 cm, M 9.6 cm, G 45.6 cm, B 21 cm.

Nanguan (Zhengzhou Municipality, Henan) M159:12, *WW* 1960.8/9, 21, f. 11. Grey earthenware; H 38 cm, M 12 cm, G 32 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M39:1, *Longshouyuan*, 59, f. 36:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; incised/impressed line and dot décor; H 43.5 cm, M 10 cm, G 46 cm, B 20 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M42:8, *Longshouyuan*, 65, f. 41:10. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 24 cm, M 4.8 cm, G 24.6 cm, B 12.6 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M49:1, *Longshouyuan*, 73, f. 47:7. Argillaceous grey earthenware; incised/impressed line décor; inscribed; H 42 cm, M 13 cm, G 46 cm, B 21.5 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an

Municipality, Shaanxi]) M51:5, *Longshouyuan*, 78, f. 51:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; incised/impressed line décor; H 42 cm, M 10 cm, G 46 cm, B 21 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M89:4, *Longshouyuan*, 109, f. 74:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; incised/impressed line décor; H 40 cm, M 8 cm, G 44 cm, B 22 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M152:1, *Longshouyuan*, 157, f. 102:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; incised/impressed line décor; H 43 cm, M 10 cm, G 45 cm, B 22 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M152:18, *Longshouyuan*, 157, f. 102:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; incised/impressed line décor; H 34 cm, M 8 cm, G 41 cm, B 18 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 3M56:10, *WW* 1987.6, 41, f. 78. Earthenware; H 26.5 cm, M 11.4 cm, G 29.4 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 6M17:1, *WW* 1987.6, 13, f. 36. Earthenware; H 29 cm, M 10.9 cm, G 28 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 9M93:1, *WW* 1987.6, 16, f. 43:10. Earthenware; H 27 cm, M 9.9 cm, G 28.3 cm.

164: Ca. AD 65

Dayi (Sichuan), *WW* 1981.12, 41, f. 9:6. Grey earthenware; H 24 cm, M 9 cm, G 10 cm, B 6.5 cm.

165: Ca. AD 65

Longshou Military Base (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M4:9, © *KGYWW* 1992.6, 26, f. 7:5. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. Earthenware; H 18.8 cm, M 7.8 cm, G 17.6 cm, B 8.8 cm.

Beiyongzi (Liangcheng, Inner Mongolia) M12:8, *NMGWWKG* 1991.1, 30, f. 7:9. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; high fired; H 38.6 cm, M 14.5 cm, G 36.2 cm, B 17.6 cm.

Guoluofang (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M5:4, *KGYWW* 1992.2, 21, f. 11:10. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 22 cm, M 8 cm, G 20 cm, B 9 cm.

Lijiataozi (Tongxin, Ningxia) TLM1:2, *KGYWW* 1988.3, 19, f. 5:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 30 cm, M 12 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M42:9, *Longshouyuan*, 65, f. 41:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 19.2 cm, M 7.2 cm, B 9.2 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M49:13, *Longshouyuan*, 73, f. 47:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; incised/impressed line décor; H 18.4 cm, M 5.6 cm, G 17.2 cm, B 7.2 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M92:14, *Longshouyuan*, 117, f. 79:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; incised/impressed line décor; H 20.5 cm, M 9 cm, G 19 cm, B 10 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M120:21, *Longshouyuan*, 140, f. 93:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; incised/impressed line décor; H 19 cm, M 6.5 cm, G 18 cm, B 9 cm.

166: Ca. AD 65

After: + **Majiashan (Xindu, Sichuan)** M5:13, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 118, f. 117. Earthenware; H 13.2 cm, M 7.6 cm, B 8 cm.

Wafenyuan (Jingsha Municipality, Hubei) M4:57, *KG* 1995.11, Pl. 4:1. Earthenware; H 24.4 cm, M 8.8 cm, G 20.8 cm, B 16 cm.

167: Ca. AD 65

After: **Tianlong (Pingba, Guizhou)** M66, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 129, f. 1:6 (two examples cited). Iron; H 36 cm, M 29 cm, G 43.4 cm, B 9.6 cm.

Fangxin (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M3:10, *KGYYW* 1992.5, 28, f. 6:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 8.4 cm, M 5.6 cm, G 10.4 cm, B 2.4 cm.

Mianzhu (Sichuan) M2:29, *KG* 1983.4, 298, f. 3:9. Siliceous brown earthenware; H 30 cm, M 19 cm, G 40 cm, B 15 cm.

Ninggu (Anshun, Guizhou) M6, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 133, f. 2:8. Iron; H 39 cm, M 32 cm, G 49 cm, B 12 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) unnumbered tomb, *KGYYW* 1992.5, 22, f. 2:12. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 7 cm, M 4.8 cm, G 10 cm, B 2.4 cm.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M15:8, *KGXB* 1976.2, 130,

f. 18:6. Earthenware; low fired; H 9 cm.

Qinchuan Machinery Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M7:11, *KGYYW* 1992.3, 39, f. 6:23. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 8 cm, M 6.5 cm.

Qinguang (Zaoyuan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M7:8, *KGYYW* 1992.5, 14, f. 8:8 (following the inventory number given in the text; the illustration caption cites M13:9). Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 8.3 cm, M 6 cm, G 10.8 cm, B 1.6 cm.

*Tiejianggou (Aohan Banner, Inner Mongolia) AM3:1, *NMGWWKG* 1992.1/2, 86, f. 5:1. Siliceous grey earthenware; hand built; low fired; H 25 cm, M 14.3 cm, B 7.8 cm.

Yunxian (Hubei) M302:5, *KGXJK* 6 (1989), 168, f. 25:1. Iron; H 21 cm, M 20 cm.

168: Ca. AD 65

Ermutang (Dayong, Hunan) RM3:5, © *KG* 1994.12, 1087, f. 13:15. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Red earthenware; very low fired; H 12.5 cm, M 9.6 cm, G 16 cm, B 7.6 cm.

Wangcun (Xiashan, Shanxi) XWM5:7, *WW* 1994.8, 45, f. 33:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 23.8 cm, M 16 cm.

Wangcun (Xiashan, Shanxi) XWM5:14, *WW* 1994.8, 45, f. 33:7. Grey earthenware; H 38 cm, M 28.5 cm.

Wolongsu (Baoji Municipality, Shaanxi), *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 202, f. 19. Red earthenware; red-brown and yellow glaze; H 10.5 cm, M 6 cm, G 14 cm.

169: Ca. AD 65

Shixing (Guangdong) M13:3, © *KG* 1993.5, 392, f. 10:5. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Stoneware/porcelain; light green glaze; H 21 cm, M 10 cm, B 10 cm.

Datagang (Dayong, Hunan) DM9:9, *KG* 1994.12, 1090, f. 15:6. Vitreous earthenware; yellow-green glaze; high fired; H 20 cm, M 16.8 cm, B 10.5 cm.

Wafenyuan (Jingsha Municipality, Hubei) M2:14, *KG* 1995.11, 990, f. 5:1. Vitreous earthenware; green glaze; H 38 cm, M 18 cm, G 32.8 cm, B 14.7 cm.

170: Ca. AD 65

Fangxin (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M1:4, © KGYWW 1992.5, 27, f. 5:22. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 14.4 cm, M 5.6 cm, B 13.2 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5035:18, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 397, f. 239:11. Earthenware; vessel with lid; H 23 cm, M 7.5 cm, G 20.7 cm.

Longshou Military Base (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M2, KGYWW 1992.6, 26, f. 7:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 28 cm, M 10.8 cm, B 21 cm.

Qinchuan Machinery Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M7:10, KGYWW 1992.3, 39, f. 6:22. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 14.3 cm, M 7 cm, B 10.5 cm.

Qinchuan Machinery Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M34:9, KGYWW 1992.3, 39, f. 6:24. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 20.8 cm, M 11 cm, B 12.5 cm.

Qinchuan Machinery Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M35:5, KGYWW 1992.3, 39, f. 6:26. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 30 cm, M 13.3 cm, B 19.2 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M64:01, *Shangsunjiazhai*, Pl. 34:3. Earthenware; H 25.2 cm, M 12 cm, G 20 cm, B 20 cm.

Shixing (Guangdong) M3:1, KG 1993.5, 392, f. 10:3. Stoneware/porcelain; yellow-green glaze; H 20 cm (broken), B 16 cm.

Shixing (Guangdong) M13:1, KG 1993.5, 392, f. 10:2. Stoneware/porcelain; light green glaze; H 19 cm, M 9 cm, B 14 cm.

171: Ca. AD 65

Yunxian (Hubei) M302:3, KGXJK 6 (1989), 166, f. 20:3. Bronze; H 13.5 cm, M 14 cm.

172: Ca. AD 67

Huayang (Yuexi, Sichuan), WWZLCK 7 (1983), 25, f. 6. Bronze; vessel with one handle; H 14 cm, M 25 cm.

Huayang (Yuexi, Sichuan), WWZLCK 7 (1983), 26, f. 12. Bronze; vessel with two handles; broken; H 16 cm, M 12 cm.

*Maowen (Sichuan) BM7:15, WWZLCK 7 (1983), 43, f. 12:2. Bronze; H 13.8 cm, G 17 cm.

173: Ca. AD 67

Dongmenli (Liaoyang [Old] Municipality, Liaoning) M1:51, WW 1985.6, 29, f. 9:6. Argillaceous grey (?) earthenware; relatively high fired; H 17.5 cm, M 10.5 cm, G 18.5 cm, B 13 cm.

174: Ca. AD 67

Dongmenli (Liaoyang [Old] Municipality, Liaoning) M1:25, WW 1985.6, 29, f. 9:7. Argillaceous grey (?) earthenware; relatively high fired; H 36 cm, M 14.2 cm, G 38.4 cm.

Jiagezhuang (Tangshan Municipality, Hebei) M14:1 and M14:4, *KGXB* 1953.1/2, Pl. 23:1. Argillaceous light grey earthenware; H 23.7 cm, M 12.5 cm, G 22.7 cm.

Suzhou Northern Suburbs (Jiangsu) well SPJ3:2, *KG* 1993.3, 256, f. 4:4 (listed in report as *hu*). Argillaceous grey earthenware; black slip; H 24 cm, M 12 cm, G 25.4 cm.

175: Ca. AD 67

Tangpai (Hepu, Guangxi) M2A:7, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 48, f. 3:1. Vitreous grey earthenware.

Chongan (Fujian) T28(3):10, *KGXB* 1990.3, Pl. 13:2. Vitreous argillaceous earthenware; vessel with handles on shoulder; H 22 cm, M 14 cm.

Fengmenling (Hepu, Guangxi) M10:23, *KG* 1995.3, 228, f. 2:5. Vitreous yellow earthenware; yellow-green glaze (?); fired high (?); H 11.5 cm, M 7 cm, G 11 cm, B 6.5 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2001:5, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 54:3. Earthenware; H 32.5 cm, M 19.3 cm, G 28.8 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M3009:27, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 268, f. 158:1. Earthenware; H 34 cm, G 29.2 cm.

Hepu (Guangxi), *KG* 1972.5, 23, f. 3:5. Grey earthenware; H 36.5 cm.

*Maowen (Sichuan) BM1:2, *WWZLCK* 7 (1983), 42, f. 11:15. Earthenware.

Tianlong (Pingba, Guizhou), *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 129, f. 1:4. Earthenware; yellow-brown glaze; H 20-44.8 cm.

Xijian (Shangxian, Shaanxi), *KG* 1988.6, 574, f. 1:8. Vitreous earthenware; H 17.2 cm, M 8.4 cm, G 16.6 cm, B 11.8 cm.

Xilinshan (Shunde, Guangdong) XM2:31, WW 1991.4, 60, f. 34. Earthenware; H 12.5 cm, M 9.2 cm, B 10.

Xuwen (Guangdong) M4:2, KG 1977.4, Pl. 8:2. Earthenware.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M124:11, KGXB 1978.4, Pl. 3:2. Earthenware; H 24.5 cm, M 20 cm.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M148:8, KGXB 1978.4, 475, f. 11:4. Earthenware; H 28 cm, M 24 cm.

176: Ca. AD 67

After: Tianlong (Pingba, Guizhou) M69:5, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 129, f. 1:5. Earthenware; light green glaze; H 32.8 cm, M 14.5 cm, G 36 cm, B 26 cm.

+ Ganquan (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2:1, WW 1981.11, 11, f. 28. Porcelain (white body); light green or yellow-brown glaze; H 22 cm, M 10.4 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2050:22, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 54:4. Earthenware; H 36 cm, G 40.6 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M3023:58, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 268, f. 158:2. Earthenware; glazed; H 32.4 cm, G 31.2 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4039:1, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 94:1. Earthenware; vessel with lid.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5080:26, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 128:6. Earthenware; H 10.4 cm, G 12 cm.

177: Ca. AD 67

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M170:22, © KGYWW 1992.6, 16, f. 3:29. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 8.1 cm, M 3.9 cm, G 9 cm, B 2.4 cm. Note that *Longshouyuan*, 169, applies this number to the lidded box (*he*) which, in the KGYWW report is identified as M170:26. *Longshouyuan* does not identify a *guan* corresponding to the KGYWW M170:22 *guan* shown here. I have therefore accepted the KGYWW object numbers.

Lijiataozi (Tongxin, Ningxia) TLM2:1, KGYWW 1988.3, 18, f. 2:7. Iron; H 33 cm, M 25.2 cm.

Qinchuan Machinery Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M2:3, KGYWW 1992.3, 39, f. 6:9. Argillaceous brown earthenware; H 7 cm, M 6.5 cm.

Qinguang (Zaoyuan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M5:4, *KGYYW* 1992.5, 14, f. 8:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 7 cm, M 3.6 cm, G 8.4 cm, B 2.4 cm.

178: Ca. AD 67

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M32:18, *KGXB* 1976.2, 139, f. 28:1. Grey or brown argillaceous earthenware; H 33 cm, G 47 cm.

Majiashan (Xindu, Sichuan) M3:20, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 119, f. 119. Earthenware; H 8.6 cm, M 8 cm, B 5.4 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M6:6, *KGXB* 1995.4, 471, f. 20:10. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 13.6 cm.

179: Ca. AD 67

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) unnumbered tomb, © *KGYYW* 1992.5, 22, f. 2:3. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. Siliceous red earthenware; green glaze; stamped décor; H 13.2 cm, M 6 cm, G 16.8 cm, B 7.2 cm.

180: Ca. AD 67

Xiwen (Shangxian, Shaanxi), *KG* 1988.6, 574, f. 1:1. Grey earthenware; H 16.9 cm, M 12.5 cm, G 24.8 cm, B 11.8 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M12:1, *Longshouyuan*, 41, f. 23:5. Grey earthenware; H 23.4 cm, M 18 cm, G 8.4 cm (28.4 cm?), B 18 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M30:5, *Shaogou*, 110, f. 53:4. Earthenware; H 8.5 cm, G 12.9 cm.

Wangjiawan (Ansai, Shaanxi), *KG* 1995.11, 1047, f. 1:9. Argillaceous grey earthenware; red and white engobe décor; H 8.3 cm, M 3.9 cm, G 11.4 cm, B 5.4 cm.

181: Ca. AD 67

Xiwen (Shangxian, Shaanxi), *KG* 1988.6, 574, f. 1:4. Grey earthenware; inscribed; H 19.5 cm, M 12.2 cm, G 24 cm, B 14.4 cm.

Maquan (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M1:6, *KG* 1979.2, 127, f. 4:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; vessel contained sorghum; H 26 cm, G 32.4 cm.

Nanshanli (Dalian Municipality, Liaoning) M2, *Nan-shan-li*, Pl. 28:6. Earthenware; H 4 inches, M 2.3 inches.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M107:6, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 93, f. 50:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 34.8 cm, M 22.4 cm, G 42.7 cm, B 21.2 cm.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M19:2, *KGXB* 1992.2, 246, f. 21:3. Earthenware; H 15.2 cm, M 11.2 cm.

Xiwen (Shangxian, Shaanxi), *KG* 1988.6, 574, f. 1:8. Vitreous earthenware; H 17.8 cm, M 12 cm, G 22.1 cm, B 11.5 cm.

182: Ca. AD 67

After: Qianxi (Guizhou) M12:11, WW 1972.11, 47, f. 18:1. Earthenware; H 8 cm, M 11 cm.

*Maowen (Sichuan) find, *WWZLCK* 7 (1983), 42, f. 11:30. Earthenware.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M32:5, *KGXB* 1976.2, 138, f. 27:8. Argillaceous earthenware; H 8.5 cm.

Zhangjiaguaizi (Wulong, Sichuan), *KGYYW* 1990.6, 44, f. 8:2. Grey earthenware; H 10.2 cm, M 9.4 cm, B 11.5 cm.

183: Ca. AD 67

Huaihua (Hunan) M5:27, *WW* 1988.10, 60, f. 6:7. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively low fired; H 21.5 cm, M 12.2 cm.

Huaihua (Hunan) M5:11, *WW* 1988.10, 60, f. 6:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively low fired; vessel with two handles; H 20.6 cm, M 11.2 cm.

Huaihua (Hunan) M9:22, *WW* 1988.10, 62, f. 10:14. Earthenware; H 14.8 cm, M 8.9 cm.

Wafenyuan (Jingsha Municipality, Hubei) M2:2, *KG* 1995.11, 990, f. 5:5. Vitreous earthenware; H 13.2 cm, M 10.8 cm, G 15.2 cm, B 8 cm.

184: Ca. AD 67

After: Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M115, WW 1981.2, 19, f. 8:1. Earthenware; H 25.5 cm, M 12.3 cm, G 18.2 cm, B 13.5 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M89:5, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 105, f. 58:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 26.4 cm, M 11.9 cm, G 21.6 cm, B 12.8 cm.

185: Ca. AD 67

After: Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M115, WW 1981.2, 19, f. 8:2. Earthenware; H 25 cm, M 11.7 cm, G 17.2 cm, B 11.7 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M115:3, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 103, f. 57:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 36 cm, M 14.8 cm, G 28.4 cm, B 18.8 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M122:1, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 103, f. 57:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 28.2 cm, M 13.8 cm, G 23.1 cm, B 16.1 cm.

186: Ca. AD 67

After: Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M115, WW 1981.2, 19, f. 8:3. Earthenware; H 25 cm, M 11.2 cm, G 19 cm, B 13.1 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) *M81:3, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 103, f. 57:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 32.3 cm, M 13.8 cm, G 24.8 cm, B 15.8 cm.

187: Ca. AD 67

After: Nanchang Eastern Suburbs (Jiangxi) M2:19, KGXB 1976.2, Pl. 4:4. Vitreous earthenware; glazed (flaking); H 16.2 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M122:4, *Shangsunjiazhai*, Pl. 27:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 17.9 cm, M 9.6 cm, G 19.2 cm, B 14 cm.

Shihuiyao (Tanghe, Nanyang Municipality, Henan), WW 1982.5, 83, f. 14. Earthenware; H 18 cm, M 12.5 cm, G 20.5 cm, B 12.5 cm.

188: Ca. AD 67

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) 78M110:8, KG 1985.5, 421, f. 13:3. Earthenware; H 12.5 cm, M 8.8 cm.

189: Ca. AD 67

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M32:1, KGXB 1976.2, Pl. 8:7. Argillaceous earthenware; vessel contains what may be residue of rice wine; H 48.5 cm, G 44.5 cm.

Pengshan (Sichuan) M45:1, *Pengshan*, 24, f. 20:17. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware.

Shixing (Guangdong) M18, *KG* 1988.6, 500, f. 3:1. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; inscribed; H 15.2 cm, M 13 cm, G 15.5 cm, B 12 cm.

Xin'an (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M14:7, *KG* 1994.3, 212, f. 7:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 13.2 cm, M 9 cm, B 12 cm.

190: Ca. AD 67

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) 87M2:1, © *KG* 1993.4, 334, f. 7:4. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Vitreous earthenware; H 25.3 cm, M 21.5 cm, G 30.8 cm, B 16 cm.

191: Ca. AD 80

Fuling (Sichuan) M2:22, *KG* 1984.4, 340, f. 3:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; high fired; H 41.6 cm, M 26.4 cm, G 46 cm, B 11.2 cm.

*Maowen (Sichuan) BM7:14, *WWZLCK* 7 (1983), 42, f. 11:16. Earthenware.

192: Ca. AD 80

Fuling (Sichuan) M2:30, *KG* 1984.4, 340, f. 3:7. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 16.4 cm, M 12.4 cm, G 24 cm, B 12.8 cm.

*Yuhuangmiao (Yanqing, Beijing Municipality) YYM224:1, *WW* 1989.8, 26, f. 16:4. Argillaceous earthenware; black slip.

193: Ca. AD 80

Fuling (Sichuan) M2:18, *KG* 1984.4, 341, f. 4:5. Bronze; H 13 cm, M 16.8 cm, G 17.4 cm.

194: Ca. AD 80

Xuwen (Guangdong) M32:3, *KG* 1977.4, 271, f. 5:10. Earthenware.

Fengmenling (Hepu, Guangxi) M10:24, *KG* 1995.3, 228, f. 2:1. Vitreous yellow earthenware; yellow-green glaze (?); fired high (?); H 21 cm, M 15.8 cm, G 26.5 cm, B 20 cm.

Fengmenling (Hepu, Guangxi) M10:28, *KG* 1995.3, 228, f. 2:8. Vitreous yellow earthenware; yellow-green glaze (?); high fired (?); vessel with no lugs or lid; H 21.3 cm, M 14.7 cm, G 26.5 cm, B 19 cm.

Fuling (Sichuan) M2:28, *KG* 1984.4, 340, f. 3:12. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively low fired; H 12.4 cm, M 12.8 cm, G 18.8 cm, B 15.2 cm.

Futianzhen (Boluo, Guangdong) M1:18, *KG* 1993.4, 383, f. 3:8. Earthenware.

Futianzhen (Boluo, Guangdong) M1:20, *KG* 1993.4, 383, f. 3:4. Earthenware; H 10.3 cm, M 8.8 cm, B 11.2 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M3031:6, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 75:6. Earthenware.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4001:41, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 319, f. 188:7. Earthenware; H 25.8 cm, M 13.3 cm, G 27.1 cm, B 18.8 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4021:27, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 93:4. Earthenware.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5059:6, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 128:5. Earthenware; yellow-brown glaze; H 14.8 cm, G 16 cm.

Lanshi (Foshan Municipality, Guangdong) M1:69, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 102, f. 7. Earthenware; H 10 cm, M 8 cm, B 9 cm.

Lequn (Zhaoping, Guangxi) M6:4, *KGXB* 1989.2, Pl. 5:2. Grey-white earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 14 cm, M 9.1 cm.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M53:8, *KGXB* 1978.4, 475, f. 11:9. Earthenware; vessel with lid, two lugs; H 13 cm, G 14 cm.

195: Ca. AD 80

Xuwen (Guangdong) M30, *KG* 1977.4, 271, f. 5:12. Earthenware.

Fengqing (Zhaoping, Guangxi) M7:17, *KGXB* 1989.2, Pl. 8:1. Vitreous dark yellow earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 13.2 cm, M 9.2 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4013:8E, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 93:2. Earthenware.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4026:37, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 319, f. 188:4. Earthenware; H 18.2 cm, G 21 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4036:1, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 93:5. Earthenware.

+ Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5060:9, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 129:1. Earthenware; H 18.4 cm, G 18.5 cm.

Lanshi (Foshan Municipality, Guangdong) M1:17, *WWZLCK* 4

(1981), 102, f. 9. Earthenware; H 17 cm, M 9 cm, B 12 cm.

Nanhai (Guangdong) M1, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 96, f. 12 left. Vitreous grey-white earthenware; black glaze; H 19 cm, M15.5 cm, B15.8 cm.

Nanhai (Guangdong) M4, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 97, f. 14 (form cited for M3 also). Vitreous grey-white earthenware; black glaze; H 12 cm, M 7.8 cm, B 12 cm.

Shafu (Shunde, Guangdong) SM15:6, *WW* 1991.4, 56, f. 24. Earthenware; glazed; H 18.5 cm, M 13.5 cm, B 15 cm.

Xilinshan (Shunde, Guangdong) XM2:27, *WW* 1991.4, 60, f. 36. Argillaceous earthenware; H 15 cm, M 10.2 cm, B 11 cm.

Xilinshan (Shunde, Guangdong) XM2:28, *WW* 1991.4, 60, f. 35. Argillaceous earthenware; H 15 cm, M 9.3 cm, B 9.5 cm.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M116:28, *KGXB* 1978.4, 475, f. 11:8. Earthenware; H 14 cm.

196: Ca. AD 80

Fuling (Sichuan) M2:23, *KG* 1984.4, 340, f. 3:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 31.2 cm, M 16 cm, G 38 cm, B 20 cm.

*Shizhaishan (Jinning, Yunnan) M23, *KG* 1959.9, 460, f. 2. Siliceous earthenware; wheel thrown.

Wafenyuan (Jingsha Municipality, Hubei) M2:3, *KG* 1995.11, 990, f. 5:6. Earthenware; H 14.8 cm, M 10.8 cm, G 20 cm, B 10.2 cm.

Xianshan (Xiangfan Municipality, Hubei) M1:17-2, *KG* 1996.5, Pl. 6:1 (identified as M1:17-1 in illustration caption). Siliceous brown earthenware; H 23 cm, M 19 cm.

197: Ca. AD 80

Fuling (Sichuan) M2:27, *KG* 1984.4, 340, f. 3:11. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively low fired; H 15.2 cm, M 12.9 cm, G 21.6 cm, B 8.8 cm.

198: Ca. AD 80

Heshanmiao (Yiyang, Hunan) M17:11, *KGXB* 1981.4, 542, f. 18:3. Argillaceous red earthenware; soft-fired; H 7.4 cm, M 10.2 cm.

Chongan (Fujian) T01(3):1, *KGXB* 1990.3, 361, f. 19:13. Siliceous earthenware; H 18.8 cm, M 33 cm.

Fengqing (Zhaoping, Guangxi) M10:4, *KGXB* 1989.2, Pl. 5:6. Vitreous grey-white earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 14 cm, M 9.2 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5043:15, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 397, f. 239:6. Earthenware.

+ Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5060:18, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 141:2. Earthenware; H 6.9 cm, G 10.4 cm.

Jietang (Zhaoping, Guangxi) M1:2, *KGXB* 1989.2, Pl. 8:5. Vitreous siliceous grey earthenware; H 16.9 cm, M 24.5 cm.

Lequn (Zhaoping, Guangxi) M5:8, *KGXB* 1989.2, 220, f. 9:8. Vitreous grey-white earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 10.5 cm, M 9.2 cm.

Nanhai (Guangdong) M4, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 97, f. 18 far right (form cited as occurring in M3 also). Grey-white or grey earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 8 cm, M 9.4 cm, B 6.5 cm.

Tongshiling (Beiliu, Guangxi) 012 (fragment), *KG* 1985.5, 408, f. 7:5. Siliceous red earthenware; M 20 cm.

Xin'an (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M4:4, *KG* 1994.3, 211, f. 6:3. Earthenware; H 17 cm, M 24.5 cm.

199: Ca. AD 80

Heshanmiao (Yiyang, Hunan) M17:12, *KGXB* 1981.4, 542, f. 18:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; soft-fired at relatively low temperature; H 9 cm, M 8.6 cm, G 12 cm.

200: Ca. AD 80

Xin'an (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M4:8, © *KG* 1994.3, 212, f. 7:8. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Siliceous red earthenware; inscribed; H 14.5 cm, M 12.4 cm, B 12.4 cm.

Nanchang (Jiangxi) 72M2, *WWZLCK* 1 (1977), 121, f. 16 left. Earthenware; H 12-15 cm.

Wulipai (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M007, *WW* 1960.3, 43, f. 20. Earthenware; H 13-24.9 cm, M 12-13.5 cm, G 15.5-23 cm, B 11-13.3 cm.

201: Ca. AD 90

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4019:1, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 319, f. 188:6. Earthenware; H 29 cm, G 28 cm.

Futianzhen (Boluo, Guangdong) M2:20, *KG* 1993.4, 383, f. 3:5. Earthenware; H 12.5 cm, M 8.9 cm, B 11.4 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M3019:5, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 76:3. Earthenware; glazed; H 30.4 cm, M 17.3 cm, G 29 cm, B 20.4 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M3021:16, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 75:5. Earthenware; H 18.5 cm, G 20 cm.

Hetoushan (Wuzhou Municipality, Guangxi) M2, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 140, f. 22. Earthenware; H 12 cm, G 17 cm, B 11.1 cm.

Lanshi (Foshan Municipality, Guangdong) M1, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 102, f. 8. Earthenware; H 19 cm, M 10 cm, B 14 cm.

Shafu (Shunde, Guangdong) SM1:5, *WW* 1991.4, 48, f. 1. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; mottled glaze including deep ("emerald") green; H 13 cm, M 8.1 cm, B 13 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M372:23, *KGXB* 1995.4, 473, f. 21:7. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 13 cm.

202: Ca. AD 90

After: Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4017:22, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 319, f. 188:5. Earthenware; H 12 cm, M 8 cm, G 15 cm, B 10 cm.

Shafu (Shunde, Guangdong) SM1:8, *WW* 1991.4, 48, f. 2. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; H 12 cm, M 7.6 cm, B 10.6 cm.

Xianglangang (Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong), *WWCKZL* 1958.4, 59, f. 3. Vitreous fine grey-white (?) earthenware; yellow-brown glaze; H 16 cm.

203: Ca. AD 90

After: Guangzhou (Guangdong) M3019:4, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 75:2. Earthenware; G 29 cm.

204: Ca. AD 90

Datagang (Dayong, Hunan) DM25:21, © *KG* 1994.12, 1087, f. 13:11. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Argillaceous earthenware; very low fired; H 10 cm, M 10 cm, G 13.2 cm, B 5.2 cm.

Daijialou (Qingzhou Municipality, Shandong) M12:1, *KG* 1995.12,

1078, f. 6:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 21.8 cm, M 20.8 cm.

205: Ca. AD 90

After: Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) WM14:29, WW 1983.4, 31, f. 8. Earthenware; H 24 cm, M 17.5 cm, G 27 cm, B 16.8 cm.

Shihuiyao (Tanghe, Nanyang Municipality, Henan), WW 1982.5, 83, f. 16. Earthenware; H 26 cm, M 19.5 cm, G 36.5 cm, B 22 cm.

206: Ca. AD 90

After: Lijiaoqiao (Sanmenxia Municipality, Henan) M5:18, HXKG 1994.1, 18, f. 7:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 15 cm, M 11.5 cm.

207: Ca. AD 90

**Maoqinggou (Liangcheng, Inner Mongolia) M35:1, Tian and Guo, E'erdusishi qingtongqi, 256, f. 29:9. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 22 cm, M 12.4 cm, G 18.8 cm, B 10.4 cm.*

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M17:5, KGXB 1976.2, Pl. 6:2. Earthenware; low fired; H 17 cm.

208: Ca. AD 90

After: Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M183:24, Shaogou, 98, f. 49:5. Earthenware; H 18.4 cm, G 19.2 cm.

**Dadaosanjiazi (Qiqihaer Municipality, Heilongjiang) M2:3, KG 1988.12, 1092, f. 4:6. Earthenware; red slip; H 15 cm, M 7.8 cm, B 8.7 cm.*

209: Ca. AD 90

After: Wangcun (Xiaxian, Shanxi) XWM5:8, WW 1994.8, 45, f. 33:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; broken; H 10.8 cm, M 11.2 cm.

Maquanzi (Wafangdian Municipality, Liaoning) M2:25, KG 1993.1, 25, f. 5:9. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 3.8 cm, M 5 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M421:6, KGXB 1995.4, 473, f. 21:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 9.4 cm.

210: Ca. AD 90

Nanhai (Guangdong) M4, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 92, f. 4:9. Vitreous grey earthenware; H 16.2 cm, M 12.7 cm, G 25 cm, B 15.5 cm.

211: Ca. AD 90

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) *M115:8, *KGXB* 1978.2, 228, f. 25:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; high fired; H 11.5 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1076:15, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 17:1. Earthenware; G 22 cm.

Shixing (Guangdong) M18, *KG* 1988.6, 500, f. 3:2. Vitreous yellow-grey earthenware; black glaze over top of vessel (flaking); H 15 cm, M 15 cm, G 28 cm, B 15 cm.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M3:13, *KGXB* 1978.2, 228, f. 25:5. Vitreous argillaceous grey (?) earthenware; lines of yellow-green glaze; incised décor; very high fired; H 15 cm.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M112:8, *KGXB* 1978.4, 475, f. 11:7. Violet earthenware; vessel with lid, two lugs; incised/impressed line décor; H 13.5 cm.

212: Ca. AD 90

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1023:28, *Shaogou*, 98, f. 49:11. Earthenware.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) WM14:25, *WW* 1983.4, 31, f. 10. Earthenware; H 33 cm, M 16 cm, G 20 cm, B 11.3 cm.

213: Ca. AD 90

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5080:30, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 397, f. 239:3. Vitreous earthenware; yellow-white glaze; H 20 cm, G 19.2 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M69:3, *Shangsunjiazhai*, Pl. 23:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 19.8 cm, M 11.2 cm, G 18.8 cm, B 12.8 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) *M153:4, *Shangsunjiazhai*, Pl. 47:5. Siliceous red earthenware; hand built; soot marks on exterior; H 17 cm, M 9.3 cm, G 13.3 cm, B 9.3 cm.

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M87:6, *KGXB* 1990.1, 118, f. 15:16. Red earthenware; green glaze; H 23.5 cm, M 15 cm.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) *M74:1, *KGXB* 1978.2, 228, f. 25:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; high fired; H 12.8 cm.

214: Ca. AD 90

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) 78M109:35, *KG* 1985.5, 419, f. 11:17. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 16.5 cm.

215: Ca. AD 90

Gaochun (Jiangsu), *WW* 1983.4, 36, f. 2:1. Siliceous earthenware; red-brown glaze; H 34.5-35 cm, M 22-22.8 cm, B 19-20.5 cm.

Laohudun (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), *WW* 1991.10, 65, f. 5:1. Earthenware; green glaze; H 32 cm, M 20.7 cm, G 31 cm, B 18 cm.

Xingyi (Guizhou) M8:14, *WW* 1979.5, 35, f. 30. Earthenware; black slip; low fired; H 41.2 cm, M 27 cm, B 24.6 cm.

216: Ca. AD 90

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) 78M109:33, *KG* 1985.5, 419, f. 11:5. Vitreous earthenware; H 14.5 cm.

Heshanmiao (Yiyang, Hunan) M25:57, *KGXB* 1981.4, 538, f. 15:7. Vitreous grey earthenware; H 29.4 cm, M 14 cm, G 27 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1023:16, *Shaogou*, 110, f. 53:8. Earthenware; H 64 cm, G 62 cm.

217: Ca. AD 90

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5080:19, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 397, f. 239:8. Earthenware.

Fengqing (Zhaoping, Guangxi) M7:21, *KGXB* 1989.2, Pl. 4:2. Vitreous fine argillaceous earthenware; yellow glaze; H 16.2 cm, M 10 cm.

Futianzhen (Boluo, Guangdong) M1:19, *KG* 1993.4, 383, f. 3:1. Earthenware; H 12 cm, M 7.8 cm, B 12.8 cm.

Futianzhen (Boluo, Guangdong) M2:8, *KG* 1993.4, 383, f. 3:2. Earthenware; H 13.2 cm, M 8.4 cm, B 13 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4007:11, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 94:2. Earthenware; H 24.5 cm, B 18 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4009:37, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 319, f. 188:8. Earthenware; H 18 cm, B 14 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5040:16, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 399, f. 240:1. Earthenware.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5080:8, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 129:5. Vitreous grey-white earthenware; light green glaze; G 17.5 cm.

Guduiwang (Dingyuan, Anhui) M4:8, *KG* 1985.5, 425, f. 3:7. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 12.2 cm, M 11.8 cm.

Hetoushan (Wuzhou Municipality, Guangxi) M2, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 140, f. 18. Earthenware; H 17.3 cm, B 14.2 cm.

Lanshi (Foshan Municipality, Guangdong) M2:10, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 102, f. 12. Earthenware; glazed (flaking); H 18 cm, M 10 cm, B 17 cm.

Nanhai (Guangdong) M4, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 96, f. 11 left (report notes occurrence in M1 also). Grey earthenware; yellow glaze; H 19.6 cm, M 9.5 cm, B 14.8 cm.

Shafu (Shunde, Guangdong) SM5:13, *WW* 1991.4, 50, f. 5:5. Argillaceous earthenware; H 19.2 cm, M 8.2 cm, B 14.4 cm.

Xianglangang (Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong), *WWCKZL* 1958.4, 59, f. 2. Highly vitreous fine grey-white earthenware; yellow-brown glaze (description said to be representative of the majority of ceramics on the site); H 19.2 cm.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M53:14, *KGXB* 1978.4, Pl. 4:3. Grey argillaceous earthenware; high-fired; green glaze; incised/impressed line décor; H 14.5 cm, B 13 cm.

218: Ca. AD 90

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2038:15, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 217, f. 123:3. Earthenware; H 29.8 cm, G 16.8 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2011:41, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 217, f. 123:2. Earthenware; H 28.4 cm, G 17.7 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4013:3, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 323, f. 192. Earthenware; inscribed in black; vessel contained sorghum; H 27 cm, B 17 cm.

Hepu (Guangxi), *KG* 1972.5, 28, f. 12. Vitreous grey earthenware; inscribed; H 31.5 cm.

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M56:8, *KGXB* 1990.1, Pl.

17:6 (identified as a *cang*). Argillaceous grey earthenware; engobe décor; relatively high fired; H 27 cm, M 14 cm.

219: Ca. AD 90

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2060:29, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 217, f. 123:1. Earthenware; H 28.6 cm, G 30.8 cm.

Fengmenling (Hepu, Guangxi) M10:44, *KG* 1995.3, Pl. 8:2 right. Earthenware; inscribed; H 8 cm, M 15.5 cm, B 16 cm.

Fengmenling (Hepu, Guangxi) M10:45, *KG* 1995.3, Pl. 8:2 left. Earthenware; inscribed.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M3024:40, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 271, f. 160:2. Earthenware; H 16 cm, G 13.8 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M3024:42, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 271, f. 160:1. Earthenware; H 16 cm, G 12 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4001:43, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 320, f. 189:5. Earthenware; H 22 cm, M 18 cm.

Lanshi (Foshan Municipality, Guangdong) M1:1, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 102, f. 11. Earthenware; vessel with no lid; H 17 cm, M 17 cm, B 18 cm.

Lanshi (Foshan Municipality, Guangdong) M1:16, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 102, f. 11. Earthenware; vessel with no lid; H 17 cm, M 17 cm, B 18 cm.

Ninggu (Anshun, Guizhou) M9, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 133, f. 2:5. Vitreous grey earthenware; yellow glaze; H 14.4 cm, G 13.6 cm, B 12.8 cm.

220: Ca. AD 90

Xuwen (Guangdong) M47, *KG* 1977.4, 271, f. 5:13. Earthenware; H 36 cm, M 19 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5071:9, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 397, f. 239:7. Earthenware; H 15.1 cm, G 17.1 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5080:32, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 397, f. 239:10. Earthenware; H 17.5 cm, G 17.5 cm.

Lequn (Zhaoping, Guangxi) M5:2, *KGXB* 1989.2, Pl. 4:6. Dark yellow earthenware; H 20.4 cm, M 14 cm.

Lequn (Zhaoping, Guangxi) M5:6, *KGXB* 1989.2, Pl. 4:5. Dark yellow earthenware; low fired; H 17 cm, M 14.5 cm.

Ninggu (Anshun, Guizhou) M5, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 133, f. 2:1. Vitreous earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 22.8 cm, M 15.6 cm, G 21.2 cm, B 16.8 cm.

Shixing (Guangdong) M1:2, *KG* 1993.5, 390, f. 7:2. Earthenware; H 28 cm, M 16 cm, B 17 cm.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M143:10, *KGXB* 1978.4, Pl. 4:4. Earthenware; vessel with four lugs; H 31 cm, M 23 cm.

221: Ca. AD 90

+ **Beizhuang (Dingxian, Hebei) M1:166**, *KGXB* 1964.2, 135, f. 8:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; black slip.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2010:4, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 211, f. 118:2. Earthenware.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2042:11B, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 54:5. Earthenware; H 16.4 cm, G 20 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5040:19, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 397, f. 239:2. Earthenware; G 15 cm.

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M6:12, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 40, f. 22:3. Earthenware.

Qianxi (Guizhou) M13, *WW* 1972.11, 47, f. 18:4. Earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 10.5 cm, M 9.8 cm.

222: Ca. AD 90

Tangpai (Guangxi) M2B:23, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 48, f. 3:2. Vitreous grey-white earthenware; H 14.5 cm, M 12.3 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5004:55, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 128:2. Earthenware; G 24 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5071:9, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 397, f. 239:7. Earthenware; H 15.1 cm, G 17.1 cm.

Hetoushan (Wuzhou Municipality, Guangxi) M2, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 139, f. 15. Vitreous earthenware; H 17.7 cm, M 23 cm.

Tangpai (Guangxi) M2B:10, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 48, f. 3:3. Earthenware.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M117:4, *KGXB* 1978.4, 475, f. 11:1. Earthenware; H 15 cm, G 19 cm.

223: Ca. AD 90

Xilinshan (Shunde, Guangdong) XM4:1, WW 1991.4, 59, f. 31:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 18 cm, M 14 cm, B 13.5 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5007:1, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 128:1. Earthenware; G 14 cm.

224: Ca. AD 90

Xilinshan (Shunde, Guangdong) XM4:2, WW 1991.4, 59, f. 31:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 12.8 cm, M 13.2 cm, B 14.4 cm.

Datagang (Dayong, Hunan) DM25:3, *KG* 1994.12, 1086, f. 11:10. Grey earthenware; H 5.6 cm, M 8.4 cm, G 10 cm, B 6.8 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2003:2, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 211, f. 118:4. Earthenware; H 13.5 cm, G 19.2 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5014:1, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 397, f. 239:1. Earthenware.

Xuwen (Guangdong) M30:2, *KG* 1977.4, Pl. 8:5. Earthenware.

Xuwen (Guangdong) M33, *KG* 1977.4, 271, f. 5:9. Earthenware.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M148:7, *KGXB* 1978.4, Pl. 4:1. Earthenware; white engobe; stamped décor; H 14.5 cm, G 20 cm.

225: Ca. AD 90

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M6:1, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 40, f. 22:2. Earthenware.

Fengmenling (Hepu, Guangxi) M10:36, *KG* 1995.3, 228, f. 2:2. Vitreous yellow earthenware; yellow-green glaze (?); high fired (?); H 22.5 cm, M 13.4 cm, G 25 cm, B 17 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M3021:42, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 268, f. 158:4. Earthenware; vessel with lid and lugs.

Hewang (Yingyang, Henan) CHM1, WW 1960.5, 63, f. 6:8. Argillaceous brown earthenware; H 16 cm, M 14 cm.

Shafu (Shunde, Guangdong) SM1:4, WW 1991.4, 49, f. 2. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; H 22 cm, M 16.5 cm, B 18.5 cm.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M125:21, *KGXB* 1978.4, Pl. 4:2. Earthenware; incised/impressed line décor; H 17 cm, G 20 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M395:23, *KGXB* 1995.4, 473, f. 21:10. Argillaceous grey earthenware; vessel with lid and lugs; H 12 cm.

226: Ca. AD 90

Xuwen (Guangdong) M47, *KG* 1977.4, 271, f. 5:11. Earthenware.

Fengqing (Zhaoping, Guangxi) M9:1, *KGXB* 1989.2, Pl. 5:3. Vitreous fine grey earthenware; yellow glaze; relatively high fired; H 17.2 cm, M 9 cm.

Heshanmiao (Yiyang, Hunan) M22:25, *KGXB* 1981.4, 538, f. 15:3. Vitreous yellow-grey earthenware; H 21.2 cm, M 11.9 cm, G 19.4 cm.

Humen (Dongguan Municipality, Guangdong) M1:4, *WW* 1991.11, 39, f. 2:1. Grey earthenware; brown glaze; H 16.5 cm, M 10.4 cm, B 11.6 cm.

Lanshi (Foshan Municipality, Guangdong) M1, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 102, f. 10. Earthenware; H 28 cm, M 14 cm, B 18 cm.

Shafu (Shunde, Guangdong) SM3:32, *WW* 1991.4, 50, f. 5:4. Argillaceous earthenware; H 18.2 cm, M 12 cm, B 13 cm.

227: Ca. AD 90

Baonüdu (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 85YBM104:69, *WW* 1991.10, 49, f. 29:7. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 14.6 cm, M 13 cm, B 12 cm.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M16:3, *KGXB* 1992.2, 246, f. 21:4. Earthenware; H 14 cm, M 13.6 cm.

228: Ca. AD 90

Baonüdu (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 85YBM104:63, *WW* 1991.10, 49, f. 29:11. Vitreous earthenware; glazed; H 24.5 cm, M 20.8 cm, B 13.9 cm. Specific girth is not indicated; G 60 cm is given by the excavation report as the maximum girth of the four different pieces identified as being of this form.

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) 87M5:34, *KG* 1993.4, 334, f. 7:2. Vitreous earthenware; H 45.5 cm, M 26.4 cm, G 55.3 cm, B 17.8 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M42:13, *Longshouyuan*, 65, f. 41:7. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 28 cm, M 11.2 cm, G 40 cm, B 16 cm.

Qinguang (Zaoyuan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M5:11, *KGYYW* 1992.5, 14, f. 8:31. Siliceous red earthenware; green glaze; H 10 cm, M 6.4 cm, G 15 cm, B 6.4 cm.

Shihuiyao (Tanghe, Nanyang Municipality, Henan), *WW* 1982.5, 83, f. 15. Earthenware; H 30 cm, M 23.4 cm, G 42.4 cm, B 22.5 cm.

Taolou (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1:2, *KG* 1993.1, 17, f. 4:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 9.3 cm, M 5.7 cm, G 13.6 cm, B 6.1 cm.

229: Ca. AD 90

Jiutou (Liuzhou Municipality, Guangxi) M1, *WW* 1984.4, 51, f. 2:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; yellow-brown glaze; relatively high fired; H 15.9 cm, M 12.9 cm, G 18.9 cm, B 13.5 cm.

*Bieli (Maowen, Sichuan) BM13:2, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 86, f. 16:4. Fine argillaceous red earthenware; wheel thrown; low fired; H 10 cm, M 8.5-10 cm, G 9.7-10.5 cm, B 5-6.5 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5065:2, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 397, f. 239:5. Earthenware; vessel with lugs; H 10.4 cm, G 12 cm.

230: Ca. AD 90

Jintangpo (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M12:13, *KG* 1979.5, 433, f. 9:4. Light green/grey-white stoneware; greenish-yellow/light brown glaze; thick walled but resonant when struck; relatively high fired; broken; H 9.5 cm, B 10 cm.

Fengmenling (Hepu, Guangxi) M10:31, *KG* 1995.3, 228, f. 2:7. Vitreous yellow earthenware; yellow-green glaze (?); fired high (?).

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4007:49, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 319, f. 188:3. Earthenware; H 24.2 cm, G 29 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4013:2B, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 100:2. Earthenware; G 12 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4018:10, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 319, f. 188:1. Earthenware; H 13.6 cm, G 21.4 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4028:2, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 319, f. 188:2. Earthenware.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5065:3, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 128:7. Earthenware; vessel with no lid; H 9.6 cm, G 16.1 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5077:29, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 129:4. Earthenware; yellow-brown glaze; vessel with lugs; H 12 cm, G 17.2 cm.

Lanshi (Foshan Municipality, Guangdong) M1:8, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981),

102, f. 14. Earthenware; vessel with three feet; H 10.5 cm, M 10 cm, B 6 cm.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M17:8, *KGXB* 1976.2, 130, f. 18:7. Earthenware; low fired; H 7.5 cm.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M125:22, *KGXB* 1978.4, 476, f. 12:2. Earthenware; incised/impressed line décor; H 7.8 cm, G 9 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M21:2, *KGXB* 1995.4, 469, f. 19:5. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 7.6 cm.

231: Ca. AD 90

Nanhai (Guangdong) M3, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 92, f. 4:11; Pl. 11:3 far right. Grey earthenware; black glaze; H 9.5 cm, M 4.5 cm, B 9.2 cm.

Fengqing (Zhaoping, Guangxi) M14:1, *KGXB* 1989.2, Pl. 5:5. Earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 10 cm, M 11.8 cm.

232: Ca. AD 90

Xin'an (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M13:3, © *KG* 1994.3, 213, f. 8:2. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Grey-white stoneware; light yellow glaze; broken; H 13 cm, G 18 cm, B 13 cm.

Fengqing (Zhaoping, Guangxi) M9:2, *KGXB* 1989.2, Pl. 5:4. Vitreous grey-white earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 11.4 cm, M 5.7 cm.

233: Ca. AD 90

Xiangfan (Hubei) M1:3, © *KG* 1993.5, 406, f. 4:2. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 32.5 cm, M 26.5 cm, G 41.5 cm, B 22.5 cm.

Xiji (Ningxia) XHM1:4, *KG* 1993.5, 410, f. 3:3. Earthenware; broken; M 9.4 cm.

Baizhuang (Jiaozuo Municipality, Henan) M6, *KG* 1995.5, 400, f. 5:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 16.2 cm, M 12 cm, B 11 cm.

Dongfeng (Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M9:19, *KG* 1982.3, 240, f. 8:4. Grey earthenware; H 11 cm, G 17.5 cm.

Lüfeng (Yunnan), *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 205, f. 3:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 15.6 cm, M 12.8 cm, G 16.8 cm, B 9.6 cm.

Yelin (Qingyang, Gansu), WW 1984.4, 48, f. 6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 21 cm, M 15.5 cm, G 26 cm.

234: Ca. AD 90

Xiangfan (Hubei) M1:20, © KG 1993.5, 406, f. 4:1. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 33.3 cm, M 25.2 cm (reading the 2.52 cm specified in the report as a typographical error), G 39.6 cm, B 22.5 cm.

Fanji (Xinye, Henan) M42:10, KGXB 1990.4, 489, f. 12:9. Earthenware; H 13.5 cm, M 11 cm, G 16.8 cm.

Mianzhu (Sichuan) M1:15, KG 1983.4, 298, f. 3:10. Siliceous brown earthenware; H 25 cm, M 25 cm, G 35 cm, B 16 cm.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M3:4, KGXB 1992.2, 246, f. 21:19. Earthenware; vessel with double lip; H 29.4 cm, M 25.6 cm.

Tianzigang (Anji, Zhejiang) M1:1, WW 1995.6, 32, f. 8:4. Earthenware; vessel with handles; H 11 cm, M 9.6 cm, B 9 cm.

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M112:19, KGXB 1990.1, 118, f. 15:17. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 81 cm, M 10 cm (from the scale provided with this illustration, at least the height given in the report appears to be an error).

Xianshan (Xiangfan Municipality, Hubei) M1:8, KG 1996.5, 42, f. 12:12. Vitreous earthenware; H 14.8 cm, M 11 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M4:10, KGXB 1995.4, 471, f. 20:15. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 14 cm.

235: Ca. AD 90

Yelin (Qingyang, Gansu), WW 1984.4, 48, f. 3:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 14.4 cm, M 7.7 cm, G 17.5 cm.

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M39:28, KGXB 1990.1, 114, f. 13:10. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; broken; H 20 cm, G 24 cm.

236: Ca. AD 90

Yingzhuang (Nanyang Municipality, Henan), WW 1984.3, 28, f. 8:1. Earthenware; H 32.4 cm, M 29 cm, G 46.2 cm, B 24.2 cm.

Cangxi (Gongyi Municipality, Henan) M41:13, *KGXB* 1995.3, 385, f. 20:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 25.2 cm, M 19.5 cm.

Wafenyuan (Jingsha Municipality, Hubei) M4:60, *KG* 1995.11, 992, f. 7:10. Earthenware; H 32 cm, M 25.2 cm, G 48.4 cm, B 22.8 cm.

Xianshan (Xiangfan Municipality, Hubei) M1:16, *KG* 1996.5, 42, f. 12:7. Argillaceous brown earthenware; H 26.9 cm, M 21.9 cm.

237: Ca. AD 96

+ **Sujiayituo (Suide, Shaanxi)**, *WW* 1983.5, 32, f. 11. Grey earthenware; H 18 cm, M 11 cm, B 17 cm.

Beiyuan (Guyuan, Ningxia), *KG* 1994.4, 336, f. 3:2. Earthenware; H 17.8 cm, M 11.5 cm, G 21.5 cm, B 14.7 cm.

238: Ca. AD 96

Beiyuan (Guyuan, Ningxia), © *KG* 1994.4, 336, f. 3:1. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; H 7.4 cm, M 9 cm, G 16.5 cm, B 7 cm.

239: Ca. AD 96

+ **Sujiayituo (Suide, Shaanxi)**, *WW* 1983.5, 32, f. 8:2. Grey earthenware; vessel contained carbonized rice and three earthenware spoons; H 20 cm, M 13 cm.

240: Ca. AD 101

Shixing (Guangdong) M16:9, © *KG* 1993.5, 390, f. 7:4. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Earthenware; red-brown glaze; H 23 cm, M 13 cm, B 14.5 cm.

Banyue (Dangyang Municipality, Hubei) M1:1, *WW* 1991.12, 67, f. 4:1. Argillaceous dark yellow earthenware; H 14 cm, M 7.6 cm, B 8.6 cm.

Liujiagudui (Huainan Municipality, Anhui), *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 111, f. 29. Grey-white earthenware; yellow-brown glaze; H 40 cm, M 28 cm, B 25 cm.

Liujiagudui (Huainan Municipality, Anhui), *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 111, f. 30. Grey-white earthenware; yellow-brown glaze; H 52 cm, M 35 cm, B 28.8 cm.

241: Ca. AD 101

Wafenyuan (Jingsha Municipality, Hubei) M4:25, © *KG* 1995.11, 992, f. 7:5. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Earthenware; H 16.4 cm, M 10 cm, G 15 cm, B 6.4 cm.

Liujiajudui (Huainan Municipality, Anhui), *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 111, f. 27. Vitreous grey-brown earthenware; uneven violet/red-brown glaze; H 26 cm, M 15.7 cm.

242: Ca. AD 101

+ **Danyang (Jiangsu)**, *KG* 1978.3, 157, f. 7:1. Grey-black earthenware; red-brown glaze; H 28 cm.

Cangxi (Gongyi Municipality, Henan) M41:18, *KGXB* 1995.3, 385, f. 20:5 (considered a *cang* in the report). Argillaceous grey earthenware; vessel with no handles; broken; H 33.6 cm, M 15 cm.

Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) 87M5:40, *KG* 1993.4, 335, f. 8:8. Earthenware; glazed; vessel with no lugs; H 32.8 cm, M 14.8 cm, G 23.7 cm, B 14 cm.

Liujiajudui (Huainan Municipality, Anhui), *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 111, f. 28. Vitreous earthenware; red-brown glaze; H 34.5 cm, M 14.5 cm, B 15.5 cm.

Nanchang (Jiangxi) 72M2, *WWZLCK* 1 (1977), 121, f. 16 center. Earthenware; vessel with no handles; H 23-33 cm.

243: Ca. AD 101

+ **Danyang (Jiangsu)**, *KG* 1978.3, 157, f. 7:2 (considered a *yu* basin by report). Violet-black earthenware; black glaze inside and out; H 3.5 cm.

244: Ca. AD 102

+ **Pengshan (Sichuan) M550:5**, *Pengshan*, 24, f. 20:15. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; H 24 cm, M 9.6 cm, G 34 cm.

245: Ca. AD 103

+ **Pengshan (Sichuan) M901:3**, *Pengshan*, 25, f. 21:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 22 cm, M 14 cm, B 10.4 cm.

246: Ca. AD 104

Humen (Dongguan Municipality, Guangdong) M1:21, WW 1991.11, 40, f. 3:3. Grey earthenware; yellow-brown glaze; H 26.7 cm, M 12.2 cm, B 16.8 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5050:5, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 129:2. Earthenware; glazed; H 28.3 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5052:2, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 397, f. 239:9. Earthenware.

+ Machang (Pingba, Guizhou) Six Dynasties (AD 221–557) tomb, *Zhongguo taoci, Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 3, 147, Pl. 140. Earthenware; wheel-thrown; fired relatively high, hardness near green-glazed stoneware/porcelain (“celadon”); H 26 cm, M 12 cm, B 17.2 cm. Inscribed with date, description of form, place of production, cost. Four lugs removed in antiquity.

247: Ca. AD 109

Yingzhuang (Nanyang Municipality, Henan), WW 1984.3, 28, f. 8:2. Earthenware; H 27.9 cm, M 17.2 cm, G 35.2 cm, B 15.8 cm.

Dongcheng (Suizhou Municipality, Hubei) M1:3, WW 1993.7, 56, f. 7:3. Earthenware; red-brown and yellow glaze; H 17.3 cm, M 11.8 cm, G 22.3 cm, B 10.2 cm.

Dongcheng (Suizhou Municipality, Hubei) M1:23, WW 1993.7, 56, f. 7:4. Earthenware; red-brown and yellow glaze; H 18 cm, M 12.5 cm, G 23 cm, B 9.8 cm.

Qinchuan Machinery Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M11:10, *KGYWW* 1992.3, 39, f. 6:15. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 11.6 cm, M 8.5 cm, B 6.3 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) WM14:10, WW 1983.4, 31, f. 6. Earthenware; H 36 cm, M 23 cm, G 45 cm, B 24 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) WM14:100, WW 1983.4, 31, f. 5. Earthenware; H 14.5 cm, M 10 cm, G 18.5 cm, B 9 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1004A:18, *Shaogou*, Pl. 22:3. Earthenware; H 37.5 cm, G 46.8 cm.

Xianshan (Xiangfan Municipality, Hubei) M1:17-1, *KG* 1996.5, 42, f. 12:6 (report also refers to Pl. 6:1, which seems to be an error). Siliceous brown earthenware; H 24.7 cm, M 18.6 cm.

248: Ca. AD 109

Ganquan (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 118, f. 4:6. Earthenware; green-black glaze; H 33 cm.

Dongcheng (Suizhou Municipality, Hubei) M1:45, WW 1993.7, 57, f. 14:1. Earthenware; black-brown glaze; H 41.7 cm, M 19.8 cm, G 31.2 cm, B 17.5 cm.

249: Ca. AD 109

After: **Dongcheng (Suizhou Municipality, Hubei) M1:54,** WW 1993.7, 56, f. 7:7. Earthenware; H 33.4 cm, M 13.7 cm, G 22.7 cm, B 12 cm.

250: Ca. AD 109

+ **Haoba (Shangyu, Zhejiang) M52:4,** WW 1983.6, 41, f. 4:1. Earthenware; light yellow glaze; H 16.5 cm, M 15 cm, G 20 cm, B 11 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M3:12, KGXB 1995.4, 471, f. 20:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 12.4 cm.

251: Ca. AD 109

+ **Haoba (Shangyu, Zhejiang) M52:5,** WW 1983.6, 41, f. 4:4. Vitreous grey-white kaolin-mixed earthenware; unglazed surface light brown; red-brown glaze; H 17 cm, M 12.8 cm, G 20.4 cm, B 12 cm.

Linjiangzhilu (Chongqing Municipality, Sichuan) M1:3, KG 1986.3, 234, f. 4:2. Grey earthenware; H 19.5 cm, M 16.5 cm.

252: Ca. AD 109

+ **Haoba (Shangyu, Zhejiang) M52:10,** WW 1983.6, 42, f. 5:4. Vitreous grey-white kaolin-mixed stoneware; yellow-green glaze; H 28 cm, M 20 cm, G 34 cm, B 17 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 6M133:5, WW 1987.6, 16, f. 43:6. Earthenware; H 27.3 cm, M 18.5 cm, G 31.4 cm.

253: Ca. AD 109

After: **Dongcheng (Suizhou Municipality, Hubei) M1:2,** WW 1993.7, 56, f. 7:6. Earthenware; broken; H 15.3 cm, M 12.2 cm, G 20.3 cm, B 9.2 cm.

Cigou (Xiangcheng, Henan) object #14, *KGXB* 1964.1, 119, f. 6. Argillaceous red earthenware; stamped and impressed décor; H 57 cm, M 23.5 cm, B 24 cm.

+Haoba (Shangyu, Zhejiang) M52:11, *WW* 1983.6, 41, f. 4:3. Earthenware; yellow glaze; H 22 cm, M 20.5 cm, G 26 cm, B 18.5 cm.

Laodaosi (Mianxian, Shaanxi) M3, *KG* 1985.5, 444, f. 23:1. Grey earthenware; H 16-27.5 cm, M 9.5-14 cm, B 10-18 cm.

Miaonan ([New Village,] Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM528:41, *WW* 1994.7, 38, f. 2:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; vessel with no lip; H 19.8 cm, M 13 cm, G 24 cm, B 13.6 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M144:1, *Shaogou*, Pl. 18:2. Earthenware; H 21.2 cm, G 28.2 cm.

254: Ca. AD 109

After: Dongcheng (Suizhou Municipality, Hubei) M1:58, WW 1993.7, 56, f. 7:5. Earthenware; grey-green glaze; H 16.7 cm, M 10.5 cm, G 21.2 cm, B 14.2 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M3029:41, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 75:9. Earthenware; glazed; vessel with lid; H 31 cm, G 34.8 cm.

255: Ca. AD 109

Fanji (Xinye, Henan) M15:2, *KGXB* 1990.4, 490, f. 12:13. Earthenware; H 25.7 cm, M 21.4 cm, G 35.8 cm.

Houma (Shanxi) M2:10, *WW* 1993.7, 49, f. 14:4. Earthenware; H 15 cm, M 9.6 cm, G 18.9 cm, B 11.3 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M27:4, *Longshouyuan*, 49, f. 30:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 14 cm, M 8 cm, G 18.4 cm, B 9.6 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M54:12, *Longshouyuan*, 82, f. 54:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; incised/impressed line and dot décor; H 14.8 cm, M 10.8 cm, G 21.2 cm, B 10.8 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 3M144:2, *WW* 1987.6, 16, f. 43:7. Earthenware; H 23 cm, M 15.3 cm, G 29 cm.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M18:29, *KGXB* 1976.2, Pl. 8:6. Argillaceous earthenware; red-brown glaze; H 14 cm.

Zilinggang (Jingmen Municipality, Hubei) 84J2(2) find 55, *KG*

1993.11, 999, f. 2:14. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 30 cm, M 20.4 cm, G 39.6 cm, B 19.2 cm.

256: Ca. AD 132

+ **Luanzanggang (Fangxian, Hubei) M3:4**, *KG* 1978.5, 302, f. 2:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 18.2 cm, M 12.8 cm.

257: Ca. AD 132

+ **Luanzanggang (Fangxian, Hubei) M3:6**, *KG* 1978.5, 302, f. 2:7. Argillaceous grey-brown earthenware; H 19.2 cm, M 11 cm.

Jiagezhuang (Tangshan Municipality, Hebei) M33:2, *KGXB* 1953.1/2, Pl. 23:3. Argillaceous light grey earthenware; H 39.8 cm, M 12 cm, G 22.5 cm.

Sôgamni (Sekiganri) ([originally, Taedonggangmyôn M7,] Pangyori, P'yôngyang, Democratic People's Republic of Korea) M99, *Lolang*, vol. 3, 162, Pl. 752 (considered *hu* by report). Earthenware; broken; H 6.6 inches, M 3.5 inches, G 6.5 inches.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M7:6, *KGXB* 1992.2, 246, f. 21:9. Earthenware; H 22.4 cm, M 12 cm.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M18:1, *KGXB* 1992.2, 246, f. 21:12. Earthenware; vessel with two handles; H 26 cm, M 16 cm.

258: Ca. AD 135

Jining (Shandong), © *KG* 1994.2, 131, f. 7:1. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Argillaceous grey earthenware; dark red engobe décor; H 14.9 cm, M 12.5 cm, B 22.5 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1037:61, *Shaogou*, Pl. 17:3. Earthenware.

259: Ca. AD 164

After: **Dongyuan (Boxian, Anhui) M1**, *WW* 1978.8, 40, f. 2. Stoneware/porcelain; green glaze; H 30 cm, diameter (of what is not specified; mouth?) 14.8 cm.

260: Ca. AD 169

Zhongzhoulu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1723-A:06,

Zhongzhoulu, 41, f. 21:6. Earthenware; inscribed; H 22.6 cm, B 28.4 cm.

+ Nancaizhuang (Yanshi, Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M3:2, *WW* 1992.9, 40, f. 5:5. Earthenware; inscribed; H 23.4 cm, M 14.8 cm, B 28.5 cm.

261: Ca. AD 174

Lixian (Hebei), *WW* 1983.6, 49, f. 17:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 22 cm.

Anping (Hebei), *Anping*, 34, f. 43:2. Vitreous white-grey stoneware; light blue-green glaze (celadon); H 19 cm, G 20 cm.

+ Dingxian (Hebei) M43, *WW* 1973.11, 17, f. 23. Grey earthenware; H 26 cm, M 11.8 cm, G 27.5 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M14:28, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 99, f. 54:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; hand built; H 20.8 cm, M 11.2 cm, G 23.6 cm, B 13.6 cm.

262: Ca. AD 175

Laodaosi (Mianxian, Shaanxi) M3, *KG* 1985.5, 444, f. 23:2. Grey earthenware; H 28.5 cm, M 12 cm, B 20 cm.

263: Ca. AD 175

After: Fenghuangshan Park (Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan) M1:12, *WW* 1992.1, 90, f. 2:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; lacquered dark red; relatively high fired; H 11.4 cm, M 9.2 cm, G 15.6 cm, B 9.4 cm.

+ Mamaozhuang (Lishi, Shanxi) M14, *WW* 1996.4, 17, f. 9:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 23.4 cm, M 14 cm.

264: Ca. AD 175

Laodaosi (Mianxian, Shaanxi) M3, *KG* 1985.5, 444, f. 23:8. Grey earthenware; H 11.5-19.5 cm, M 11-14 cm, B 11-14 cm.

Hewang (Yingyang, Henan) CHM1, *WW* 1960.5, 63, f. 6:9. Argillaceous earthenware; grey-black slip outside; red slip inside; H 26 cm, M 16.5 cm.

Houma (Shanxi) M2:12, *WW* 1993.7, 47, f. 8:5. Earthenware; H 26 cm, M 10.4 cm, G 26 cm, B 13.2 cm.

265: Ca. AD 175

Haining (Zhejiang), WW 1983.5, 4, f. 7:1. Grey-yellow stoneware; green glaze; H 17 cm, M 13 cm, G 21.2 cm.

Haining (Zhejiang), WW 1983.5, 4, f. 7:2. Grey-yellow stoneware; green glaze; H 17.5 cm, M 11.5 cm, G 21.2 cm, B 12.5 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M6:9, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 93, f. 50:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 33.7 cm, M 21.2 cm, G 41.9 cm, B 20 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M59:3, *Shangsunjiazhai*, Pl. 23:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 28 cm, M 15.8 cm, G 29 cm, B 15 cm.

266: Ca. AD 175

Mamaozhuang (Lishi, Shanxi) M2:2, WW 1992.4, 28, f. 37:1. Earthenware; H 23.2 cm, M 9.2 cm.

267: Ca. AD 175

After: Linjiangzhilu (Chongqing Municipality, Sichuan) M2:2, KG 1986.3, 234, f. 4:5. Grey earthenware; H 16 cm, M 10.3 cm.

Linjiangzhilu (Chongqing Municipality, Sichuan) M3:48, KG 1986.3, 234, f. 4:6. Grey earthenware.

*Maowen (Sichuan) BM3:2, WWZLCK 7 (1983), 42, f. 11:28. Earthenware.

Pengshan (Sichuan) M128:1, *Pengshan*, 24, f. 20:11. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware.

Pengshan (Sichuan) M128:10, *Pengshan*, 24, f. 20:9. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware.

Shiyang (Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan), KGYWW 1983.2, 27, f. 2:8. Argillaceous brown earthenware; relatively low fired; H 20.4 cm, M 11.6 cm, B 17 cm.

268: Ca. AD 175

After: Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) *MB-1, WW 1979.4, 51, f. 4:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 22.3 cm, M 9.4 cm, B 10 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M4:25, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 99, f. 54:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 27.2 cm, M 13.6 cm, G 26.4

cm, B 12.6 cm.

269: Ca. AD 175

Mamaozhuang (Lishi, Shanxi) M2:1, WW 1992.4, 28, f. 37:2. Grey earthenware; H 20 cm, M 13.2 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) *MB-1, WW 1979.4, 51, f. 4:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 15.2 cm, M 8.8 cm, B 11.3 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M146:8, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 93, f. 50:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 36.8 cm, M 24.8 cm, G 42.4 cm, B 22.4 cm.

270: Ca. AD 175

Laodaosi (Mianxian, Shaanxi) M3, KG 1985.5, 444, f. 23:3. Grey earthenware; H 34.9 cm, M 15.5 cm, B 17 cm.

Baimashi (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IIM12:1, KGXB 1995.2, 226, f. 18:18. Earthenware; H 21.8 cm, M 10 cm, B 13.2 cm.

Puzhen (Hanzhong Municipality, Shaanxi) 85M1:9, KGYWW 1989.6, 38, f. 8:1. Vitreous argillaceous red earthenware; silver-colored slip (i.e., oxidized green lead flux glaze?); H 21 cm, M 13 cm, G 24 cm, B 14 cm.

271: Ca. AD 175

After: Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) *MB-1, WW 1979.4, 51, f. 4:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 23.8 cm, M 9.5 cm, B 18.6 cm.

272: Ca. AD 176

After: Houma (Shanxi) M2:13, WW 1993.7, 49, f. 14:8. Earthenware; broken; H 28 cm, G 25.5 cm, B 12.5 cm.

273: Ca. AD 176

Pengshan (Sichuan) M666:131, *Pengshan*, 25, f. 21:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 22.6 cm, M 14.2 cm, B 12 cm.

274: Ca. AD 176

After: Puzhen (Hanzhong Municipality, Shaanxi) 85M1:6, KGYWW 1989.6, 38, f. 8:8. Vitreous argillaceous red earthenware; silver-

colored slip (i.e., oxidized green lead flux glaze?); H 23 cm, M 12 cm, G 24.5 cm, B 13.5 cm.

Ermutang (Dayong, Hunan) RM3:9, *KG* 1994.12, 1090, f. 15:3. Vitreous earthenware; high fired; H 17.6 cm, M 10 cm, G 18.8 cm, B 10.8 cm.

Puzhen (Hanzhong Municipality, Shaanxi) 85M4:19, *KGYYW* 1989.6, 39, f. 9:2. Light grey earthenware; H 21 cm, M 12.7 cm, G 21 cm, B 12.6 cm.

275: Ca. AD 176

After: Xinggu (Shahe Municipality, Hebei), WW 1992.9, 14, f. 4:3. Argillaceous red-grey earthenware; H 30.6 cm, G 38 cm.

+ Anping (Hebei), *Anping*, 32, f. 42:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 26.2 cm, M 21.5 cm, G 33.5 cm.

Guchengping (Yingjing, Sichuan) M2:2, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 74, f. 14. Earthenware; H 17.5 cm, M 13.4 cm, B 14 cm.

Pengshan (Sichuan) M127:13, *Pengshan*, 24, f. 20:10. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware.

Puzhen (Hanzhong Municipality, Shaanxi) 85M1:7, *KGYYW* 1989.6, 38, f. 8:4. Vitreous argillaceous red earthenware; silver-colored slip (i.e., oxidized green lead flux glaze?); H 22 cm, M 13 cm, G 23.5 cm, B 13.5 cm.

Puzhen (Hanzhong Municipality, Shaanxi) 85M1:10, *KGYYW* 1989.6, 38, f. 8:5. Vitreous argillaceous red earthenware; green glaze; H 16 cm, M 11 cm, G 19 cm, B 12 cm.

Puzhen (Hanzhong Municipality, Shaanxi) 85M2:11, *KGYYW* 1989.6, 38, f. 8:7. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 24 cm, M 14.3 cm, G 26.8 cm, B 14 cm.

Puzhen (Hanzhong Municipality, Shaanxi) 85M3:4, *KGYYW* 1989.6, 38, f. 8:2. Vitreous argillaceous red earthenware; green glaze; H 15 cm, M 11.5 cm, G 19.5 cm, B 11.5 cm.

Sangzhuang (Fucheng, Hebei) HFSM1:8, *WW* 1990.1, 22, f. 7:13. Siliceous red or grey earthenware; inscribed; H 42.8 cm, G 50 cm.

Sucun (Quwo, Shanxi) M1:23, *WW* 1987.6, 63, f. 5. Vitreous grey earthenware; H 23.2 cm, M 14 cm, G 27.2 cm, B 16 cm.

Suzhou Northern Suburbs (Jiangsu) well SPJ3:6, *KG* 1993.3, 258, f. 6:1 (fragment). Vitreous red earthenware; relatively high fired;

broken; H 14 cm, M 18.8 cm, G 26.6 cm.

Xinggu (Shahe Municipality, Hebei), WW 1992.9, 14, f. 4:5. Argillaceous light grey earthenware; H 35.2 cm, G 39.6 cm.

Yuemiao (Huayin, Shaanxi) M5:5, KGYWW 1986.5, 47, f. 2:10. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 19.2 cm, M 13.2 cm, G 21.2 cm, B 13.6 cm.

276: Ca. AD 176

Sucun (Quwo, Shanxi) M1:27, WW 1987.6, 65, f. 15:3. Vitreous grey earthenware; H 23.2 cm, M 14 cm, G 27.2 cm, B 16 cm.

Houma (Shanxi) M2:3, WW 1993.7, 47, f. 8:11. Earthenware; H 25.8 cm, M 14 cm, G 31.3 cm, B 19 cm.

Puzhen (Hanzhong Municipality, Shaanxi) 85M3:5, KGYWW 1989.6, 38, f. 8:9. Vitreous argillaceous red earthenware; green glaze; H 15 cm, M 11 cm, G 19 cm, B 12.3 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M33:3, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 94, f. 51:12. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 23.9 cm, M 13.8 cm, G 26.8 cm, B 14 cm.

277: Ca. AD 176

Sangzhuang (Fucheng, Hebei) HFSM1:7, WW 1990.1, 22, f. 7:11. Siliceous grey or red earthenware; H 47 cm, G 57.5 cm.

Sangzhuang (Fucheng, Hebei) HGSM1:6, WW 1990.1, 22, f. 7:10. Siliceous red or grey earthenware; H 40 cm, G 50 cm.

Water Treatment Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M18:51, KGYWW 1990.6, 49, f. 6:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 20.8 cm, M 17.2 cm, B 14 cm.

278: Ca. AD 176

Sucun (Quwo, Shanxi) M1:50, WW 1987.6, 66, f. 18:3. Red earthenware; green glaze; firing temperature “not particularly high;” H 35.6 cm, M 25 cm, G 44.8 cm, B 24.5 cm.

Banyue (Danyang Municipality, Hubei) M2:1, WW 1991.12, 72, f. 19:1. Earthenware; H 27 cm, M 20.5 cm, B 20.4 cm.

279: Ca. AD 176

After: Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M37:6, Shangsunjiazhai,

99, f. 54:7. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 24.2 cm, M 13.2 cm, G 22 cm, B 11.6 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M33:5, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 99, f. 54:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 23.6 cm, M 11.6 cm, G 21.7 cm, B 11 cm.

280: Ca. AD 176

*Maowen (Sichuan) AM2:8, *WWZLCK* 7 (1983), 41, f. 10:6. Earthenware.

WWZLCK 7 (1983), 38, Chart 2, identifies this form in earthenware in *Maowen (Sichuan) BM8, as well.

281: Ca. AD 176

*Maowen (Sichuan) AM2:4, *WWZLCK* 7 (1983), 41, f. 10:8. Earthenware.

*Jililong (Ganzi, Sichuan) M3:10, *KG* 1986.1, 34, f. 9:3. Earthenware; inset bronze disc.

*Jililong (Ganzi, Sichuan) M6:11, *KG* 1986.1, 34, f. 9:1. Earthenware; inset bronze disc.

*Lixian (Sichuan) SZM201:1, *KGXB* 1973.2, 47, f. 10:6. Fine argillaceous black earthenware; burnished; wheel thrown; very high fired; H 15.4 cm.

WWZLCK 7 (1983), 38, Chart 2, identifies this form in earthenware in *Maowen (Sichuan) BM5, BM7, CM3, CM5, CM7, as well.

282: Ca. AD 176

Ermutang (Dayong, Hunan) RM3:10, © *KG* 1994.12, 1087, f. 13:14. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Earthenware; very low fired; H 13.8 cm, M 14 cm, G 20 cm, B 6.2 cm.

283: Ca. AD 176

Puzhen (Hanzhong Municipality, Shaanxi) 85M4:8, *KGYYW* 1989.6, 41, f. 12:3. Bronze; H 20 cm, M 18 cm, G 25 cm, B 11.6 cm.

Bijiashan (Suining, Sichuan) M3:8, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 129, f. 38. Earthenware; red-brown glaze; H 14.6 cm, M 9.2 cm, B 9.8 cm.

Mamaozhuang (Lishi, Shanxi) M4:3, WW 1992.4, 40, f. 71:3. Grey earthenware.

Pengshan (Sichuan) M666:85, *Pengshan*, 30, f. 32:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 16.4 cm, M 16.2 cm, B 10.5 cm.

284: Ca. AD 176

After: Zhangwan (Lingbao, Henan) M3:34, WW 1975.11, 92, f. 53. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 45 cm.

285: Ca. AD 176

Beiyingsi (Liangcheng, Inner Mongolia) M10:4, NMGWWKG 1991.1, 30, f. 7:10. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; high fired; H 16 cm, M 10.2 cm, G 18.5 cm.

Hewang (Yingyang, Henan) CHM1, WW 1960.5, 63, f. 6:7. Grey earthenware; H 22.5 cm, M 14 cm.

Puzhen (Hanzhong Municipality, Shaanxi) 85M4:19, KGYWW 1989.6, 39, f. 9:4. Greenish-grey earthenware; vessel contained 10 tin skeletal figures; H 21 cm, M 12.7 cm, G 21 cm, B 12.6 cm.

286: Ca. AD 176

*Maowen (Sichuan) AM2:2, WWZLCK 7 (1983), 42, f. 11:26. Earthenware.

Houma (Shanxi) M2:23, WW 1993.7, 49, f. 14:3. Earthenware; inscribed; H 45.6 cm, M 13.8 cm, G 33.6 cm, B 19.8 cm.

287: Ca. AD 176

Yuemiao (Huayin, Shaanxi) M5:33, KGYWW 1986.5, 47, f. 2:9. Earthenware; H 16.4 cm, G 25.2 cm, B 18.7 cm.

Mamaozhuang (Lishi, Shanxi) M4:1, WW 1992.4, 40, f. 72. Earthenware; H 18.8 cm, M 8 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M4:24, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 109, f. 61:3. Earthenware; H 20.8 cm, M 11.6 cm, G 22.5 cm, B 17.2 cm.

Yuemiao (Huayin, Shaanxi) M5:6, KGYWW 1986.5, 4, f. 2:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; inscribed in red; H 17.5 cm, M 11.4 cm, B 18.7 cm.

Zhangwan (Lingbao, Henan) M5:14 and M5:35, WW 1975.11, 92, f. 56 (both vessels are pictured). Argillaceous grey earthenware;

inscribed; H 15-17 cm, M 9-11 cm.

Zhongzhoulu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1502A:02, *Zhongzhoulu*, 41, f. 21:5. Earthenware; H 16.4 cm, G 17.6 cm.

288: Ca. AD 176

Banyue (Dangyang Municipality, Hubei) M2:6, WW 1991.12, 72, f. 19:6. Earthenware; H 11.6 cm, M 10 cm, B 9.2 cm.

Dapanjia (Dalian Municipality, Liaoning) M2:7, *KG* 1995.7, 663, f. 4:1. Earthenware; H 28 cm, M 23 cm, G 36 cm, B 12.5 cm.

Jiulongdi (Gaixian, Liaoning) M4:18, WW 1993.4, 63, f. 19:8. Earthenware; H 14.2 cm, M 10 cm, B 9.2 cm.

Muchengyi (Dalian Municipality, Liaoning) Western Tomb, *Nan-shan-li*, Pl. 46:1. Earthenware.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 8M81:4, WW 1987.6, 16, f. 43:13. Earthenware; H 14.4 cm, M 11 cm, G 38 cm.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M32:2, *KGXB* 1992.2, 246, f. 21:16. Earthenware; vessel with two handles; H 16.2 cm, M 13.3 cm.

*Xigouban (Zhungar Banner, Inner Mongolia) M10:2, Tian and Guo, *E'erdusishi qingtongqi*, 387, f. 9. Earthenware; inscribed with Chinese characters; H 44 cm, M 32 cm.

*Yinniugou (Liangcheng, Inner Mongolia) M14:1, *NMGWWKG* 3 (1984), 31, f. 9:1. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; neck broken; H 11.2 cm, G 13.5 cm, B 7.2 cm.

289: Ca. AD 176

After: Dongdaying (Gaixian, Liaoning) M1:9, WW 1993.4, 67, f. 28:12. Siliceous white earthenware; H 24.8 cm, M 13.2 cm, B 13.6 cm.

290: Ca. AD 176

After: Dongdaying (Gaixian, Liaoning) M1:31, WW 1993.4, 67, f. 28:13. Earthenware; H 17.2 cm, M 8.8 cm, B 8 cm.

291: Ca. AD 176

After: Jiagezhuang (Tangshan Municipality, Hebei) M22:4 and M22:5, *KGXB* 1953.1/2, Pl. 23:4 (same photo identified as both pieces). Argillaceous light grey (?) earthenware; inscribed; H 20.3 cm, M 12 cm, G 21.5 cm.

Dongdaying (Gaixian, Liaoning) M1:8, WW 1993.4, 67, f. 28:9. Earthenware; H 22 cm, M 13.4 cm, B 11 cm.

292: Ca. AD 176

After: Dongdaying (Gaixian, Liaoning) M1:1, WW 1993.4, 67, f. 28:15. Siliceous white earthenware; H 32.4 cm, M 12.8 cm, G 32.8 cm.

*Pingyang (Tailai, Heilongjiang) M184:1, *Pingyang*, 67, f. 43:2. Earthenware; engobe décor; broken; H 24.4 cm, B 7.2 cm.

*Pingyang (Tailai, Heilongjiang) M188:1, *Pingyang*, 67, f. 43:3. Earthenware; engobe décor; broken; H 20.4 cm, B 8.8 cm.

293: Ca. AD 176

+Luanzanggang (Fangxian, Hubei) M1:1, KG 1978.5, 302, f. 2:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 19.8 cm, M 14.4 cm.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M32:3, KGXB 1992.2, 246, f. 21:7. Earthenware; H 16.6 cm, M 11.8 cm.

294: Ca. AD 176

After: Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M35:18, Shangsunjiazhai, 96, f. 52:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 13.3 cm, M 10.8 cm, G 17.8 cm, B 11.2 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M37:17, *Shangsunjiazhai*, 96, f. 52:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 15.6 cm, M 10.8 cm, G 18.8 cm, B 12.2 cm.

295: Ca. AD 176

After: Laodaosi (Mianxian, Shaanxi) M2, KG 1985.5, 440, f. 18:3. Red earthenware; green glaze; H 35.5 cm, G 28 cm.

296: Ca. AD 179

+Tomb of Wang Dang (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1:12, WW 1980.6, 53, f. 2:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 23.5 cm, M 13 cm, G 29 cm.

Liujiagu (Sanmenxia Municipality, Henan) M4:6, HXKG 1994.1, 28, f. 9:4. Argillaceous red earthenware; green glaze; H 15.5 cm, M 9.5

cm, G 18.5 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 9M21:2, *WW* 1987.6, 16, f. 43:9. Earthenware; H 22 cm, M 10.8 cm, G 24.6 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M399:5, *KGXB* 1995.4, Pl. 12:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 34.4 cm.

297: Ca. AD 179

After: +**Tomb of Wang Dang (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M1:31**, *WW* 1980.6, 53, f. 2:10. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 11.5 cm, M 7 cm, B 14 cm.

Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) M27:7, *Shangsunjiazhai*, Pl. 34:4. Earthenware; H 15.2 cm, M 7.6 cm, B 16.8 cm.

298: Ca. AD 179

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M146:16, *Shaogou*, 98, f. 49:12. Earthenware; H 27 cm, G 28.5 cm.

299: Ca. AD 179

After: **Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M146:19**, *Shaogou*, 110, f. 53:7. Earthenware; vessel has small hole near base.

***Daodunzi (Tongxin, Ningxia) M7:1**, *KGXB* 1988.3, 342, f. 8:6. Argillaceous black earthenware; H 36.8 cm, M 21.6 cm, G 41.6 cm, B 16 cm.

Miaonan ([New Village,] Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM528:2, *WW* 1994.7, 38, f. 2:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 20.7 cm, M 12.8 cm, G 23.5 cm, B 15.8 cm.

300: Ca. AD 190

+ **Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M147:13**, *Shaogou*, 98, f. 49:14. Earthenware; inscribed in red; H 16.8 cm, G 20.8 cm.

Zhongzhoulu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M813:6, *Zhongzhoulu*, 133, f. 102:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; white slip; inscribed in red; H 11 cm, B 12.9 cm.

301: Ca. AD 190

+ **Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M147:3**, *Shaogou*, 98, f. 49:19. Stoneware/porcelain; yellow-green glaze; H 22 cm, G 28.4 cm.

Baiguanzhen (Shangyu, Zhejiang), WW 1981.10, 34, f. 3. Porcelain; green glaze.

Shiyang (Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan), KGYWW 1983.2, 27, f. 2:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 23.4 cm, M 15 cm, B 16 cm.

302: Ca. AD 196

After: Liujiazhongzi (Dangyang Municipality, Hubei) M1 or M2:12 (two examples are identified), WWZLCK 1 (1977), 124, f. 4:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 52 cm, M 36.4 cm, G 65.4 cm; for M2:12: H 33 cm, M 20.6 cm, G 38.2 cm.

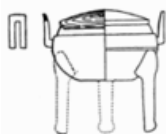
Hejiashan (Mianyang, Sichuan) HM1:4, WW 1991.3, 2, f. 3:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 21 cm, M 20.4 cm, B 15 cm.

303: Ca. AD 196

+ **Wulong (Dayi, Sichuan)**, WW 1984.11, 62, f. 3. Vitreous grey-white stoneware; vitreous green glaze; relatively high fired; H 31.3 cm, M 12.3 cm, G 21.4 cm, B 14.7 cm.

304: Ca. AD 196

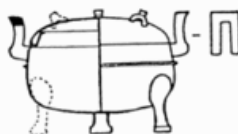
After: Liujiazhongzi (Dangyang Municipality, Hubei) M1 or M2, WWZLCK 1 (1977), Pl. 11:4. Stoneware/porcelain; vessel walls quite thin; light green glaze; H 24 cm, M 10.4 cm, G 23.4 cm, B 11.8 cm.



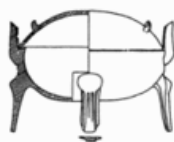
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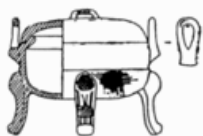
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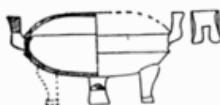
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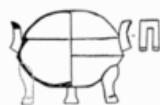
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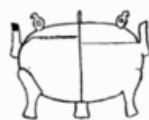
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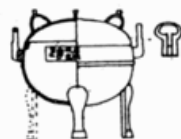
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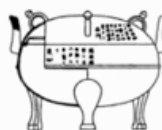
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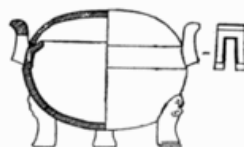
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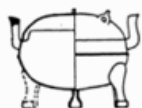
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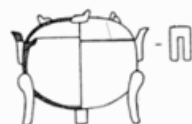
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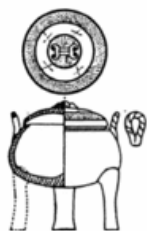
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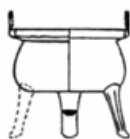
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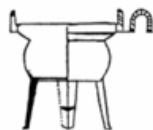
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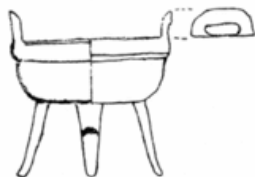
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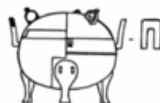
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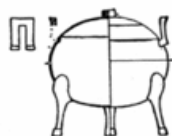
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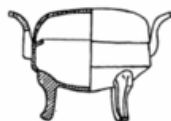
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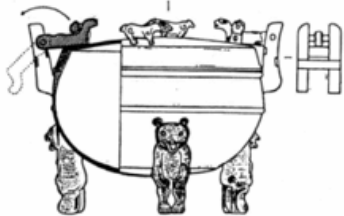
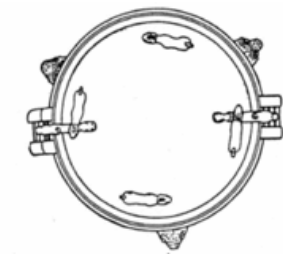
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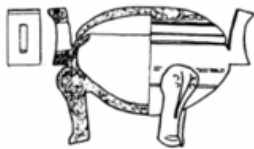
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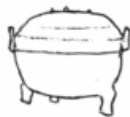
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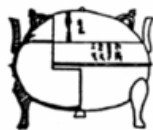
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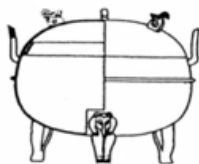
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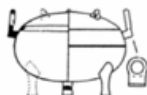
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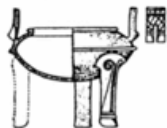
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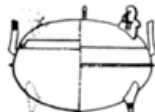
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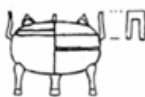
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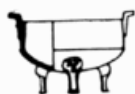
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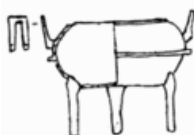
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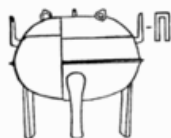
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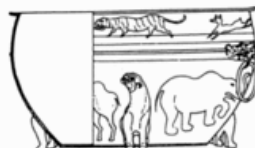
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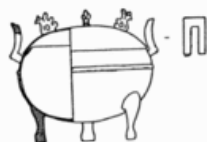
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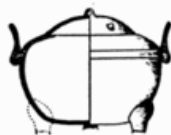
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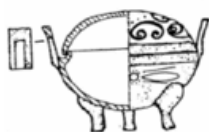
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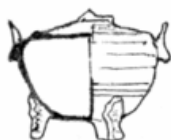
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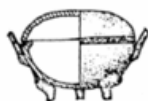
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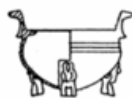
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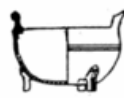
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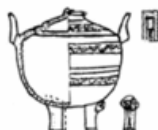
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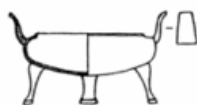
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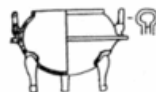
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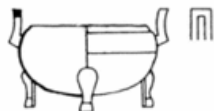
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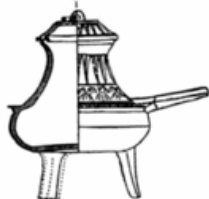
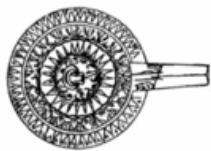
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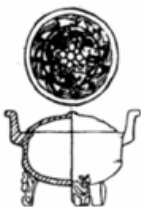
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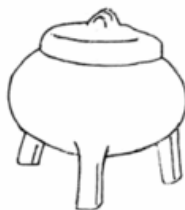
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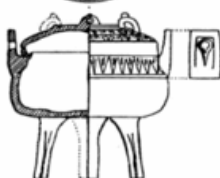
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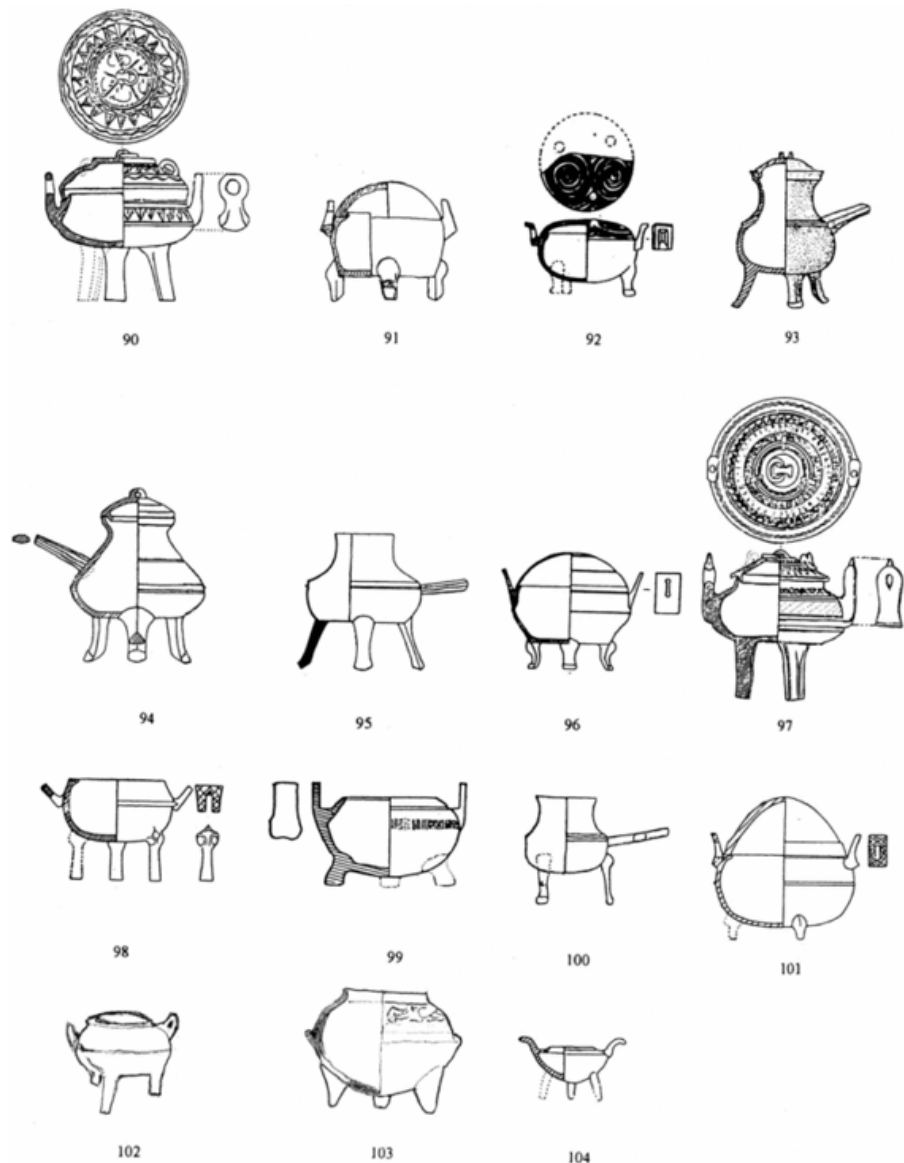
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Liujiazhongzi (Dangyang Municipality, Hubei) M1 or M2, *WWZLCK* 1 (1977), 129, f. 21. Stoneware/porcelain; vessel walls quite thin; light green glaze; H 30.8 cm, M 13.2 cm, G 31.2 cm, B 14.2 cm.

305: Ca. AD 196

Echeng (Hubei) Z19, *KG* 1978.5, 359, f. 2:2. Light red earthenware; glazed.

Echeng (Hubei) Z20, *KG* 1978.5, 359, f. 2:6. Light red earthenware; glazed.

Echeng (Hubei) Z50, *KG* 1978.5, 359, f. 2:7. Light red earthenware; glazed.

Liujiazhongzi (Dangyang Municipality, Hubei) M1 or M2, *WWZLCK* 1 (1977), Pl. 11:5. Stoneware/porcelain; light green glaze; H 20 cm, M 10.4 cm, G 18.4 cm, B 11 cm.

+ Wulong (Dayi, Sichuan), *WW* 1984.11, 62, f. 2. Grey-white stoneware; vitreous light green glaze; relatively high fired; H 30.4 cm, M 13.8 cm, G 27.4 cm, B 14.3 cm.

306: Ca. AD 222

+ Echeng (Hubei) Z76, *KG* 1978.5, 358, f. 1:1. Bronze; inscribed with date of manufacture; H 20 cm, M 12.8 cm.

Gongxian (Henan), *KG* 1974.2, 124, f. 2:6. Bronze; H 26 cm.

Ding and other three-legged vessels

1: Ca. 173 BC

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M3:4, *Shuihudi*, 42, f. 49. Bronze.

Dafentou (Yunmeng, Hubei) M1, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 14, f. 41:2. Bronze.

2: Ca. 173 BC

After: Litun (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1:16, *KG* 1995.3, 224, f. 5:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; red and white engobe décor; H 18.5 cm, G 18.5 cm.

Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) C24, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 79, f. 53:4. Bronze; H 11.4 cm, M 9.2 cm, G 11 cm (? measurements seem to apply to C24 and C25).

3: Ca. 173 BC

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) 78M105:6, *KG* 1985.5, 413, f. 4:1. Bronze; H 13.6-15.8 cm, G 16.8-19 cm.

Dafentou (Yunmeng, Hubei) M1, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 14, f. 41:1. Bronze; H 17 cm, M 15.8 cm, G 8.8 cm.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M105, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 58, f. 3:2. Bronze; H 15.5 cm, G 19 cm.

Yangjiashan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M135:1, *WW* 1993.8, 4, f. 5:1. Bronze; H 17.2 cm, M 16.4 cm, G 18 cm.

4: Ca. 173 BC

Xiangbizui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1, *KGXB* 1981.1, 124, f. 9:1. Argillaceous grey or red earthenware; H 18.9 cm, M 22 cm.

Dafentou (Yunmeng, Hubei) M2:5, *KGXB* 1986.4, 509, f. 33:3. Earthenware; H 13 cm, M 19.5 cm.

Zhangjiashan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M127:25, *WW* 1992.9, 9, f. 26. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 15.2 cm, M 15 cm.

5: Ca. 173 BC

Yunxian (Hubei) M221:11, *KGXJK* 6 (1989), 164, f. 19:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 20.5 cm, M 16 cm.

+ Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M18:17, *WW* 1993.8, 13, f. 2:1. Grey-white argillaceous earthenware; black slip (flaking); legs broken; H 11.6 cm (broken), M 16 cm, G 18.5 cm.

6: Ca. 168 BC

Fenghuangshan (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M5:14, © *KG* 1993.3, 241, f. 3:7. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Vitreous siliceous grey earthenware; H 16.5 cm, M 17.2 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1101:20, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 22:1. Earthenware; G 20.8 cm.

7: Ca. 168 BC

Xuanbitang (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M2:31, © *KG* 1995.3, 216, f. 4:1. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Argillaceous earthenware; non-vitreous (friable); H 13.8 cm, M 21 cm.

8: Ca. 168 BC

Xuanbitang (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M1:23, © KG 1995.3, 216, f. 4:2. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Argillaceous earthenware; non-vitreous (friable); broken; H 9 cm, M 15.5 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1056:16, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 22:5. Earthenware; vessel with loops on lid; H 21.2 cm, G 18.2 cm.

9: Ca. 168 BC

Xuanbitang (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M2:29, © KG 1995.3, 216, f. 4:3. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Vitreous earthenware; H 16.5 cm, M 11 cm.

10: Ca. 168 BC

Mawangdui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1:105, *Mawangdui* (A), vol. 1, 124, f. 108:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; tin foil coated; vessel contained bird bones; H 18.5 cm, M 19.5 cm, G 21.5 cm (?).

Burial Goods Pits of the King of Qi (Wotuo [Zibo Municipality, Shandong]) K1:57, *KGXB* 1985.2, 233, f. 10:10. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 20.8 cm, M 20.4 cm.

11: Ca. 168 BC

Mawangdui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1:66, *Mawangdui* (A), vol. 1, 123, f. 107:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; body: black slip, engobe décor; lid: lacquered black-brown, décor in yellow, green, silver lacquer; H 18 cm, M 19 cm, G 21 cm.

12: Ca. 164 BC

Suizhou (Hubei), *WW* 1989.8, 45, f. 3:1. Argillaceous earthenware; wheel thrown; relatively high fired; broken; H 14.6 cm.

13: Ca. 160 BC

Yunxian (Hubei) M308:1, *KGXJK* 6 (1989), 166, f. 20:1. Bronze; H 14.3 cm, M 14 cm.

+ Anyi Palace (Hongdong, Shaanxi) isolated find, WW 1982.9, 22, f. 2. Bronze; inscribed with date of production possibly 160 BC; H 23 cm, M 16 cm, G 15 cm.

Dianshan (Mianyang Municipality, Sichuan), KGYWW 1986.2, 19, f. 2:3. Bronze; H 18 cm, M 15.4 cm, G 19.6 cm.

Hongtushan (Juye, Shandong) M1:28, KGXB 1983.4, 478, f. 7:1. Bronze; H 15.2 cm, M 13.6 cm, G 12 cm.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M8:2, KGXB 1976.2, 125, f. 13:1. Bronze; H 15 cm.

14: Ca. 138 BC

Baonüdun (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 85YBM104:1, WW 1991.10, 43, f. 6. Bronze; inscribed; H 17.5 cm, M 18.7 cm.

Daiye (Laixi, Shandong) M2, WW 1980.12, 13, f. 14. Bronze; gilded; H 16 cm, M 15 cm, G 9.7 cm.

+ Gaoyao (Sanqiao, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) bronze #11, KG 1963.2, Pl. 4:1; KGYWW 1981.4, frontispiece, f. 1; *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji*, vol. 12, Pl. 28. Bronze; inscribed with date of production; H 40.5 cm, M 32 cm, G 40 cm.

Huoshan (Anhui) M3:4, WW 1991.9, 43, f. 6:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; black slip; H 19 cm, M 15.5 cm, G 18.5 cm.

Jiangshan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), WWZLCK 1 (1977), 109 f. 11. Earthenware.

Burial Goods Pits of the King of Qi (Wotuo [Zibo Municipality, Shandong]) K1:129, KGXB 1985.2, 233, f. 10:9. Argillaceous grey earthenware; burnished; H 29.5 cm, M 27 cm.

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M46:24, KGXB 1986.4, 500, f. 24:1. Bronze; H 18.1 cm, M 15.2 cm.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M39:4, KGXB 1992.2, 233, f. 9:1. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 20.6 cm, M 13.7 cm.

Wuzuofen (Guanghua, Hubei) M1:1, KGXB 1976.2, Pl. 2:4. Bronze.

15: Ca. 137 BC

+ **Unnamed tumulus near Maoling** (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) K1:025, WW 1982.9, 13, f. 43

Bronze; lid inscribed with date of production identified with 137

BC, body inscribed with date identified with 135 BC; H 19.5 cm, M 18.5 cm, G 24 cm.

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M5:4, *Gaotai*, 92, f. 75:2. Bronze; H 15 cm, M 15.2 cm, G 18 cm.

Gaotai (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M9:2, *Gaotai*, 92, f. 75:3. Bronze; inscribed; H 17.5 cm, M 15.2 cm, G 18.5 cm.

Burial Goods Pits of the King of Qi (Wotuo [Zibo Municipality, Shandong]) K1:125, *KGXB* 1985.2, 236, f. 13:12. Bronze; inscribed; H 24.2 cm, M 19 cm.

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M1:13, *KG* 1981.1, Pl. 10:1. Earthenware; lacquered black inside and outside; décor in red-brown and yellow lacquer; H 16 cm, M 19.5 cm.

Wuzuofen (Guanghua, Hubei) M3:1, *KGXB* 1976.2, Pl. 2:1. Bronze; H 21 cm, M 19.8 cm.

16: Ca. 136 BC

+Hongtushan (Juye, Shandong) M1:201, *KGXB* 1983.4, 489, f. 18:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 14.6 cm.

Yunxian (Hubei) M307:8, *KGXJK* 6 (1989), 164, f. 19:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 17 cm, M 15.8 cm.

17: Ca. 122 BC

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M25:5, *KGXB* 1976.2, 125, f. 13:5 (the excavation report considers M28:3 as the same form). Bronze; H 15.4 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) C20, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 34:1 right. Bronze.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) C25, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 34:1 left. Bronze; H 11.4 cm, M 9.2 cm, G 11 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) G54, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 177:1. Bronze; inscribed; H 21 cm, M 18 cm, G 21.5 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) G66, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 178:1. Bronze; inscribed; H 20.7 cm, M 18 cm, G 20.6 cm.

Guishan ([originally, Xiaoguishan], Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1:TG58, *WW* 1973.4, 29, f. 16. Bronze; inscribed; H 13.8 cm, M 13 cm, G 16 cm.

Xunyang (Shaanxi), *KGWW* 1989.6, 105, f. 2. Bronze; inscribed; H 18 cm, M 14.5 cm.

18: Ca. 122 BC

Huoshan (Anhui) M4:10, *WW* 1991.9, 43, f. 6:2. Siliceous grey earthenware; H 19.4 cm, M 15.8 cm, G 20 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) G53, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 278, f. 192:1. Bronze; inscribed; H 19 cm, M 16.5 cm.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M9:1, *KGXB* 1992.2, 233, f. 9:8. Earthenware; H 19.4 cm, M 16.4 cm.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M10:13, *KGXB* 1992.2, 233, f. 9:6. Earthenware; H 17.3 cm, M 13.4 cm.

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M136:6, *KGXB* 1990.1, Pl. 15:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 18 cm, M 15 cm.

Xianshan (Xiangfan Municipality, Hubei) M3:4, *KG* 1996.5, 39, f. 7:1. Bronze; H 15.3 cm, M 14.2 cm.

Yuantaizi (Chaoyang Municipality, Liaoning) EM119:2, *WW* 1990.2, Pl. 5:1. Earthenware.

19: Ca. 122 BC

Huoshan (Anhui) M2:3, *WW* 1991.9, 43, f. 6:6. Grey earthenware; black slip; H 16.2 cm, M 16.6 cm, G 20.2 cm.

20: Ca. 122 BC

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) E13, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 233, f. 160:1. Siliceous earthenware; engobe décor; smoke stains on vessel bottom; H 20.2 cm, M 16 cm.

21: Ca. 122 BC

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) C15, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 114, f. 76:2.

Earthenware; H 11.5 cm, M 6.5 cm, G 10.3 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1069:21, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 22:4. Earthenware; G 23.2 cm.

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M7:51, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 45, f. 41. Earthenware.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) C263, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 63:1. Earthenware; inscribed; H 23.5 cm, M 10.5 cm, G 22.8 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) E77, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 143:3. Vitreous grey-white earthenware; H 19.5 cm, M 9 cm, G 18.8 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) G20, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 296, f. 208:3. Earthenware; H 25 cm, M 10.4 cm, G 23 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) G60, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 198:1 left. Earthenware; H 23.6 cm, M 12 cm, G 24.2 cm.

22: Ca. 122 BC

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) G58, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 278, f. 192:2. Bronze; H 17.4 cm, M 15.2 cm, G 15.8 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1066:41, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 29:5. Bronze; H 23.5 cm, G 17.6 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1075:10, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 124, f. 67:6. Grey-green or grey-red siliceous earthenware; with lid; red engobe décor on lid; G 17.5 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) G3, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 180:1. Bronze; H 54.5 cm, M 52 cm, G 46.8 cm.

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) G4, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 181:1. Bronze; H 56 cm, M 52.3 cm, G 46.8 cm.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) *M51:1, *KGXB* 1978.4, Pl. 7:4. Bronze; H 16 cm, M 13 cm.

23: Ca. 122 BC

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou

Municipality, Guangdong]) H42, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 25, f. 17:7. Grey, coarsely siliceous earthenware; high-fired; hard; incised décor; H 12.2 cm, G 14 cm.

24: Ca. 122 BC

Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M4:44, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 36, f. 11:1. Bronze.

Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M1:28, *Luobowan*, Pl. 12:2. Bronze; inscribed; H 28 cm, M 23.8 cm.

Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M1:29, *Luobowan*, 32, f. 29:1. Bronze; vessel with handle; H 29 cm, M 24 cm.

Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M1:30, *Luobowan*, Pl. 12:3. Bronze; inscribed; H 28.5 cm, M 23.5 cm.

Nanchang Eastern Suburbs (Jiangxi) M1:12, *KGXB* 1976.2, 177, f. 7:7. Bronze; broken; H 40 cm (approximately).

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) G9, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 178:3. Bronze; inscribed; H 41 cm, M 33.5 cm, G 29 cm.

25: Ca. 122 BC

***After: Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) *M71:1, KGXB* 1978.2, 230, f. 27:1. Bronze; H 19.5 cm.**

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) G10, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 180:2. Bronze; inscribed; H 28.5 cm, M 31 cm, G 27.8 cm.

26: Ca. 122 BC

+Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) G36, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 278, f. 192:4. Bronze; inscribed; vessel contained pig, fish, and chicken bones; textile imprints on vessel; H 30 cm, M 26.5 cm, G 23 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1010:6, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 22:3. Earthenware; inscribed; G 19.6 cm.

27: Ca. 122 BC

Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M1:32, *Luobowan*, Pl. 12:5. Bronze;

vessel with lugs on lid; inscribed; H 20 cm, M 18 cm.

Gaozhuang (Dilu, Hebei), *KG* 1994.4, Pl. 4:1. Bronze; lid inscribed with dates interpreted as 117 and 116 BC; however, these dates seem to refer to receipt and inspection of the vessel, not to production; H 30 cm, M 24 cm, G 30 cm.

Guishan ([originally, Xiaoguishan], Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1:TG55, *WW* 1973.4, 29, f. 15. Bronze; inscribed; H 20 cm, M 18.4 cm, G 22.1 cm.

28: Ca. 122 BC

After: Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) 78M92:1, KG 1985.5, 416, f. 6:13. Earthenware; H 14.5 cm, G 20 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M1082:16, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 22:6. Earthenware; vessel with handle in center of lid.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M10:5, *KGXB* 1992.2, 233, f. 9:4. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 15.6 cm, M 15 cm.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M40:8, *KGXB* 1992.2, 233, f. 9:3. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 15.2 cm, M 17.6 cm.

Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei) M41:1, *KGXB* 1992.2, 233, f. 9:5. Argillaceous red earthenware; broken; H 10 cm, M 14 cm.

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M7:1, *KGXB* 1990.1, Pl. 15:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 21 cm, M 19 cm.

29: Ca. 119–103 BC

Liangnanzhuang (Rongcheng Municipality, Shandong) M1:9, © *KG* 1994.12, 1074, f. 9:2. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Bronze; H 32 cm.

30: Ca. 113 BC

+ **Mancheng (Hebei) M1:3394**, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 128, f. 86:9. Siliceous grey earthenware; H 19 cm, M 15.5 cm, G 19.7 cm.

31: Ca. 113 BC

+ **Mancheng (Hebei) M1:4102**, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 53, f. 34. Bronze; H 18.1 cm, M 17.2 cm, G 20 cm.

+ **Mancheng (Hebei) M1:4101**, *Mancheng*, vol. 2, Pl. 23:2. Bronze;

inscribed; H 17.5 cm, M 17.2 cm, G 19.6 cm.

32: Ca. 113 BC

+ **Mancheng (Hebei) M1:3088**, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 125, f. 84:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; engobe décor; H 21.2 cm, M 21 cm, G 26 cm.

Dajiangkou (Shupu, Hunan) M8:10, *KG* 1994.1, 24, f. 3:9. Earthenware; H 17.6 cm, M 20 cm, G 21.6 cm.

33: Ca. 70 BC

After: Qie Mo Shu (Hanjiang [Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu]), *WW* 1980.12, 5, f. 15. Earthenware; glazed.

Changzhou (Jiangsu), *WW* 1993.4, 51, f. 1:2. Red earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 21.4 cm.

Fenghuangshan (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M1:1, *KG* 1993.3, 241, f. 3:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 13.6 cm, M 16 cm.

Nanchang Eastern Suburbs (Jiangxi) M5:11, *KGXB* 1976.2, Pl. 1:1. Vitreous earthenware; yellow-grey glaze (flaking); H 14 cm.

Sanjiaoyu (Tianchang, Anhui) M18:5, *WW* 1993.9, 3, f. 4:1. Earthenware; H 23.4 cm, M 20 cm.

34: Ca. 70 BC

Yelin (Qingyang, Gansu), *WW* 1984.4, 48, f. 3:5. Bronze; inscribed; H 19 cm, M 14.5 cm, G 21 cm.

Houloushan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) XHM1:98, *WW* 1993.4, 33, f. 6:2. Earthenware; red engobe décor; H 17 cm, M 15.3 cm.

35: Ca. 70 BC

Kuishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), *KG* 1974.2, 121, f. 3:4 (2 pieces). Porcelaneous stoneware ("proto-porcelain"); H 20 cm.

Yangzhou (Jiangsu) M1:7, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 191, f. 11 (described in text as also corresponding to M1:7, M1:18, M2:13, M2:15). Earthenware; glazed; H 23-25 cm, G 21.5-22.5 cm.

36: Ca. 70 BC

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 5M1:37, WW 1987.6, 43, f. 89:2. Bronze; H 13 cm, M 11.6 cm, G 14.8 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2044:18, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 220, f. 125:1. Earthenware; H 21 cm, G 21.5 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M170:19, *KGYYW* 1992.6, 16, f. 3:5; *Longshouyuan*, 172, f. 113:1. Bronze; H 12 cm, M 10.8 cm.

Taolou (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M3:16, *KG* 1993.1, 17, f. 4:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; white and red engobe décor; broken; H 16 cm, M 14.5 cm, G 18 cm.

Tuanshan (Zhangji, Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 89YTM1:55, *KGXB* 1992.4, 482, f. 6:6. Earthenware; yellow-green glaze; H 17.8 cm, M 15.4 cm.

Tuanshan (Zhangji, Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 90YTM3:9, *KGXB* 1992.4, 499, f. 24:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 20 cm, M 18.6 cm.

Tuanshan (Zhangji, Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 90YTM4:5, *KGXB* 1992.4, 502, f. 28:3. Earthenware; glazed.

37: Ca. 70 BC

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 3M46:25, WW 1987.6, 27, f. 55:7. Bronze; H 14.4 cm, M 14 cm.

Dongdongshan ([formerly Shiqiao,] Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2:72, WW 1984.11, 28, f. 24:4. Bronze; H 12.6 cm.

Gaozhuang (Dilu, Hebei), *KG* 1994.4, Pl. 6:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; wheel thrown; vessel with no lugs on lid; H 21 cm, M 18 cm.

Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M1:1, *KGXB* 1983.3, 384, f. 1:4. Bronze; H 19.4 cm, M 17.6 cm.

Jinzhai (Mianxian, Shaanxi), WW 1984.4, 54, f. 6. Argillaceous earthenware; yellow-brown glaze; stamped décor; H 19 cm, G 21.2 cm.

Yaozhuang (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M101:178, WW 1988.2, 30, f. 20. Bronze; H 11.5 cm.

38: Ca. 70 BC

Yinqueshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M6:4, *KG* 1975.6, 368, f. 6:1. Argillaceous red earthenware; green glaze; uneven firing

temperatures; H 20.3 cm, G 20.5 cm.

Dongjiazhuang (Laixi, Shandong) M1, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 186, f. 3. Bronze; vessel belly and bottom covered with soot; H 18 cm, M 16 cm.

Gaozhuang (Dilu, Hebei), *KG* 1994.4, Pl. 6:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; wheel thrown; iron lugs on lid; H 23 cm, M 17 cm.

Muchengyi (Dalian Municipality, Liaoning) Eastern Tomb, *Nan-shan-li*, fig. 51:E-2 (insert between pp. 68–69). Earthenware; H 4.2 inches.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M9:4, *KGXB* 1976.2, 130, f. 18:3. Earthenware; low fired; broken; G 17.5 cm.

Zhaowan (Baotou Municipality, Inner Mongolia) M42:9, *NMGWWKG* 1 (1981), 47, f. 1:19. Argillaceous grey earthenware; black slip; H 20 cm, G 24 cm.

39: Ca. 70 BC

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 3M1:1, *WW* 1987.6, 56, f. 4:4 (also cited as corresponding to pieces in M1, M2). Bronze; H 20.3 cm, M 21.9 cm, G 27.3 cm.

Dayi (Sichuan), *WW* 1981.12, 40, f. 6:4. Bronze; H 23 cm, M 20.6 cm, G 25 cm.

Dongdongshan ([formerly Shiqiao,] Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2:3, *WW* 1984.11, 28, f. 24:2. Bronze; inscribed.

Dongquanhe (Laiwu Municipality, Shandong), *WW* 1993.12, 31, f. 1:1. Bronze; broken; H 18.3 cm, G 22.6 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M132:5, *Longshouyuan*, 151, f. 98:1. Bronze; H 18.5 cm, M 18.5 cm.

Tuanshan (Zhangji, Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 89YTM1:32, *KGXB* 1992.4, 481, f. 5:2. Earthenware; H 22.8 cm, M 26 cm.

40: Ca. 70 BC

Dongdongshan ([formerly Shiqiao,] Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2:85, *WW* 1984.11, 28, f. 24:1. Bronze; inscribed; H 21 cm.

Baimashi (Ziyang, Shaanxi) IM20:3, *KGXB* 1995.2, 226, f. 18:10. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 17.6 cm, M 19.6 cm, G 19.7 cm.

Dongdongshan ([formerly Shiqiao,] Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu)

M2 unnumbered, WW 1984.11, 29, f. 25. Bronze; inscribed; lid broken; H 21.2 cm.

Dongdongshan ([formerly Shiqiao,] Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2:1, WW 1984.11, Pl. 3:2. Bronze; inscribed; H 21.2 cm.

41: Ca. 70 BC

Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M1:19, KGXB 1983.3, 389, f. 6:1. Vitreous argillaceous grey earthenware; grey-green glaze; relatively high fired; H 22.4 cm, M 20.8 cm.

Sanjiaoyu (Tianchang, Anhui) M6:10, WW 1993.9, 3, f. 4:4. Earthenware; light yellow-green glaze; H 19.4 cm, M 15 cm.

42: Ca. 70 BC

Water Treatment Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M55:29, KGYWW 1990.6, 49, f. 6:1. Argillaceous red earthenware; green glaze; stamped décor; H 17.6 cm.

43: Ca. 70 BC

Zifangshan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 61, f. 4:3 (5 pieces). Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 17 cm, G 20 cm.

44: Ca. 70 BC

Huaihua (Hunan) M10:6, WW 1988.10, 62, f. 10:1. Earthenware; H 17 cm, M 22 cm.

45: Ca. 70 BC

After: Houma (Shanxi) M4:4, WW 1993.7, 47, f. 8:1. Earthenware; engobe décor (brown, white); H 14.8 cm, M 16.4 cm.

Dushan (Weishan, Shandong) M3:3, KG 1995.8, 694, f. 8:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; red and white engobe décor; vessel contained fish bones; H 14.5 cm, M 16 cm.

Jinqueshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M9, WW 1977.11, 27, f. 6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; white slip; engobe décor; H 16 cm, M 16 cm, G 19 cm.

Jinqueshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M31:35, WW 1989.1,

31, f. 17. Argillaceous grey earthenware; white slip; engobe décor; H 14.6 cm, G 17 cm.

Qingyunshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M2:1, WW 1988.10, 74, f. 17:1. Argillaceous yellow earthenware; H 14 cm, M 16 cm, G 18.8 cm.

Tianchang (Anhui) M2:11, KG 1979.4, 327, f. 15:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; very low fired; H 9.2 cm, M 17.5 cm, B 5 cm.

46: Ca. 70 BC

After: Houloushan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) XHM1:78, WW 1993.4, 33, f. 6:1. Earthenware; red and black engobe décor; H 16 cm, M 18.8 cm, G 21.6 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M89:1, *Longshouyuan*, 109, f. 74:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; red, white, blue engobe décor (flaking); broken; H 18 cm, M 21.6 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M170:13, KGYWW 1992.6, 16, f. 3:4; *Longshouyuan*, 171, f. 112:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 16 cm, M 16.5 cm.

47: Ca. 70 BC

After: Shizhuan (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M11:10, WW 1992.9, 29, f. 21:5. Earthenware; glazed; H 20.2 cm, M 14.2 cm.

Dushan (Weishan, Shandong) M4:3, KG 1995.8, 694, f. 8:6. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 13.4 cm, M 13.5 cm.

48: Ca. 70 BC

Leigutai (Xiangyang, Hubei) M1:73, KG 1982.2, 154, f. 10:5. Earthenware; lacquered black outside, red inside; lacquer décor; H 23 cm, M 24.5 cm.

Heshanmiao (Yiyang, Hunan) M18:9, KGXB 1981.4, 538, f. 15:2. Grey earthenware; fired at moderate temperature; H 13.6 cm, M 18 cm, G 19.6 cm.

49: Ca. 70 BC

Pingshuo (Shanxi) GM159:21, WW 1987.6, 40, f. 76:12. Earthenware; engobe décor; H 17 cm, M 9.9 cm, G 15 cm.

Zhou Family Cemetery (Jinqieshan [Linyi Municipality, Shandong]) M10:3, WW 1984.11, 48, f. 26:7. Red earthenware; yellow glaze; H 23.9 cm, M 11.2 cm, G 12.3 cm.

50: Ca. 70 BC

Panmiao (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M15:8, WW 1991.12, 59, f. 24:7. Earthenware; red engobe décor; vessel with lid like inverted bowl (straight sides, shallow body, ring base); H 38.2 cm, M 19.8 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M3:16, *Longshouyuan*, 24, f. 8:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; traces of engobe décor; rounded lid; H 14 cm, M 15.2 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M5:5, *Longshouyuan*, 29, f. 12:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; traces of red and white engobe décor; rounded lid; H 14.2 cm, M 14.4 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M39:8, *Longshouyuan*, 59, f. 36:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; red and white engobe décor; rounded lid; H 14.4 cm, M 16 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M54:17, *Longshouyuan*, 82, f. 54:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; red and white engobe décor; rounded lid; H 13.2 cm, M 17.2 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M97:4, *Longshouyuan*, 126, f. 84:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; red and white engobe décor; rounded lid; H 14 cm, M 14 cm.

Panmiao (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M16:5, WW 1991.12, 59, f. 24:8. Earthenware; vessel with lid like inverted bowl (straight sides, shallow body, ring base); H 18.8 cm, M 18 cm.

Shizhuan (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M15:12, WW 1992.9, 25, f. 6:1. Siliceous grey or red earthenware; vessel with lid like inverted bowl (straight sides, shallow body, ring base); H 16.6 cm, M 16.5 cm.

51: Ca. 55 BC

After: + **Dingxian (Hebei) M40**, WW 1981.8, 5, f. 7:1. Earthenware.

52: Ca. 55 BC

Liangnanzhuang (Rongcheng Municipality, Shandong) M2:40, © KG 1994.12, 1072, f. 5:8. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Vitreous grey earthenware; H 26 cm.

53: Ca. 51 BC

Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M3:8, KGXB 1983.3, 397, f. 14:1. Bronze; H 30 cm, M 23.2 cm.

Chengbei (Hexian, Anhui), WWZLCK 1 (1977), 113, f. 7 (2 examples cited in report). Vitreous argillaceous red earthenware; light green glaze (flaking); high fired; H 19 cm, M 17.5 cm.

Chôngbaengni (Teihakuri) (Pangyori, P'yôngyang, Democratic People's Republic of Korea) habitation site, *Lolang*, vol. 1, 226, f. 62. Bronze; H 7.75 inches, M 6.5 inches, G 6.6 inches.

+ Gaoyao (Sanqiao, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) bronze #12, KG 1963.2, Pl. 4:2; *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji*, vol. 12, Pl. 27. Bronze; inscribed with date of production; H 35.2 cm, M 32 cm, G 29 cm.

Qilingang (Nanyang Municipality, Henan) M8:1, KG 1996.3, 15, f. 4:1. Bronze; H 19.5 cm, M 11 cm, G 16 cm.

54: Ca. 45 BC

+ **Dabaotai (Beijing Municipality) M1:1**, *Dabaotai*, 36, f. 37:5. Argillaceous red earthenware; black slip; wheel thrown; H 27 cm, M 17 cm, G 27 cm.

55: Ca. 26 BC

+ **Youyu (Shanxi)**, WW 1963.11, 8, f. 9. Gilded bronze; painted décor (black line, touches of red, white, black, etc.); vessel self-named a *zun* for heating alcohol; inscribed with date of production of 26 BC; H 34.5 cm, M 64.5 cm.

Sanjiaoyu (Tianchang, Anhui) M10:38, WW 1993.9, 7, f. 16:7. Bronze; report terms this vessel a *xi* basin; H 14 cm, M 27 cm.

56: Ca. AD 4

Maquan (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M1:33, KG 1979.2, 129, f. 5:1. Bronze; H 20 cm.

Dongdongshan ([formerly Shiqiao,] Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2:3, WW 1984.11, 28, f. 24:2. Bronze; inscribed; H 21 cm.

Dongdongshan ([formerly Shiqiao,] Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2:66, WW 1984.11, 28, f. 24:3. Bronze; H 12.4 cm.

+ Ju'nan (Shandong), WW 1995.8, 36, f. 1. Bronze; inscribed with date of production of AD 4; soot marks on bottom of vessel; H 18.2 cm, M 14.2 cm.

57: Ca. AD 9

Xin'an (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M11:3, © KG 1994.3, 211, f. 6:2. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Argillaceous red earthenware; H 12.4 cm, M 8 cm, B 7.5 cm.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M105:25, *Shaogou*, 116, f. 55:5. Earthenware; H 18 cm.

Wunüzhong (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM461:50, WW 1995.11, 8, f. 5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 29.1 cm, G 39 cm.

58: Ca. AD 9

After: Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M134:8, *Shaogou*, 116, f. 55:4. Earthenware; H 15.4 cm.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M11:81, WW 1983.4, 24, f. 66. Grey or red/red-brown earthenware; relatively high-fired; H 24.8 cm, M 13 cm, G 27.3 cm.

59: Ca. AD 9

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M58:35, *Shaogou*, 116, f. 55:8. Earthenware.

Tomb of Bu Qianqiu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan), WW 1977.6, 5, f. 14. Earthenware; H 26 cm, M 17 cm, G 28 cm.

60: Ca. AD 9

After: Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M39:5, KGXB 1990.1, 112, f. 12:16. Argillaceous grey earthenware; engobe décor; relatively high fired; H 16.5 cm, M 17 cm.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM337:31, WW 1992.12,

12, f. 7:9. Earthenware; H 18 cm, M 18 cm.

Qianjingtou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) CM1231:53, WW 1993.5, 4, f. 4:12. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 20 cm, M 19.5 cm, G 23.8 cm.

61: Ca. AD 9

After: Luoyang Post and Cable Office (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM372:80, WW 1994.7, 28, f. 11:6. Earthenware; inscribed in red; H 22.8 cm, M 14 cm, G 25.6 cm.

62: Ca. AD 9

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M125:31, *Shaogou*, 116, f. 55:2. Earthenware; inscribed in black.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M74:67, *Shaogou*, Pl. 26:3. Earthenware.

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M135:6, *Shaogou*, Pl. 27:1. Earthenware.

63: Ca. AD 9

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M125:30, *Shaogou*, 116, f. 55:1. Earthenware; H 21.2 cm.

Painted Tomb (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M61:109, *KGXB* 1964.2, 119, f. 8:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; body wheel thrown; H 14 cm, G 24.2 cm.

64: Ca. AD 9

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M69:12, *KGXB* 1990.1, 112, f. 12:8. Argillaceous grey earthenware; relatively high fired; H 12.5 cm.

Tomb of Bu Qianqiu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan), WW 1977.6, 6, f. 24. Earthenware; H 17 cm, M 18 cm, G 22 cm.

Luoyang Post and Cable Office (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM372:32, WW 1994.7, 28, f. 11:5. Earthenware; white slip; inscribed in ink; vessel filled with chicken bones; H 18.4 cm, M 20 cm, G 25.6 cm.

Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M14:1, *KGXB* 1990.1, 112, f. 12:12. Argillaceous grey earthenware; engobe décor; relatively high

fired; H 16 cm, M 15 cm.

65: Ca. AD 10

Chengguanzhen (Fangcheng, Henan), *WW* 1984.3, 42, f. 8:2. Earthenware; dark red glaze; H 18.8 cm, M 20 cm, G 24.4 cm.

66: Ca. AD 10

Chengguanzhen (Fangcheng, Henan), *WW* 1984.3, 42, f. 8:1. Earthenware; dark red glaze; H 20 cm, M 19.6 cm, G 23.6 cm.

67: Ca. AD 14

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M136A:36, *Shaogou*, 116, f. 55:6. Earthenware; H 28.8 cm.

68: Ca. AD 14

Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M136A:35, *Shaogou*, 116, f. 55:7. Earthenware; inscribed in black.

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) unnumbered tomb, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 169, f. 19:10. Earthenware; H 29.3 cm.

69: Ca. AD 14

Jinguyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) unnumbered tomb, *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 169, f. 19:9. Earthenware; H 32 cm.

Longshou Military Base (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M8:10, *KGYWW* 1992.6, 26, f. 7:10. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 12 cm, M 12 cm.

70: Ca. AD 24

Huaihua (Hunan) M11:12, *WW* 1988.10, 62, f. 10:2. Earthenware; H 15.5 cm, M 19 cm.

Jinqueshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M27:3, *WW* 1989.1, 31, f. 18:1. Argillaceous red earthenware; inscribed; H 14.4 cm, G 17 cm.

71: Ca. AD 63

+ **Pengshan (Sichuan) M682:4**, *Pengshan*, 33, f. 37:1. Vitreous siliceous red earthenware; high fired; H 12.8 cm, M 19.6 cm.

72: Ca. AD 65

Zifangshan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M3, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 61, f. 4:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 20 cm, M 18 cm.

73: Ca. AD 65

Zifangshan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M3, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 61, f. 4:4 (3 pieces). Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 16 cm, G 19 cm.

Huaershan (Xinjin, Liaoning) M1-7, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 82, f. 23. Earthenware; H 23 cm.

Mishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M4:12, KG 1996.4, 39, f. 6:1. Earthenware; no lid; vessel broken; H 15.8 cm, M 17 cm.

Sanjiaoyu (Tianchang, Anhui) M1:128, WW 1993.9, 7, f. 16:1. Bronze; H 24.4 cm, M 22 cm.

Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M35:8, KG 1981.1, Pl. 11:3. Iron; H 27.3 cm, M 23.2 cm.

74: Ca. AD 65

Longshou Military Base (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M9:3, © KGYWW 1992.6, 26, f. 7:1. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. [= *Longshouyuan*, 193, f. 128:4.] Argillaceous grey earthenware; red, white, blue engobe décor; H 16 cm, M 14.4 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M2:11, *Longshouyuan*, 18, f. 4:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; red slip; engobe décor; H 14 cm, M 18 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M16:3, *Longshouyuan*, 46, f. 28:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; traces of engobe décor; H 16.4 cm, M 16.4 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M58:15, *Longshouyuan*, 93, f. 62:3. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 16.2 cm, M 18.3 cm.

Qinguang (Zaoyuan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M13:1, KGYWW 1992.5, 14, f. 8:24. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 16 cm, M 13 cm, G 7.5 cm.

Zifangshan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M3, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 67, f. 27 (4 examples in bronze). Bronze; H 14.5 cm.

75: Ca. AD 65

After: Xicheng (Suizhou Municipality, Hubei) M1:29, WW 1993.7, 67, f. 3:13. Earthenware; yellow-green glaze; broken; H 14.4 cm, M 15.2 cm, G 21.8 cm.

76: Ca. AD 65

Longshou Military Base (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M10:3, © KGYWW 1992.6, 26, f. 7:3. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. Argillaceous grey earthenware; engobe décor; H 14.4 cm, M 11.2 cm.

Fuling (Sichuan) M2:4, *KG* 1984.4, 341, f. 4:3. Bronze; H 15 cm, M 6.8 cm (?), G 15.6 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M42:16, *Longshouyuan*, 65, f. 41:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 18.8 cm, M 16 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M120:28, *Longshouyuan*, 138, f. 92:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; broken; H 14 cm, M 10.4 cm.

Qinguang (Zaoyuan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M14:17, *KGYWW* 1992.5, 14, f. 8:29. Siliceous red earthenware; yellow glaze; stamped décor; H 18.6 cm, M 14.4 cm, G 10.8 cm.

Qinguang (Zaoyuan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M15:6, *KGYWW* 1992.5, 16, f. 9:1. Siliceous red earthenware; brown glaze; H 17 cm, M 15 cm.

Youyu (Shanxi) *ding* #1, *WW* 1963.11, 11, f. 12. Bronze; inscribed; H 31-33 cm (report gives the latter as 3.3 cm), M 26 cm.

Youyu (Shanxi) *ding* #3, *WW* 1963.11, 5, f. 2. Bronze; H 31-33 cm (report gives the latter as 3.3 cm), M 26 cm.

77: Ca. AD 65

Fangxin (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M6:13, © KGYWW 1992.5, 27, f. 5:5. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. Siliceous red earthenware; yellow glaze; stamped décor; H 17.5 cm, M 14 cm.

Beizhuang (Dingxian, Hebei) M1:187, *KGXB* 1964.2, 135, f. 8:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; black slip.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2030:39, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 63:2. Bronze; H 23.4 cm, G 21.2 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M42:5, *Longshouyuan*, 65, f. 41:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 20.5 cm, M 15 cm.

Shuangrushan (Changqing, Shandong) M1:10, *Jibeiwang ling*, 57; 146, bottom. Bronze; inscribed; H 22 cm, M 17.8 cm.

Sôgamni (Sekiganri) ([originally, Taedonggangmyôn M9,] Pangyori, P'yôngyang, Democratic People's Republic of Korea) M9, *Lolang*, vol. 2, 30, f. 278. Bronze; H 7.65 inches, M 7.1 inches, G 8.98 inches.

Youyu (Shanxi) *ding* #2, WW 1963.11, 11, f. 15. Bronze; inscribed; H 31-33 cm (report gives the latter as 3.3 cm), M 26 cm.

78: Ca. AD 65

Jingshan (Yishui, Shandong), WW 1985.5, 48, f. 4:3. Bronze; H 20 cm, M 13 cm, G 20 cm.

*Budonggou (Dongsheng Municipality, Inner Mongolia) M2:1, Tian and Guo, *E'erduosishi qingtongqi*, 397, f. 3:1. Iron; H 37.2 cm, M 27.5 cm, G 40 cm.

Ganquan (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2:31, WW 1981.11, 3, f. 4:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; white slip; H 20.8 cm, M 19.4 cm.

Huayang (Yuexi, Sichuan) cache, WWZLCK 7 (1983), 25, f. 4. Bronze; vessel is the lower portion of a *yan* steamer.

Muqian (Weishan, Shandong) M3:4, KG 1995.11, 999, f. 3:9. Earthenware; vessel has flat lid; H 16 cm, M 10 cm, G 21 cm.

79: Ca. AD 65

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M92:22, © KGYWW 1992.5, 35, f. 2:9. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. Argillaceous grey earthenware; engobe décor; H 17.4 cm, M 18 cm.

Dongmenli (Liaoyang [Old] Municipality, Liaoning) M1:9, WW 1985.6, 29, f. 9:3. Earthenware; H 14.3 cm, M 16.7 cm, G 24.8 cm.

Huaihua (Hunan) M4:7, WW 1988.10, 62, f. 10:3. Earthenware; H 14.5 cm, M 17 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M14:2, *Longshouyuan*, 44, f. 26:1. Argillaceous grey earthenware; red and green engobe décor; rounded lid; H 14.8

cm, M 13.6 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M77:1, *Longshouyuan*, 103, f. 70:4. Argillaceous grey earthenware; red and white engobe décor; H 14 cm, M 14.4 cm.

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M92:4, *Longshouyuan*, 116, f. 78:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; red, white, green engobe décor; H 16.8 cm, M 15.6 cm.

Shuangrushan (Changqing, Shandong) M1, no inventory number, *Jibeiwang ling*, 147, bottom, f. 4. Bronze.

80: Ca. AD 65

Jingshan (Yishui, Shandong), WW 1985.5, 48, f. 4:4. Bronze; H 16 cm, M 18 cm.

Dajiangkou (Shupu, Hunan) M4:18, *KG* 1994.1, 24, f. 3:7. Earthenware; H 20 cm, M 20 cm, G 24 cm.

Lijiaoqiao (Sanmenxia Municipality, Henan) M5:23, *HXKG* 1994.1, 19, f. 8:4. Bronze; vessel has no lid; H 8 cm, M 13.5 cm.

Shuangrushan (Changqing, Shandong) M1:2, *Jibeiwang ling*, 145, bottom; 147, top, f. 3. Bronze; H 38.3 cm, M 34.9 cm.

81: Ca. AD 65

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5036:24, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 436, f. 271:5. Bronze; H 21.5 cm, M 18.5 cm, G 21 cm.

Fengmenling (Hepu, Guangxi) M10:14, *KG* 1995.3, Pl. 7:1. Bronze; H 27.5 cm, M 23.5 cm, G 27.5 cm, B 20 cm.

Hepu (Guangxi), *KG* 1972.5, Pl. 6:1. Bronze; M 18 cm.

Hetoushan (Wuzhou Municipality, Guangxi) M1, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 138, f. 6. Bronze; H 16 cm, M 13 cm.

Wulipai (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M007, *WW* 1960.3, 41, f. 4. Bronze; H 17.3 cm, M 16 cm.

82: Ca. AD 65

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M92:23, © *KGYYW* 1992.5, 35, f. 2:2. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. [= *Longshouyuan*, 116,

f. 78:7.] Argillaceous red earthenware; engobe décor; H 12 cm, M 9 cm.

Holingor ([Helin'ge'er,] Inner Mongolia), *Holingor*, 4, f. 6:2. Earthenware.

Jijiawan (Binzhou Municipality, Shandong), *WW* 1990.2, 67, f. 1. Earthenware; green glaze (now silvery; i.e., lead flux glaze?); high fired; H 15 cm, M 7.5 cm, G 20.5 cm.

Pingshuo (Shanxi) 6M12:6, *WW* 1987.6, 18, f. 45:9. Earthenware; vessel constitutes lower portion of *yan* steamer; H 8.5 cm, M 6.6 cm, G 19 cm.

83: Ca. AD 65

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5041:11, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 410, f. 252:3. Earthenware; vessel with straight handle; report terms the vessel a “three-legged *fu*,” H 26.5 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5036:23, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 166:3. Bronze; vessel with straight handle; report terms the vessel a “three-legged *fu*,” H 17.8 cm, M 7 cm, G 11.8 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5060:26, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 136:6. Earthenware; vessel with straight handle; report terms the vessel a “three-legged *fu*.”

Tangshan (Nanchang Municipality, Jiangxi) M3, *KG* 1981.5, Pl. 10:6. Bronze; vessel with straight handle; report terms the vessel a *he* pitcher (but with no spout); H 23 cm, M 9.5 cm.

84: Ca. AD 67

Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) unnumbered tomb, © KGYWW 1992.5, 22, f. 2:5. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. Siliceous red earthenware; green glaze; stamped décor; H 18 cm, M 15.2 cm, G 9 cm.

85: Ca. AD 67

After: Guangzhou (Guangdong) M2050:6, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 58:3. Red-yellow earthenware; slightly friable (non-vitreous); H 17.4 cm, M 18 cm.

86: Ca. AD 67

Fangxin (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M3:1, © KGYWW 1992.5, 27, f. 5:12. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. Siliceous red earthenware; yellow glaze; H 19.2 cm, M 14.4 cm.

87: Ca. AD 67

Xin'an (Hengyang Municipality, Hubei) M14:10, © KG 1994.3, 211, f. 6:1. Reproduced with permission, *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo*. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 14 cm, M 8 cm, B 12 cm.

88: Ca. AD 67

Shafu (Shunde, Guangdong) SM3:9, WW 1991.4, 50, f. 5:9. Argillaceous earthenware; vessel with straight handle; report terms the vessel a “three-legged *fu*,” H 23.7 cm, M 9.5 cm.

Fengmenling (Hepu, Guangxi) M10:11, KG 1995.3, Pl. 7:2. Bronze; vessel with straight handle; report terms the vessel a *jiaohu* (*hu* for heating); H 22 cm, M 11 cm, G 17 cm, B 11 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4039:33, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 98:4. Earthenware; glazed; vessel with straight handle; report terms the vessel a “three-legged *fu*,” H 17.8 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5001:75, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 166:2. Bronze; vessel with straight handle; report terms the vessel a “three-legged *fu*,” H 22 cm, M 10.5 cm, G 17 cm.

Hetoushan (Wuzhou Municipality, Guangxi) M1, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 138, f. 9. Bronze; vessel with straight handle; report terms the vessel a *jiaohu* (*hu* for heating); H 18.5 cm, G 11.5 cm.

Wulipai (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M007, WW 1960.3, 41, f. 5. Bronze; vessel with straight handle; report terms vessel a *he* pitcher (no spout); H 16.5 cm, M 8.5 cm, G 12 cm.

89: Ca. AD 76

+ **Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5041:13**, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 410, f. 251:1. Earthenware; H 22 cm, G 20 cm.

Futianzhen (Boluo, Guangxi) M1:5, KG 1993.4, 383, f. 4:2. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 13.7 cm, M 13.4 cm, G 18 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5028:20, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 136:3. Earthenware; G 16.8 cm.

Hetoushan (Wuzhou Municipality, Guangxi) M2, WWZLCK 4 (1981), 140, f. 20. Earthenware; H 13.5 cm, G 18.5 cm.

90: Ca. AD 80

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5076:2, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 410, f. 251:2. Earthenware; H 21 cm, G 20 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4006:3, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 98:2. Earthenware; H 21.2 cm, G 22 cm.

+ Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5060:29, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 136:2. Earthenware; H 21 cm, G 22.6 cm.

Guanshan (Shunde, Guangdong) GM1:3, WW 1991.4, 57, f. 26. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 18.1 cm, M 13.3 cm.

Shafu (Shunde, Guangdong) SM3:11, WW 1991.4, 51, f. 8:2. Argillaceous earthenware; H 18.5 cm, M 13.8 cm.

Xilinshan (Shunde, Guangdong) XM2:10, WW 1991.4, 59, f. 31:5. Earthenware; H 18.2 cm, M 16.2 cm.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M53:5, KGXB 1978.4, Pl. 2:3. Grey argillaceous earthenware; yellow-green glaze; glaze disintegrating; H 18 cm, G 18 cm.

Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M134:21, KGXB 1978.4, 475, f. 11:2. Grey argillaceous earthenware; H 19.2 cm, G 17.5 cm.

91: Ca. AD 90

Zixing (Hunan) M421:8, © KGXB 1995.4, 464, f. 15:3. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Red argillaceous earthenware; H 13 cm.

Zixing (Hunan) M92:38, KGXB 1995.4, 464, f. 15:7. Red siliceous earthenware; H 16.8 cm.

92: Ca. AD 90

Guolufang (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M7:1, © KGYWW 1992.2, 20, f. 10:13. Reproduced with permission, *Kaogu yu wenwu*. Argillaceous grey earthenware; engobe décor; H 13 cm, M 14.6 cm, G 18.2 cm.

Baonüdu (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 85YBM104:3, WW 1991.10, 43, f. 7. Bronze; H 12 cm, M 15.6 cm.

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) M37:7, KGXB 1976.2, 130,

f. 18:4. Earthenware; low fired; H 16.5 cm.

Wafenyuan (Jingsha Municipality, Hubei) M4:41, *KG* 1995.11, 993, f. 8:4. Bronze; H 17.3 cm, M 16 cm, G 18 cm.

93: Ca. AD 90

Nanhai (Guangdong) M3, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 92, f. 4:1. Grey-white earthenware; dark brown-black glaze, flaking off; vessel with straight handle; vessel broken; report terms the vessel a “three-legged *fu*.”

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M3021:85, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 80:10. Earthenware; vessel with spout, straight handle; report terms the vessel a *he* pitcher; H 23 cm, G 15.6 cm.

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M4004:13, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 98:5. Earthenware; vessel with straight handle; report terms the vessel a “three-legged *fu*,” H 16.7 cm, G 13.2 cm.

Hetoushan (Wuzhou Municipality, Guangxi) M2, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 140, f. 19. Earthenware; vessel with straight handle; report terms the vessel a *jiaohu* (*hu* for heating); H 20 cm, G 16 cm.

94: Ca. AD 90

Chencun (Shunde, Guangdong), *WW* 1991.12, 73, f. 1:6. Vitreous argillaceous clear yellow earthenware; yellow-brown glaze; high fired; vessel with straight handle; report terms vessel a “three-legged *fu*,” H 23 cm, M 9.6 cm.

95: Ca. AD 90

Hepu (Guangxi), *KG* 1972.5, 23, f. 3:6. Bronze; vessel with straight handle; report terms the vessel a *jiaohu* (*hu* for heating); H 20 cm, G 8.5 cm.

96: Ca. AD 90

Jiutou (Liuzhou Municipality, Guangxi) M1, *WW* 1984.4, 51, f. 2:5. Argillaceous grey earthenware; yellow-brown glaze; relatively high fired; H 21.3 cm, M 18.6 cm, G 25.2 cm.

97: Ca. AD 90

Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5080:46, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 410, f.

251:3. Earthenware; yellow-white glaze; H 21.5 cm, G 19.8 cm.

98: Ca. AD 90

Qianping (Yichang Municipality, Hubei) 78M109:28, *KG* 1985.5, 419, f. 11:1. Red earthenware; red-brown glaze; H 13 cm.

Maquanzi (Wafangdian Municipality, Liaoning) M2:17, *KG* 1993.1, 25, f. 5:11. Argillaceous grey earthenware; H 9.9 cm, M 7.2 cm.

Nanhai (Guangdong) M4, *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 96, f. 9. Vitreous yellow-grey earthenware; yellow glaze; H 22 cm, G 21 cm.

99: Ca. AD 90

Xiji (Ningxia) XHM1:1, © *KG* 1993.5, 410, f. 3:1. Reproduced with permission, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo. Argillaceous grey earthenware; report terms the vessel a *mingqi* funerary miniature; H 9.4 cm, M 9.6 cm.

100: Ca. AD 101

After: Wafenyuan (Jingsha Municipality, Hubei) M4:28, *KG* 1995.11, 993, f. 8:2 (considered a *he* pouring vessel). Bronze; vessel has hollow handle (no spout); H 17.5 cm, M 10 cm, G 14 cm.

101: Ca. AD 109

Fanji (Xinye, Henan) M9:10, *KGXB* 1990.4, 489, f. 11:4. Earthenware; H 13.4 cm, M 12.6 cm, G 18.5 cm.

Fanji (Xinye, Henan) M37:3, *KGXB* 1990.4, 489, f. 11:8. Earthenware; H 24.1 cm, G 19.4 cm.

Fanji (Xinye, Henan) M42:11, *KGXB* 1990.4, 489, f. 11:9. Earthenware; H 25.6 cm, M 19 cm, G 20.8 cm.

102: Ca. AD 175

After: Pangjiassi (Ningjin, Shandong), *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 127, f. 3:3. Earthenware; glazed; H 15 cm, M 12 cm.

Houma (Shanxi) M2:8, *WW* 1993.7, 47, f. 8:8. Red earthenware or glazed earthenware; H 18 cm, M 10.4 cm.

103: Ca. AD 176

After: **Houma (Shanxi) M2:4**, WW 1993.7, 49, f. 14:2. Red earthenware or glazed earthenware; stamped, low-relief décor; report terms the vessel a *qi* 錡 pan; H 14.4 cm, M 9 cm, G 19.5 cm.

104: Ca. AD 176

Banyue (Dangyang Municipality, Hubei) M2:2, WW 1991.12, 72, f. 19:2. Earthenware; H 10.4 cm, M 7.5 cm.

Chronological Summary of Vessel Forms

- Ca. 217 BC *Guan* 1.
- Ca. 210 BC *Guan* 2.
- Ca. 180 BC *Hu* 1.
- Ca. 173 BC *Hu* 2–4; *Guan* 3–19; *Ding* 1–5.
- Ca. 172 BC *Hu* 5.
- Ca. 168 BC *Hu* 6–10; *Guan* 20–1; *Ding* 6–11.
- Ca. 167 BC *Hu* 11–12; *Guan* 22–3.
- Ca. 164 BC *Hu* 13; *Guan* 24–8; *Ding* 12.
- Ca. 162 BC *Hu* 14.
- Ca. 160 BC *Ding* 13.
- Ca. 141 BC *Guan* 29–32.
- Ca. 138 BC *Ding* 14.
- Ca. 137 BC *Ding* 15.
- Ca. 136 BC *Hu* 15; *Guan* 33–7; *Ding* 16.
- Ca. 132 BC *Hu* 16–18; *Guan* 38.
- Ca. 122 BC *Hu* 19–24; *Guan* 39–63; *Ding* 17–28.
- Ca. 119–103 BC *Hu* 25; *Ding* 29.
- Ca. 118 BC *Guan* 64.
- Ca. 113 BC *Hu* 26–31; *Guan* 65–74; *Ding* 30–2.
- Ca. 70 BC *Hu* 32–56; *Guan* 75–109; *Ding* 33–50.
- Ca. 55 BC *Hu* 57–8; *Ding* 51–2.
- Ca. 51 BC *Ding* 53.
- Ca. 45 BC *Hu* 59; *Guan* 110–16; *Ding* 54.
- Ca. 26 BC *Ding* 55.
- Ca. AD 4 *Ding* 56.
- Ca. AD 5 *Hu* 60; *Guan* 117–19.
- Ca. AD 9 *Hu* 61–6; *Guan* 120–9; *Ding* 57–64.
- Ca. AD 10 *Ding* 65–6.
- Ca. AD 14 *Ding* 67–9.
- Ca. AD 24 *Hu* 67–71; *Guan* 130–6; *Ding* 70.
- Ca. AD 43 *Hu* 73–4.
- Ca. AD 63 *Guan* 137–8; *Ding* 71.
- Ca. AD 65 *Hu* 74–86; *Guan* 139–71; *Ding* 72–83.
- Ca. AD 67 *Hu* 87–96; *Guan* 172–190; *Ding* 84–8.
- Ca. AD 73 *Hu* 97.
- Ca. AD 76 *Ding* 89.

Ca. AD 80 *Guan* 191–200; *Ding* 90.
Ca. AD 87 *Hu* 98.
Ca. AD 90 *Hu* 99–110; *Guan* 201–36; *Ding* 91–9.
Ca. AD 96 *Hu* 111; *Guan* 237–9.
Ca. AD 101 *Hu* 112–13; *Guan* 240–3; *Ding* 100.
Ca. AD 102 *Guan* 244.
Ca. AD 103 *Guan* 245.
Ca. AD 104 *Guan* 246.
Ca. AD 109 *Hu* 114–17; *Guan* 247–55; *Ding* 101.
Ca. AD 132 *Hu* 118; *Guan* 256–7.
Ca. AD 135 *Hu* 119–22; *Guan* 258.
Ca. AD 164 *Guan* 259.
Ca. AD 169 *Guan* 260.
Ca. AD 170 *Hu* 123.
Ca. AD 174 *Guan* 261.
Ca. AD 175 *Hu* 124–9; *Guan* 262–71; *Ding* 102.
Ca. AD 176 *Hu* 130–3; *Guan* 272–95; *Ding* 103–4.
Ca. AD 179 *Hu* 134; *Guan* 296–9.
Ca. AD 190 *Hu* 135; *Guan* 300–1.
Ca. AD 196 *Guan* 302–5.
Ca. AD 222 *Guan* 306.

Notes

Chapter 1

1 Gaoshaji (Wangcheng, Hunan) AT1(2):3: Hunansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, Changshashi bowuguan, Changshashi kaogu yanjiusuo, Wangchengxian wenwu guanlisuo, “Hunan Wangchengxian Gaoshaji Shang Zhou yizhi fajue,” *KG* 2001.4, 36, fig. 12:2; Dashi (Songyang, Zhejiang) proto-porcelain *guan*: Zhongguo taoci quanji bianji weiyuanhui, eds., *Zhongguo taoci quanji (The Complete Works of Chinese Ceramics)*, vol. 2, *Xia, Shang, Zhou, Chunqiu, Zhanguo. Zhongguo meishu fenlei quanji* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu, 2000), Pl. 169.

2 Zhongguo taoci quanji bianji weiyuanhui, eds., *Zhongguo taoci quanji (The Complete Works of Chinese Ceramics)*, vol. 3: *Qin, Han. Zhongguo meishu fenlei quanji* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu, 2000), 147, Pl. 140.

3 Sacrifice is assumed at four sites in the dated corpus: Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M1, considered a man's grave: eight women and one boy sacrificed, and M2, considered a woman's grave: one sacrificed person, sex unidentifiable; the tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]), with fifteen sacrificed, including six women, four of whom appear to have been high-ranking wives; Shizishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), at which one man and two women are presumed to have been sacrificed; Dongguan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan), with five women or girls and five men or boys. Dongguan is the only one of these tombs to date to the Eastern Han (ca. AD 135). Among sites included in the present typologies, secondary burial, sometimes in the same tomb with primary inhumation, is attested only at Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai); of dated burials, it occurs in M37, 69, and 116. Another example is provided by the undated site of Pangtaizi (Liaoyang Municipality, Liaoning) M2, said to belong to the Late Eastern Han or

Wei (AD 220–265). Here, two adults of the six people buried together appear to be a secondary burial because their bones are piled together. Other skeletons from the same tomb were incomplete and had apparently been disturbed (Wang Zengxin, “Liaoyangshi Pangtaizi erhao bihua mu,” *KG* 1960.1, 20–3). Given the disturbed state of most burials and the decomposition of skeletal remains, it is usually difficult to reconstruct the physical state (or identity) of those buried.

4 Cf. Anthony Barbieri-Low's comments on the Lelang commandery tombs (P'yŏngyang, North Korea): “Many of the tombs were family crypts, which were re-opened to deposit new corpses.” Barbieri-Low, *The Organization of Imperial Workshops during the Han Dynasty* (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2001), 113, fn. 37. See also Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, “Two Eastern Han Sites: Dahuting and Houshiguo,” in *China's Early Empires: A Reappraisal*, eds. Michael Nylan and Michael Loewe (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 101.

5 Shaogou, 154.

6 The suggestion that the construction of imperial burial sites began perhaps a year into a new reign is quoted from the *Han jiuyi* in Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), treatise 6:3144, footnote 1, hereafter *HHS*; see also Chen Tsu-lung, *Index du Han-kouan ts'i-tchong* (Paris: CNRS, 1962), Pl. XXXV. It recurs in the *Jinshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 60:1651, and in Mu-chou Poo, “Ideas concerning Death and Burial in Pre-Han and Han China,” *Asia Major* (Series 30), vol. 2 (1990), 40. The *Han jiuyi* is attributed to Wei Hong (fl. AD 25–57). Chen Tsu-lung, v-vi, provides background on Sun Xingyan (1753–1818)'s collection and organization of *Han jiuyi* fragments as *Han jiuyi* and *Han jiuyi buyi* within his compilation *Hanguan qi zhong*.

7 I.e., 118 BC, 87–74 BC (no objects), AD 7, AD 10, AD 14, AD 24. In each case, in the absence of datable coins, the objects here categorized as belonging to these dates would have been dated to the immediately preceding chronological class.

8 Sima Qian, *Shiji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), *juan* 12, 460–1, hereafter *SJ*; the same memorial is noted in the Treatise on the *Feng* and *Shan* Sacrifices, *SJ*, 28:1389.

9 *SJ*, 12:457, 28:1387.

10 Michael Loewe considers the era name to have been instituted in 113 BC, which corresponds to *yuanding* year 4; no textual reference is provided. Loewe, “The Former Han Dynasty,” in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 1: *The Ch'in and Han Empires 221 BC–AD 220*, eds. Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe (Cambridge University Press, 1986), 155.

11 *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 261, fn. 1, with reference to *SJ*, 18:879–975. Note that this chapter of the *Shiji*, like the other tables of marquis and kings, is careful to give the national year which constitutes the initial year of the marquise; subsequent events involving the marquis, however, may be given in terms of either the years since investiture or the national calendar.

12 *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 49; i.e., with volume of 7.98 liters and a weight of 3.8 kg, following the equivalent metrics provided in Twitchett and Loewe, *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 1, xxxviii.

13 Anhuisheng, “Fuyang Shuanggudui,” *WW* 1978.8, 20, table 1, item M1:3; with volume equivalent to 299.53 cc. See Twitchett and Loewe, *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 1, xxxviii.

14 *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 255, 258–61. For the *Shiji* and *Hanshu* records of the enfeoffment, see *SJ*, 19:994 and Ban Gu, *Hanshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 16:625 (hereafter *HS*). Liu Zhongyi, found guilty of crimes, was dismissed in 151 BC and the fief disbanded.

15 As the Senior Princess Yangxin: *HS*, 55:2471; *HS*, 55:2490, note 2 (citing Ru Chun); *SJ*, 111:2921–2, note 3 (from Sima Zhen, *Shiji suoyin*, citing Ru Chun); *SJ*, 2940–1, note 1 (from Zhang Shoujie, *Shiji zhengyi*, citing Ru Chun). As Princess Pingyang: *SJ*, 49:1978, 1982, 1983; *SJ*, 54:2031; *SJ*, 104:2780; *SJ*, 111:2921, 2940–1; *SJ*, 125:3195; *HS*, 53:2421; *HS*, 55:2490; *HS*, 97A:3947, 3949–51. Note that the *Shiji* lists a Marquis of Xinyang created in 202 BC (*SJ*, 18:905), which the *Shiji suoyin* identifies as a Marquis of Yangxin; this is the *Hanshu* Marquis of Yangxin (*HS*, 16:554). Wudi's sister married the fourth Marquis of Pingyang, Cao Shi (*SJ*, 18:881, which identifies him as the fourth marquis in the line; 54:2031, which identifies him as the grandson of the original Marquis of Pingyang) or Cao Shou (*HS*, 55:2490).

16 Feng Zhou, in his article on the Yangxin-inscribed bronzes found in a burial goods pit associated with the unnamed tomb near Maoling, believes that the title may have been granted at the same time that the future Wudi was named King of Jiaodong, i.e., 153 BC (*SJ*, 11:442; 12:451), but this is pure speculation (Feng Zhou, “Lun Han Maoling ‘Yangxin jia’ tongqi suoyouchede xiangti,” *KGYWW* 1989.6, 86–7).

17 Yuan Anzhi, “Tan ‘Yangxin jia’ tongqi,” *WW* 1982.9, 19. For K1:006, see Xianyang diqu, “Shaanxi Maoling,” *WW* 1982.9, 4.

18 For this use of *zhu*, see Michèle Pirazzoli-t-Serstevens, “Chinese Lacquerware from Noyon uul: Some Problems of Manufacturing and Distribution,” *The Silk Road*, 7 (Autumn 2009): 36, www.silkroadfoundation.org/newsletter/vol7/srjournal_v7.pdf.

19 Mu-chou Poo quotes a memorial to the throne by Liu Xiang, alleging the destruction of “tens of thousands of graves of the people ... to make room for the building of mortuary structures” at Changling, the tomb Chengdi began constructing as an alternative to Yanling, where he was eventually buried. Mu-chou Poo, “Ideas Concerning Death and Burial,” *Asia Major* (Series 3), 2 (1990), 49 (citing *HS*, 36:1950; this reference in Poo should be corrected to *HS*,

20 For instance, the tombs of Liu Yuantai (Ganquan [Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu]) and Wang Dang (Luoyang Municipality, Henan).

21 *Dabaotai*, 95–6.

22 *Dabaotai*, 96.

23 I interpret the coins shown in *Dabaotai*, 62, fig. 62:2, 4 as dating to ca. 87–74 BC and *Dabaotai*, 62, fig. 62:6–10 as ca. 73 BC.

24 “A deserving official, *bingchen* day of the fifth month of year 24, Assistant Superintendent Gao ... [illegible characters]” (*Yiguan niansi nian wu yue bingchen cheng Gao* [宜官廿四年五月丙辰丞告]). *Dabaotai*, 55.

25 The primary textual source for jade suits, in particular, as the prerogative of royalty is *HHS*, treatise 6:3141, 3152.

26 Cf. Lothar von Falkenhausen, “The Regionalist Paradigm in Chinese Archaeology,” in *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology*, eds. Philip L. Kohl and Clare Fawcett (Cambridge University Press, 1995), 198–217.

27 Cited by Nishijima Sadao, “The Economic and Social History of Former Han,” in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 1, eds. Twitchett and Loewe, 576, note 53, for *SJ*, 129:3253–83; *HS*, 91:3679–95. Patricia Ebrey remarks on the absence of such a chapter in the *Hou Hanshu*, but concludes that the omission need not reflect economic

change. Ebrey, “The Economic and Social History of Later Han,” in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 1, eds. Twitchett and Loewe, 608.

28 I.e., *jing si shi shi* (京司市師); the name of the individual is rendered both as Wang Sundaqing and Wang Sunqing in the same paragraph (HS, 91:3694). Note also that some of these wealthy men had antecedents in government service, e.g., the Ren family of Xuanqu (SJ, 129:3280).

29 HS, 91:3694.

30 HS, 91:3694. For the others named, Ban Gu notes “great wealth” without further specification.

31 HHS, treatise 6:3144; Wei Hong, *Han jiuyi*, cited in fn. 1 of this same page, also refers to construction of a *huangchang ticou* in the tomb of Wudi. On the compilation of the HHS treatises, see Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times* (Cambridge University Press, 1980), 1–2, and HHS, 1–2. The *Hanshu* includes passages dealing with the state-sponsored funeral of the former regent Huo Guang (HS, 68:2948) and the tomb which Aidi ordered prepared for his lover Dong Xian (a tomb with a hard cedar reinforcing wall, *gangbai ticou*; HS, 93:3734). For a review of Han and textual references and debates on meaning, as well as archaeological findings relating to *huangchang*, *ticou*, and *bianfang*, see Michael Loewe, “State Funerals of the Han Empire,” *BMFEA* 71 (1999), 37–44.

32 HS, 68:2949, fn. 4. Yan Shigu (AD 581–645)'s preface to the *Hanshu* lists Su Lin as a Wei dynasty (AD 220–265) official (HS, Yan Shigu preface:4). The explanation is repeated in HHS, treatise 6:3144, fn. 1, citing the *Hanshu yinyi*.

33 *Dabaotai*, 4, fig. 3; 8, fig. 9; 10, fig. 13; 97, fig. 83. M2 was badly burned, but is assumed to have had the same structure (*Dabaotai*, 93).

34 Hebeisheng, “Hebei Dingxian Beizhuang,” *KGXB* 1964.2, 129, fig. 2. The excavation report does not use the term *huangchang ticou*, although the Jining (Shandong) excavation report, Jiningshi, “Shandong Jining,” *KG* 1994.2, 134, recognizes it as such. Loewe, “State Funerals of the Han Empire,” *BMFEA* 71 (1999), 42, also recognizes Beizhuang M1 as an example of this structure.

35 These are: Beizhuang (Dingxian, Hebei) M1, Dabaotai (Beijing Municipality) M1, Dingxian (Hebei) M40, the tomb of Lord Feng (Tanghe [Nanyang Municipality, Henan]), Songzhuang (Mengjin Municipality, Henan), and Xiangbizui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1. The excavators of Songzhuang consider the stone-block walls which reinforce the brick structure of that tomb as *huangchang* stones (Guo Jianbang, “Henan Mengjin Songzhuang,” *WWZLCK* 4 [1981], 123), although because of the tomb's irregular floor plan, they hesitate to call the structure a *huangchang ticou*. Beiguan (Huaiyang, Henan) M1 has a closely related structure and its excavators have termed the corridor which encloses the tomb a *ticou* (Zhoukou diqu, “Henan Huaiyang Beiguan,” *WW* 1991.4, 35, fig. 2; 46). However, since it lacks both a surrounding reinforcing wall and a completely square floor plan, I have not counted it among relevant examples here.

36 *Dabaotai*, 94 (imperial, royal); Xiangbizui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan), Hunansheng, “Changsha Xiangbizui,” *KGXB* 1981.1, 128 (imperial, unless given by the emperor to relatives or high officials).

37 Beizhuang (Dingxian, Hebei) M1, Dabaotai (Beijing Municipality) M1, Dingxian (Hebei) M40, and Songzhuang (Mengjin Municipality, Henan).

38 Excavators identify the deceased as the wife (*ruren* [孺人]) of Lord Feng based on inscriptions in the tomb (for a list of inscriptions, see Nanyang diqu, “Tanghe,” *KGXB* 1980.2, 258–9). They note, however, that the character *ren* is unclear and could be read as *jiu* (久); Rujiu would then be understood as a (male) first name, designating Lord Feng. Given the inscription's announcement of rank (*Yuping dayin* [郁

平大尹]], I am inclined to assume that the deceased is Lord Feng himself. Given the lack of identifiable women's tombs with inscriptions, my assumption remains tentative. The equivalence of *dayin* to *taishou* (太守, “Grand Administrator”) is provided by the excavation report, *KGXB* 1980.2, 259; see *HS*, 99B:4103. I assume that the use of the title *jun* (君, lord) for Feng Rujiu is a courtesy and does not reflect any specific enfeoffment since none is noted in the tomb inscription.

39 Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*, 93, 95. It seems reasonable to assume that tomb inscriptions would have included aristocratic rank, if any, as well as repeatedly recording Feng's administrative position.

40 Interpreting *dong* (洞) as a reference to (back)ground color.

41 *HHS*, treatise 6:3152. I interpret the term *kanhou* as a synonym for *liehou* (列侯, marquis, collectively). I have found only one other occurrence of the word, in *HHS*, treatise 6:3146, as one of a list of musical instruments. Given the specification of lacquer colors in the preceding lines, use in this passage of the term “lacquer” with no further modifiers would seem to designate simply clear lacquer.

42 *HHS*, treatise 6:3141.

43 *HHS*, treatise 6:3152. I have here corrected what I assume are errors in the transmitted text, as the treatise in fact specifies that regional kings, marquis, newly enfeoffed Honorable Ladies, and Princesses had the right to silver threading, while Senior Honorable Ladies (*da guiren* [大貴人]) and Senior Princesses (*zhang gongzhu* [長公主]) were to use copper. It seems clear that “newly enfeoffed” has been misplaced; I assume it would reasonably apply to both kings and marquis. Further, since a Senior Princess or Senior Honorable Lady would rank above the generality of both classes of appointment, I presume that the adjective of “Senior” has likewise been misplaced in the text. Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*, 74, notes that the

title of *guiren* (貴人) came into use with the Eastern Han and was then the highest rank of concubine.

44 Baonüdu (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), glass suit, tomb included bronzes inscribed as belonging to the royal government of Guangling; a bronze loop-top seal reading “Seal of the Prefect of Xunyang” (*Xunyang ling yin* [尋陽令印]) was found not in the tomb, but in an adjacent burial goods pit; Beizhuang (Dingxian, Hebei) M1, jade suit with gilded copper threads, linked to royalty by inscriptions, including the phrase “Zhongshan” on the jade suit, as well as inscriptions seeming to identify vassal counties; Dongguan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan), jade suit, tomb linked to aristocracy because of its ten sacrificed humans; Dongyuan (Boxian, Anhui) tomb of the Marquis Cao, two jade suits, one with silver threads, one with copper, deceased identified by inscription; Lixian (Hebei), white jade suit with copper threads, deceased identified as of *guiren* (Honorable Lady) rank; King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]), jade suit with silk threads, deceased identified by seals; Mancheng (Hebei) M1, 2, jade suits with gold threads, deceased identified by inscriptions; Shizishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), jade suit, deceased identified by inscriptions, seals of vassals.

45 Dabaotai (Beijing Municipality) M1, jade suit; Dingxian (Hebei) M43, jade with silver threads, stone with copper threads; Dongquanle (Laiwu, Shandong), jade suit; Houloushan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) XHM1, jade suit; Jingshan (Yishui, Shandong), stone suit; Jining (Shandong), jade with copper threading; Qie Mo Shu (Hanjiang [Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu]), glass suit; Songzhuang (Mengjin Municipality, Henan), jade suit with copper threads.

46 Zhoukou diqu, “Henan Huaiyang Beiguan,” WW 1991.4, 45–6. Jade suit with silver threads; the inscription may mean only “Lord An,” with “Lord” functioning as a courtesy title, without reference to enfeoffment (as in the tomb of Lord Feng [Tanghe, Nanyang Municipality, Henan]), or even as a benediction, as in “[my] Lord at peace.”

47 Qie does not seem to designate a specific rank. I wonder if it is not

the feminine equivalent of *chen* (臣, [Your] Servant). Judging from the two examples noted here, the usage seems to be *qie* plus full name (last and first), as opposed to the use of only the first name following *chen*. Cf. Luo Fuyi, *Gu xiyin gailun* (Beijing: WW, 1981), 122–3, which reaches the same conclusion.

48 The location and wealth of Dingxian (Hebei) M43 are also advanced by the site's excavators in support of a royal attribution (Dingxian, “Hebei Dingxian 43-hao,” *WW* 1973.11, 13–4, 20); the excavators of Dabaotai (Beijing Municipality) include the *huangchang ticou* structure as a marker of royalty (*Dabaotai*, 97–9).

49 *HS*, 7:217. The triumvirate included Jin Ridi (a Xiongnu) and Shangguan Jie.

50 For Huo Guang, see *HS*, 68:2948; *HS*, 8:247. Huo was instrumental in bringing Xuandi to the throne in 74 BC (*HS*, 8:238; 68:2947) and in 70 BC arranged for his daughter to become Xuandi's empress, thus becoming himself an imperial relative (*HS*, 8:245; 68:2952). For Dong Xian, see *HS*, 93:3734; 12:347. Cf. also Loewe, “State Funerals of the Han Empire,” *BMFEA* 71 (1999), 10, 31.

51 For Huo Guang, *HS*, 18:691; 68:2947–8, which also speaks to his great wealth; for Dong Xian, *HS*, 18:713; 93:3735; 93:3733, 3740 speak to the wealth of Dong and his family.

52 Yishuixian, “Shandong Yishuixian Jingshan,” *WW* 1985.5, 50; 51, fig. 21. The excavation report does not recognize the five stone fragments as part of a burial suit; judging from the report photograph (*WW* 1985.5, 51, fig. 22 bottom), however, they appear to be so.

53 I use the following series of indices: Yinde bianzuanchu, ed., *Shiji ji zhushi zonghe yinde* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1986); Hong Ye et al., eds., *Hanshu ji zhushi zonghe yinde* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1986);

Yanjing daxue yinde bianzuanchu, ed., *Hou Hanshu ji zhushi zonghe yinde* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1986).

54 I have not seen estimates of the cost of jade; *HS*, 24B:1178 is often cited for the cost of gold, at 10,000 cash per *jin* (斤), with one *jin* equivalent to 245 gr (following Twitchett and Loewe, *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 1, xxxviii). The excavation report for Dingxian (Hebei) M40 points out that the 6,000-plus grams of gold used to bind the jade suit from this tomb was the equivalent of 24.5 Han *jin* (245,000 cash) or, roughly, the tax on 2,000 people at that time (*WW* 1976.7, 59). High-grade silver from Zhuti prefecture is priced at one *liu* (流, = 8 *liang* [兩] or 122.9 gr, again per Twitchett and Loewe) for 1,580 cash, while lower-grade silver is listed at 1,000 cash per *liu* (*HS*, 24B:1178). Assuming the same weight of metal would be used for binding the jade, this would lower the cost to 77,136 or 48,820 cash, respectively. We do not know how much variation in price there may have been throughout the Han.

55 Chen Tsu-lung, *Index du Han-kouan ts'i-tchong*, Pl. XXXV (*Han jiuyi buyi* [xia]). Bielenstein notes that the *HHS* treatises are generally attributed to Sima Biao (ca. AD 240–306), but demonstrates that the Treatise on Administration (*HHS*, *zhi* 24–28:3555–638) must have “copied an earlier text” (Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*, 1–2). This is, of course, possible in the case of the other treatises, as well.

56 B. J. Mansvelt Beck, *The Treatises of Later Han: Their Author, Sources, Contents and Place in Chinese Historiography* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), 81. Mansvelt Beck notes that, among other discrepancies, the *Hou Hanshu* Treatise on Ritual includes in the description of funerals that of “an Empress-Grandmother ... the fact is that there never was a lady with the title Empress-Grandmother during the whole Later Han dynasty.”

57 Poo, “Ideas Concerning Death and Burial,” *Asia Major* (Series 3), 2 (1990), 41, citing *HS*, 16:587.

58 Loewe, “State Funerals of the Han Empire,” *BMFEA* 71 (1999), 32, citing *HHS*, 43:1470.

59 *HHS*, 43:1470.

60 “Fearing [Zhu Mu's] just severity (*yan ming*),” the official(s) in charge of the investigation opened Zhao's father's tomb, breaking the coffin, removing and exposing the corpse, and stealing the burial goods. Zhu Mu was consequently demoted by the emperor. *HHS*, 43:1470.

61 *HHS*, treatise 6:3152, with the caveat noted above in footnote 43.

62 *HS*, 19A:721–44.

63 *HS*, 19A:725–6, 743, provides a summary of seal materials according to salary level. Some offices did not carry seals. Some exceptions to the general outline are noted: for instance, the Grandee Secretary (*yushi dafu* [御史大夫]), who must have ranked above 1,000 *shi* since his assistant was paid at that level, had a silver seal with blue-green cords (*HS*, 19A:725; for the salary of his assistant, see Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*, 9). Similarly, the Right and Left Generals of the Van and of the Rear (*qian hou zuo you jiangjun* [前後左右將軍]), salaried at 1,000 *shi*, carried gold seals with purple ribbons (*HS*, 19A:726). See Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*, for further discussion of salaries.

64 Chen Tsu-lung, *Index du Han-kouan ts'i-tchong*, Pl. LIII (*Han jiuyi [shang]*).

65 Chen Tsu-lung, *Index du Han-kouan ts'i-tchong*, Pl. XLVII (*Han jiuyi [xia]*).

66 Wei Hong, *Han jiuyi (xia)*, cited in the Guishan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2 report, You Zhenyao, “Tongshan Guishan erhao,” *KGXB* 1985.3, 352. See also Chen Tsu-lung, *Index du Han-kouan ts'i-tchong*, Pl. LI (*Han jiuyi [shang]*).

67 Chen Tsu-lung, *Index du Han-kouan ts'i-tchong*, Pl. XLVI.

68 Wei Hong, *Han jiuyi buyi (shang)*, cited in the Guishan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2 report, You Zhenyao, “Tongshan Guishan erhao,” *KGXB* 1985.3, 352. The Ganquan (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2 report, Nanjing, “Jiangsu Hanjiang Ganquan erhao,” *WW* 1981.11, 9, cites the same passage as being from the *Han jiuyi*. See Chen Tsu-lung, *Index du Han-kouan ts'i-tchong*, Pl. XL.

69 *HS*, 19A:724, which lists Chancellors as entitled to gold seals with purple cords.

70 Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*, 7.

71 *SJ*, 59:2104.

72 *HS*, 19A:741. See also Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*, 106.

73 Sun Weizu, ed., *Liang Han guanyin huikao* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua and Hong Kong: Tai Yip [Daye], 1993), 210, nos. 1376, 1377; 211, nos. 1379–82; 212, nos. 1384–87, 1389; 213, nos. 1390, 1392, 1394, 1395 (all Xiongnu); 214, no. 1399; 215, nos. 1400, 1402 (Wuhuan); 215, no. 1403 (Xianbei).

74 Chen Tsu-lung, *Index du Han-kouan ts'i-tchong*, Pl. XL (*Han jiuyi [shang]*).

75 For instance, a bronze sheep-top seal and bronze loop-top seals are identified for the Xiongnu, as well as a gold tortoise-top seal for the Wuhuan: Sun Weizu, *Liang Han guanyin huikao*, 213, no. 1391; 214, nos. 1396, 1397; 215, no. 1401 (in the order named).

76 Sun Weizu, *Liang Han guanyin huikao*, 34, nos. 186, 188 (silver, tortoise top), 187 (bronze, tortoise top), 189 (bronze, loop top). Nos. 188 and 189 are self-described *zhang*.

77 *HS*, 19A:726 vs. *HS*, 19A:743.

78 Sun Weizu, *Liang Han guanyin huikao*, 29, nos. 156 (gold), 157–9 (silver), 153, 155, 160 (bronze), 154 (gilded bronze).

79 Sun Weizu, *Liang Han guanyin huikao*, 28, no. 148.

80 For salaries, see Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*, 21 (presumably the highest ranking butcher, the Prefect Grand Butcher at 600 *shi*); 162, note 60 (butcher, as “lesser personnel”); 79, 84 (captains of various types generally at 600 *shi*); 100–1 (chiefs, 300 to 400 or 500 *shi*). For examples of seals, see Sun Weizu, *Liang Han guanyin huikao*, 5, no. 24 (butcher); 9, no. 47 (company captain); 8, no. 43 (captain of the guards); 147, no. 941 (prefecture chief).

81 Contrast with Geng Jianjun, “Lunzhe Xuzhou Han Chu wang mu chutu guanyin ji fengnide xingzhi,” *KG* 2000.9, 81–2, who maintains that centralized control was maintained and that retention of official seals was a punishable offense. Geng also cites the case of Wang Chong, for whose burial the emperor made a gift of Wang's official seals (*HHS*, 49:1629, cited by Geng Jianjun, *KG* 2000.9, 82).

Punishment for the misappropriation of seals and cords is noted as a capital offense comparable to murder in the *Hou Hanshu*, citing an AD 147 edict (*HHS*, 7:290). The severity of the punishment indicates central government concern over the use of seals, but even more clearly demonstrates that use of seals was not effectively controlled. Michael Loewe, *The Governance of the Qin and Han Empires 221 BCE – 220 CE* (Indianapolis/Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 2006), 78, seems to view seals buried with officials as working seals. He notes, however, that the unauthorized production of seals was tantamount to rebellion (Loewe, 45), in some cases punishable by death (forging the emperor's seals, per the statutes of 186 BC found at Zhangjiashan [Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei]; Loewe, 124). Theft or abandonment of seals was likewise illegal (Loewe, 126).

82 Sun Weizu, *Liang Han guanyin huikao*, 31, no. 171.

83 Sun Weizu, *Liang Han guanyin huikao*, 24, no. 127.

84 Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*, 43, 120.

85 Xuzhou, “Xuzhoushi dongjiao Taolou,” *KG* 1993.1, 20, fig. 11:1.

86 Xuzhou, “Xuzhoushi dongjiao Taolou,” *KG* 1993.1, 21. Curiously, a bronze, tortoise-top seal with the inscription *junhou zhi xi* (君侯之璽) has also been found, possibly violating textual specifications that *xi* is used to describe only the seals of the emperor, the empress, newly-enfeoffed regional kings and marquis, Senior Princesses, and Senior Honorable Ladies. However, the meaning of the term *junhou* is unclear. If it refers to a marquis, he may possibly have had the right to a *xi*, according to the *HHS* passage noted above. For this seal and discussion of the meaning of *junhou*, see Sun Weizu, *Liang Han guanyin huikao*, 189, no. 1213.

87 Ganquan (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2, Nanjing,

“Jiangsu Hanjiang Ganquan erhao,” WW 1981.11, 7; Pl. 2:6 (no inventory number; carnelian, tiger top); Guangzhou (Guangdong), *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 171, fig. 102:5 (M1010:23, jade; M1097:47 described on p. 171, but not shown), vol. 1, 149, fig. 89:1 (M1066:56, bronze, loop-top), vol. 1, 289, fig. 171:6 (M3029:6, bronze, loop-top); Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi), Guangxi, *Luobowan*, 54; 55, fig. 47:3; Pl. 28:1 (M1:156, broken, yellow jade), 110; Pl. 57:6 (M2:103, black jade with white streaks); Mancheng (Hebei), *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 140; vol. 2, Pl. 16:1, Pl. 104:5, 6 (M1:5171, 5170, both jade, dragon-tiger top); Wafenyuan (Jingsha Municipality, Hubei), Jingzhou, “Hubei Jingshashi Wafenyuan,” KG 1995.11, 989, fig. 4:3 (M1:2, bronze, tiger top); Yaozhuang (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), Yangzhou, “Jiangsu Hanjiang Yaozhuang,” WW 1988.2, 37; 39, fig. 31 (M101:204, gilded bronze, deer-like top); 39, fig. 32 (M101:205, bronze, tortoise top).

88 *Lolang*, vol. 1, 113; vol. 2, 66, Pl. 454–6 (no inventory number).

89 *SJ*, 12:463; 28:1391; chronological references in these chapters are vague.

90 *HHS*, 6:277, particularly note 1, citing the *Dongguan ji* (Ban Gu et al., *Dongguan Hanji*), which mentions the seal as being taken, along with Ma's head, headdress, and garments, to Luoyang for public display.

91 *HHS*, 7:316. According to the *Xu Hanshu* (*idem*, note 2), Gai had five white jade seals: three were uninscribed, one read *huangdi xingxi* (皇帝行璽, “ordinary seal of the emperor”), another *huangdi xinxi* (皇帝信璽, “seal of the emperor”).

92 For instance, Dai Yi declared himself Supreme Emperor (*taishang huang* [太上皇]) in AD 166 when he and Long Shang found an uninscribed gold seal in the fields (*HHS*, 7:316).

93 Henansheng Shangqiushi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, Henansheng Yongchengshi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, Yan Genqi, Editor-in-chief, *Mangdangshan Xi Han Liang wang mudi* (Beijing: WW, 2001), 7 (table 1), 34–6.

94 Henansheng, *Mangdangshan*, 66, fig. 30:6 (BM2K1:1736); 68, fig. 31:1 (BM2K1:1755).

95 Henansheng, *Mangdangshan*, 14 (described as “*Xiao yuan*”), 36 (described as also including “*Liang Xiao yuan*”).

96 Henansheng, *Mangdangshan*, 42.

97 Henansheng, *Mangdangshan*, fig. 17 insert between pp. 40–1.

98 Henansheng, *Mangdangshan*, 76–80.

99 Both the Bao'anshan memorial hall and M2 yielded vessels, but these are not illustrated in the excavation report that mentions them (Henansheng, *Mangdangshan*, 14, 42). They may be published in a related report, which I have not been able to obtain. Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, *Yongcheng Xi Han Liangguo wangling yu qinyuan* (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji, 1996).

100 *Shaogou*, 185, 239 (M114:27); Tomb of Liu Qi, Du Baoren et al., “Dong Han Situ Liu Qi,” *KGYYW* 1986.5, 50, fig. 5:10, 14; 52, fig. 6:5, 6; 56.

101 *HHS*, 46:1544. *Shaogou*, 239, erroneously cites *HHS*, *juan* 76.

102 *HHS*, 46:1545.

103 *HHS*, 46:1543.

104 Du Baoren et al., “Dong Han Situ Liu Qi,” *KGYWW* 1986.5, 50, fig. 5:10; 52, fig. 6:6 (M1:30, gilded bronze, tortoise top, Seal of the Minister over the Masses); 50, fig. 5:14; 52, fig. 6:5 (M1:25, gilded bronze, tiger top, Seal of Liu Qi). The inscription on the private seal, M1:25, was filled with red pigment, which may, although not necessarily, suggest prior use.

105 *HHS*, 25:886, which is the biography of Qi's son, Kuan; see also Tomb of Liu Qi, Du Baoren et al., “Dong Han Situ Liu Qi,” *KGYWW* 1986.5, 56.

106 Du Baoren et al., “Dong Han Situ Liu Qi,” *KGYWW* 1986.5, 56, following *HHS*, 6:257, 264. The excavation report gives the dates as AD 129–135, but the *yimao* (乙卯) day of month 12 of *yongjian* (永建) era year 4 would fall in January of AD 130. 135 appears to be a similar error, as the *renyin* (壬寅) day of month 11 of *yangjia* (陽嘉) era year 3 would fall in December of AD 134.

107 Pingshuo (Shuoxian, Shanxi), Pingshuoxian, “Shanxi Shuoxian,” *WW* 1987.6, 44, fig. 91:4; 46; *HS*, 99C:4177–8. For the Red Eyebrows and the battle of AD 22, see also Hans Bielenstein, “Wang Mang, The Restoration of the Han Dynasty, and Later Han,” in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 1, eds. Twitchett and Loewe, 243.

108 *HS*, 98:4013, 4014.

109 *HHS*, 80A:2609–10.

110 Pingshuo (Shuoxian, Shanxi), Pingshuoxian, “Shanxi Shuoxian,” WW 1987.6, 44, fig. 91:1 (5M1:46); 21 (description only, no inventory number, from 3M1). Wang Zhu had become Marquis of Hongyang in AD 4 and was dismissed in AD 23 upon the fall of Wang Mang (*HS*, 18:704); Wang Guang committed suicide in AD 8 (*HS*, 99A:4092–3).

111 Xuzhou, “Xuzhoushi dongjiao Taolou,” *KG* 1993.1, 30, fig. 11:1 (M1:13).

112 You Zhenyao, “Tongshan Guishan erhao,” *KGXB* 1985.3, 352 (no inventory number).

113 *HS*, 14:398.

114 *Luobowan*, 110 (M2:110); *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 335 (M2:3018). From 144–105 BC, the full title of this office was *cisi ling* (see *HS*, 19A:726; Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*, 18). Both at Mancheng and Shizishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu; Wang Kai, “Shizishan,” WW 1998.8, 46), the term *ling* (Prefect) is dropped.

115 Yangling, *Han Yangling kaogu chenlie guan*, 25, fig. 34 (no inventory number); Shizishan, Wang Kai, “Shizishan,” WW 1998.8, 46 (no inventory number).

116 Shizishan, “Xuzhou Shizishan,” WW 1998.8, 19, fig. 26 (no inventory number).

117 Xuzhou bowuguan, Nanjing daxue lishi xuexi kaoguye, *Xuzhou Beidongshan Xi Han Chuwang mu* (Beijing: WW, 2003), 114–6. The tomb yielded ceramic ware for which I have not yet been able to establish comparisons (*Xuzhou Beidongshan*, 52, fig. 43; Pl. 19:1–3). When this becomes possible, a date may be established.

118 For instance, at both Shizishan and Beidongshan, the county of Xiao (Shizishan, “Xuzhou Shizishan,” WW 1998.8, 12); at Beidongshan, the counties of Shansang and Hong (Zhao Ping'an, “Dui Shizishan,” WW 1999.1, 54). Zhao Ping'an accurately identifies these counties as within Pei; Geng Jianjun mistakenly attributes them to Pengcheng Commandery or the core area of the Chu kingdom (“Shixi Xuzhou,” KG 2000.9, 80–1). For all of these counties, see *HS*, 28A:1572. In addition, Haiyi and Beipingyi are recognized as unknown (Geng Jianjun, “Shixi Xuzhou,” KG 2000.9, 81); I would add Zhao and Guyang (Wang Kai, “Shizishan,” WW 1998.8, 47), for which I can find no listing in the *HS* treatise on geography. Finally, one place name, originally believed to be Gong, has not been transcribed into modern characters; its location thus remains unknown (Wang Kai, “Shizishan,” WW 1998.8, 47).

119 All three tombs at Songshan make use of Han stones, covered with a layer of lime; Songshan M3 includes a memorial dating to AD 157. See Zhu Xilu, *Jiaxiang Han huaxiang shi* (Ji'nan: Shandong meishu, 1992), 117–26; 36–60, fig. 43–77. Cf. also Anthony J. Barbieri-Low, *Artisans in Early Imperial China* (Seattle/London: University of Washington Press, 2007), 138–41. Barbieri-Low considers the reuse of stones as the result of theft (“immoral and illegal,” Barbieri-Low, 138). Despite the grave-robbing that occurred throughout the ages, it seems to me that it would be difficult to remove stones from an intact structure, particularly a tomb, for use elsewhere. I assume that the tombs or shrines whose stones were later reused had already sustained considerable damage (through natural causes or through war or the repeated entrance of robbers or other vandals) before the stones were taken. Note also that resizing of stones in itself demonstrates only that these stones were carved before being placed in the tomb; reuse from another site need not follow. For example, resizing in the outer chambers of the tomb of Lord Feng (Tanghe [Nanyang Municipality, Henan]) is to be assumed, given the irregular size of these stones (Nanyang diqu, “Tanghe,” KGXB 1980.2, 246, fig. 10) and the consequent loss of at least part of one image (an elephant; KGXB 1980.2, 251, fig. 21:1, right-hand side). None of the tomb's inscribed stones appear to have been resized.

120 Nanyangshi bowuguan, “Nanyang faxian Dong Han Xu Aqu muzhi huaxiang shi,” WW 1974.8, 73–5, 41.

121 Anon., “Shandong Feicheng,” *WWCKZL* 1958.4, 34–6. Some objects were found when the tomb was originally discovered during an irrigation project, but were subsequently lost, making further dating impossible.

122 Henansheng, “Yanshixian Nancaizhuangxiang,” *WW* 1992.9, 39, fig. 2 (memorial); 40, fig. 4 (M3:9, stand).

123 Henansheng, “Yanshixian Nancaizhuangxiang,” *WW* 1992.9, 42.

124 Yanshi, “Henan Yanshi Dong Han Yao Xiaojing,” *KG* 1992.3, 230.

125 Guojia wenwuju, *Zhongguo guqian pu*, 118.

126 Guojia wenwuju, *Zhongguo guqian pu*, 123–5; *HS*, 24B:1152 (early Han *banliang*), 3:97 (186 BC issue), 3:99 (182 BC), 4:121, 24B:1153 (175 BC), 6:156, 24B:1165 (140 BC), 6:159 (136 BC).

127 Guojia wenwuju, *Zhongguo guqian pu*, 126–8, 137–9; *HS*, 6:179 (118 BC); *HHS*, 1B:67 (AD 40), 8:353 (AD 186), 9:370 (AD 190).

128 In addition, publication of coins often obscures visual identification. Rubbings, routinely used for illustration, may show rounded edges on the upper-right-hand portion of the *shu*; this is sometimes due to surface wear of the coin or to imprecise rubbing. In some cases, the description provided in the excavation report does not match the illustration; e.g., Dongjiazhuang (Laixi, Shandong), Laixixian, “Laixixian Dongjiazhuang,” *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 184 (description) vs. 183, fig. 10, left; Laoshan (Qingdao Municipality, Shandong), Sun and Liu, “Qingdao Laoshanxian,” *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 196 (description) vs. 187, fig. 14, left. Both situations lead to

unnecessary ambiguity. I would note that an analogous problem occurs at times with vessels, as in Hedonggaozhai (Hexian, Guangxi) M7:9, Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Guangxi Hexian Hedonggaozhai,” *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 33, fig. 6:1 (drawing) vs. 43, fig. 27 (photo) and M8:24, p. 33, fig. 6:5 (drawing) vs. 43, fig. 28 (photo). The perspective of photographs not taken directly *en face* distort form, drawings do not always match photographs, one side of a drawing does not always match the other (illustrator's error or uneven building of the vessel?), descriptions are of necessity vague, and subjective evaluations (two pieces being of the same type) may not be shared by the reader. In general, because coin types are standardized, I have tended to accept descriptions of coins, but not of vessel forms.

129 François Thierry, *Monnaies chinoises*, vol. 2: *Des Qin aux Cinq Dynasties* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2003), 21–7, discusses coin production in the early Han, attempts to control production, and, until 113 BC, the lack of a central government monopoly on minting. Loewe, *The Governance of the Qin and Han Empires*, 125, 145, discusses the statutes of 186 BC found at Zhangjiashan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei), which include prohibitions against counterfeiting, using counterfeit currency, and failure to denounce counterfeiting.

130 Following the dates assigned by Guojia wenwuju, *Zhongguo guqian pu*, 127–8; for a list of dated molds, see *Shaogou*, 224, 225. Additional dated molds are noted by Thierry, *Monnaies chinoises*, vol. 2, 39, 52–3.

131 For a summary, see Thierry, *Monnaies chinoises*, vol. 2, 29.

132 Guojia wenwuju, *Zhongguo guqian pu*, 123–5; Thierry, *Monnaies chinoises*, vol. 2, 161–71.

133 Weights converted, according to Twitchett and Loewe, *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 1, xxxviii.

134 Thierry, *Monnaies chinoises*, vol. 2, 28; Thierry, *Monnaies chinoises*, tome 1: *L'Antiquité préimpériale*, Catalogue (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997), 254.

135 I.e., from 1.85 gr (Thierry, *Monnaies chinoises*, vol. 2, 167, no. 112) to 3.76 gr (166, no. 100). One might assume that the lower weight of some of this type of coin was itself an indication of local or private production, as Thierry attributes them, but one example which he considers as officially (centrally) produced in this same era has a weight of 1.77 gr (vol. 2, 165, no. 83). Similarly, the weight of coins classified as dynastic Qin Type 1 varies between 1.61 and 5.03 gr (159, nos. 7 and 3, respectively). Thierry notes a close correspondence between textually stated weight and the weight of coins for the 175 BC-minted *sishu banliang* (with four *shu* being approximately 2.56 gr, per Twitchett and Loewe, *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 1, xxxviii, and the average weight of this type of coin, according to Thierry, being 3 gr, per *Monnaies chinoises*, vol. 2, 29). The same may be said of the *wufen banliang*, which we would expect to weigh approximately 1.54 gr; Thierry's examples fall between 1.39 and 1.81 gr (vol. 2, 163, nos. 54–8). Otherwise, the *banliang* catalogued by Thierry as belonging to the early Han seem generally to weigh between 2 and 3 grams, regardless of assigned date.

136 Thierry, *Monnaies chinoises*, vol. 2, 36.

137 *Shaogou*, 224, fig. 99; Guojia wenwuju, *Zhongguo guqian pu*, 127, no. 11.

138 Guojia wenwuju, *Zhongguo guqian pu*, 137, no. 11; *Shaogou*, 224, fig. 99, type III:1; 225.

139 This is true of both Guojia wenwuju, *Zhongguo guqian pu*, 139, and Thierry, *Monnaies chinoises*, vol. 2, 201–7, nos. 603–62.

140 For cut *wushu*, *Shaogou*, 227, table 55. For small *wushu*, see Guojia wenwuju, *Zhongguo guqian pu*, 128, no. 13. *Jianlun daquan wushi* and *huoquan*, as well as *yanhuan huoquan*, are documented in Guojia wenwuju, *Zhongguo guqian pu*, 130, no. 3:12; 135, no. 8:11, 12, respectively. In contrast with the cut *wushu*, these are dated contemporaneously with the original coin (AD 7, *daquan wushi*; AD 14, *huoquan*).

141 Dingxian (Hebei) M43, Dingxian, “Hebei Dingxian 43-hao,” WW 1973.11, 13; *Shaogou*, 226.

142 *Shaogou*, 227, table 55.

143 Guojia wenwuju, *Zhongguo guqian pu*, 128–37; HS, 99A:4087 (AD 7 issues), 99B:4109 (AD 9 minting), 99B:4122 (AD 10 issues), 24B:1184 (AD 14 issues); 24B:1176–7 (general); Thierry, *Monnaies chinoises*, vol. 2, 42–5.

144 *Shangsunjiazhai*, 169; *Shaogou*, 224, fig. 99. *Shangsunjiazhai*, 172, classifies its type AV *wushu* as *Shaogou* type III (*Shaogou*, 224, fig. 99), but specifies that the upper-right-hand side of the *shu* character is rounded in some examples (*Shangsunjiazhai*, 174, fig. 102:7–8) and squared in others (*Shangsunjiazhai*, 174, fig. 102:1–6). On *Shaogou* type III, this line is rounded and continues to be dated to ca. AD 24–40. *Shangsunjiazhai* has conflated ca. 118 BC coins (squared element) with ca. AD 40 coins.

145 Importantly, the authors of *Shaogou* correctly date type I:1 to Wudi (i.e., ca. 118 BC) despite the absence of date-inscribed coin molds, on the basis of this type's occurrence in tombs believed to date to that era.

146 Nanjing, “Tongshan Guishan erhao,” KGXB 1985.1, 130 (*wushu* illustrated p. 128, fig. 8:2); *Shaogou*, 224, fig. 99; *Mancheng*, vol. 1,

210, fig. 140 (M1); 332, fig. 225:2 (M2).

147 I.e., broader than *Shaogou*, 218, fig. 94:2.

148 *Shaogou*, 224; Guojia wenwuju, *Zhongguo guqian pu*, 127, no. 10. I have not yet seen illustrations of the dated molds.

149 Broad *wu* examples: *Shaogou*, 218, fig. 94:8, redated to ca. 118 BC through comparison to *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 211, fig. 141 (M1); 332, fig. 225:3 (M2). Narrow *wu* examples: *Shaogou*, 218, fig. 94:1; cf. Guojia wenwuju, *Zhongguo guqian pu*, 127, no. 11.

150 Examples of this include Wunüzhong (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM461, Luoyang, “Luoyang Wunüzhong,” WW 1995.11, 19, which uses the presence of *daqian wushi* (AD 7) and *xiaoqian zhiyi* (AD 9) coins, together with the absence of *huoqian* (AD 14) coins, to argue a date range of ca. AD 9–14 for the tomb. In the book-length report of excavations at the Longshou Military Base (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi), *Longshouyuan*, 240, broad chronology is established by the presence of Han *banliang* and the absence of Qin *banliang* or Han *wushu*, yielding a Western Han date earlier than ca. 118 BC. The same argument on the presence of *banliang* and absence of *wushu* is also used at the currently undatable Beidongshan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), even though the tomb was repeatedly robbed (Xuzhou bowuguan, *Xuzhou Beidongshan Xi Han Chuwang mu*, 175).

151 Huang Aizong, Liang Huimin, “Jiangxi Le'anxian Chitoucun jiaocang Han Jin qianbi,” KG 1996.3, 88–91.

152 Xiong Guoyao, “Gansu Huixian chutu yipi jiaocang tongqian,” KG 1982.2, 218.

153 *Longshouyuan*, 18, fig. 4:6; 19 (Northwest Medical Equipment

Factory [Fannan, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi] M2, forty earthenware imitation gold ingots); 25, fig. 9:1; 26 (NW Medical M3, eight earthenware imitation ingots); 74, fig. 49; 76; together with sixty bronze *banliang*, 75, fig. 49; 76 (NW Medical M49, two earthenware imitation ingots); 92; 93, fig. 62:5 (NW Medical M58, two earthenware imitation ingots); 140, fig. 93:4; 141 (NW Medical M120, one earthenware imitation ingot). *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 331 (Mancheng [Hebei] M2:3015, twenty-nine gold ingots), 333 (M2:3016, two stone imitation ingots; M2:3017, two earthenware imitation ingots).

154 *Mawangdui* (A), vol. 1, 126; vol. 2, Pl. 227, 254 (*banliang*), 226, 255 (*yingcheng*); (B), 38, 39 (lower right). Huchang, Yangzhou, “Jiangsu Hanjiang Huchang wuhao,” *WW* 1981.11, 15, 17. Other examples are provided by Baonüdu (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 85YBM104:72, Yangzhou, “Jiangsu Hanjiangxian Yangshouxian Baonüdu,” *WW* 1991.10, 49; 50, fig. 34; Fenghuangshan (Hengyang Municipality, Hunan) M4, Hengyangshi, “Hunan Hengyangshi Fenghuangshan,” *KG* 1993.3, 243–4; 244, fig. 5:4–5 (150 clay imitation ingots, about 300 clay imitation coins); Guishan ([ex-Xiaoguishan,] Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1, Nanjing, “Tongshan Xiaoguishan,” *WW* 1973.4, 25, 27 (two gold ingots, more than 600 earthenware imitation ingots, 832 ca. 118 BC bronze *wushu* coins); Guishan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2, Nanjing, “Tongshan Guishan erhao,” *KGXB* 1985.1, 126–9 (earthenware imitation ingots, 8 bronze *wushu*); Tuanshan (Zhangji, Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) 89YTM1:85, Nanjing, “Yizheng Zhangji Tuanshan,” *KGXB* 1992.4, 486; 487, fig. 8:3 (over 10,000 clay *banliang*); Xiangbizui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1, Hunansheng, “Changsha Xiangbizui,” *KGXB* 1981.1, 125, fig. 10:1, 6; 126 (sixteen clay imitation *banliang*, more than 200 relatively high-fired earthenware imitation *yingcheng* [郢城] Chu coins).

155 *Luobowan*, 57; 58, fig. 49:2; Pl. 30:2 (M1:509). The tomb included two bronze mirrors (*idem*, 44; 45, fig. 40–1).

156 Wood imitations of jade *bi* discs: *Gaotai*, 217, fig. 160:4; 219 (Gaotai [Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei] M18:39); *Mawangdui* (A), vol. 1, 119–20; 120, fig. 104; vol. 2, Pl. 224

(Mawangdui [Changsha Municipality, Hunan] M1, thirty-two wood imitation *bi*); earthenware imitation *bi* discs: Guishan ([ex-Xiaoguishan,] Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1, Nanjing, “Tongshan Xiaoguishan,” *WW* 1973.4, 26 (eight jade *bi*), 27 (about 200 earthenware imitation *bi*); Guishan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2, Nanjing, “Tongshan Guishan erhao,” *KGXB* 1985.1, 126, 128 (jade *bi*, earthenware imitation *bi*); Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]), 145 earthenware imitation *bi* (vol. 1, 522), as well as 56 jade *bi* (vol. 1, 523) and 5 glass *bi* (vol. 1, 526).

157 For both: *Shaogou*, 156, table 26. Inscriptions on the vessels cite “ten thousand *shi*” of various goods, the equivalent of 199,680 liters, converting volume according to Twitchett and Loewe, *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 1, xxxviii.

Chapter 2

1 See, for instance, Sophia-Karin Psarras, “Han and Xiongnu: A Reexamination of Cultural and Political Relations,” Part I: *Monumenta Serica* 51 (2003), 55–236; Part II: *Monumenta Serica* 52 (2004), 37–93. For Xiongnu archaeology, see *inter alia*: Tian Guangjin and Guo Suxin, *E'erdusishi qingtongqi* (Beijing: WW, 1986); Sergei I. Rudenko, *Die Kultur der Hsiung-Nu und Die Hügelgräber von Noin Ula*. Helmut Pollems, trans. (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1969); Camilla Trever, *Excavations in Northern Mongolia, 1924–1925*. Memoirs of the Academy of the History of Material Culture III (Leningrad: J. Fedorov, 1932); A. V. Davydova, *Ivolginskij kompleks: pamjatnik Xunnu v Zavajkal'e* (Leningrad: University Press, 1985); Davydova, *Ivolginskij arxeologičeskij kompleks*, vol. 1: *Ivolginskoe gorodišče* (St. Petersburg: Asiatic Fund, 1995); vol. 2: *Ivolginskoe mogil'nik* (St. Petersburg: Asiatic Fund, 1996); S. S. Minjaev, *Dyrestujskij mogil'nik* (St. Petersburg: Asiatic Fund, 1998). Note that Xiongnu-attributed sites in southern Siberia and Mongolia exhibit different features from sites in northern China, perhaps because they belong to the princely classes.

2 Beijingshi wenwu yanjiusuo Shanrong wenhua kaogudui, “Beijing

Yanqing Jundushan Dong Zhou Shanrong buluo mudi fajue jilue,” WW 1989.8, 17–35, 43, Col. Pl., Pl. 3–5; “Dong Zhou shiqide Shanrong wenhua,” in: Beijingshi wenwu yanjiusuo, *Beijing kaogu sishinian* (Beijing: Yanshan, 1990), 68–86, Pl. 19–22. The full excavation report has recently been published: Beijingshi wenwu yanjiusuo, *Jundushan mudi: Yuhuangmiao*. 4 volumes (Beijing: WW, 2007).

3 For example, see Shenzhen bowuguan, Xianggangshan Zhongwen daxue Zhongguo kaogu yishu yanjiu zhongxin, Zhongshan daxue renlei xuexi, *Huanzhu jiangkou shiqian wenwu tulu* (Hong Kong: Zhongwen daxue, 1991), xxi.

4 Several preliminary and, recently, full excavation reports have been published for Dian. To cite only a few for the best-known sites: Yunnansheng bowuguan, “Yunnan Jiangchuan Lijiashan gumuqun fajue baogao,” *KGXB* 1975.2, 97–156, Pl. 1–20; Yunnansheng bowuguan, *Yunnan Jinning Shizhaishan gumuqun fajue baogao*. 2 volumes (Beijing: WW, 1959); Kunmingshi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, “Chenggong Tianzimiao Dian mu,” *KGXB* 1985.4, 507–45, Pl. 9–20. See also Li Xueqin, *Eastern Zhou and Qin Civilizations*. K. C. Chang, trans. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 217–21.

5 For a summary of Ba and Shu, see Li Xueqin, *Eastern Zhou and Qin Civilizations*, 204–16.

6 Sophia-Karin Psarras, “Cross-Dating Han and Non-Chinese” (in preparation).

7 Yuantaizi (Chaoyang Municipality, Liaoning) WM7 is likewise a cist grave, but contained a wood box tomb.

8 Huang Xiaofen, *Han mude kaoguxue yanjiu* (Changsha: Yuelu, 2003), 16, makes essentially the same distinction, using the terms *guo* (椁, inner burial chamber) where I use “box” and *shi* (室, chamber, as in an

architectural structure) in lieu of “architectonic.”

9 Changjiang liuyu, “Hubei Jiangling Fenghuangshan,” WW 1974.6, 42, fig. 2–5.

10 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 194–5, 255.

11 Hebeisheng, “Hebei Dingxian Beizhuang,” KGXB 1964.2, 129, fig. 2.

12 Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius (1000-250 BC): The Archaeological Evidence* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, 2006), 101, fig. 16. See Beijing daxue kaoguxuexi, Shanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo, “Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao mudi diwuci fajue,” WW 1995.7, 4–39.

13 Lu Jianguo, “Shaanxi Tongchuan faxian Zhanguo tongqi,” WW 1985.5, 44.

14 Hebeisheng wenwu guanlichu, “Hebeisheng Pingshanxian Zhanguo shiqi Zhongshan muzang fajue jianbao,” WW 1979.1, 2, fig. 2; 9, fig. 12; Hebeisheng wenwu yanjiusuo, *Cuo mu: Zhanguo Zhongshangguo guowang zhi mu* (Beijing: WW, 1995), vol. 1, 31, fig. 14 (M1).

15 Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, *Yinxu Fu Hao mu* (Beijing: WW, 1984 [second edition; 1980, first]), 7.

16 Henan Xinyang diqu wenguanhui, Guangshanxian wenguanhui, “Chunqiu zaoqi Huangjun fufu mu fajue baogao,” KG 1984.4, 303, fig. 2.

17 Luoyangshi wenwu gongzuodui, “Luoyang xijiao sihao mu fajue jianbao,” *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 142, fig. 2.

18 Von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 330, referring to the supposedly ca. 6 c. BC tomb of Duke Jing at the Qin site of Nanzhihui (Fengxiang, Shaanxi), a compartmented box tomb with doors. See Han Wei, “Fengxiang Qin gong lingyuan zuantan yu shijue jianbao,” *WW* 1983.7, 30–7; Han Wei and Jiao Nanfeng, “Qin du Yongcheng kaogu zongshu,” *KGWW* 1988.5/6, 111–27.

19 Hubeisheng bowuguan, *Huazhong shifan xueyuan lishixi*, “Hubei Jiangling Taihuiguan 50-hao Chu mu,” *KG* 1977.1, 58, fig. 2–3.

20 Alain Thote, “The Double Coffin of Leigudun tomb no. 1: Iconographic Sources and Related Problems,” in *New Perspectives on Chu Culture During the Eastern Zhou Period*, ed. Thomas Lawton (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1991), 34–7. See also Hubeisheng bowuguan, *Zeng hou Yi mu* (Beijing: WW, 1989), vol. 1, 25, fig. 15 (outer coffin); 34, fig. 20; 36, fig. 21; 39, fig. 22 (inner coffin); 47, fig. 24, upper right; 48, fig. 25, upper right; 49, fig. 26, upper right (implicitly); 52, fig. 28:1 (implicitly), 2, 3 (coffins for sacrificial victims); 54, fig. 29 (summary).

21 Shanxisheng, “Shanxi Hunyuan Bicun,” *WW* 1980.6, 42 (description without illustration).

22 Lawton, *New Perspectives on Chu Culture*, 174. A date of ca. 10–8 c. BC (Late Early to Late Western Zhou) for the earliest catacomb graves in a Chinese context is provided by von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 205–10, citing the Western Zhou site of Zhangjiapo (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi). Von Falkenhausen notes, however, that most Zhou-era burials, including those of Qin, were of vertical pit construction (*ibid.*, 215). Jessica Rawson (“Creating Universes: Cultural Exchange as Seen in Tombs in Northern China between the Han and Tang Periods,” in *Between Han and Tang: Cultural and Artistic*

Interaction in a Transformative Period. Han Tang zhi jian wenhua yishude hudong yu jiaorong. vol. 2, ed. Wu Hung [Beijing: WW, 2001], 142, fn. 1) disagrees with the idea that the catacomb deliberately echoes living architecture, which she traces to Huang Xiaofen, “Han mu xingzhide biange,” *KGYWW* 1996.1, 49–60. For Zhangjiapo, see Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, *Zhangjiapo Xi Zhou mudi*. Zhongguo tianye kaogu baogaoji, Kaoguxue zhuanke, Series IV, no. 57 (Beijing: Kexue dabaike quanshu, 1999).

23 Hebeisheng, “Hebei Pingshanxian,” *WW* 1979.1, 2, fig. 3.

24 Hebeisheng, “Hebei Pingshanxian,” *WW* 1979.1, 4.

25 Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, “From Koguryō to Gansu and Xinjiang: Funerary and Worship Space in North Asia 4th–7th Centuries,” in *Between Han and Tang*, vol. 2, ed. Wu Hung, 177, writes that “probably late Warring States’ [*sic.*] tomb builders were comfortable with vaulting,” but dates the appearance of tomb vaulting to ca. 2 c. BC.

26 At Mancheng, the central and rear chambers (M1) or central and south chambers (M2) have “groin vaulted” ceilings but these are reworked natural rock, not free-standing constructions, nor is there any evidence that they constitute the imitation of free-standing structures (*Mancheng*, vol. 1, 15–19 [M1], 219–24 [M2]). Free-standing stone chambers erected in the rear chamber of both M1 and 2 have pitched roofs (*Mancheng*, vol. 1, 17–9; 20, fig. 12; 23, fig. 14 [M1]; 222, fig. 149; 224 [M2]).

27 Zhao Qingyun, *Henan taoci shi* (Beijing: Zijincheng, 1993), 39, fig. 2.6–3 (Late Warring States); 55, fig. 3.5–1 (Early Western Han), 2 (Late Western Han); 56, fig. 3.5-3 (Eastern Han).

28 Liaoning, “Liaoyang jiucheng Dongmenli,” *WW* 1985.6, 28, fig. 7.

29 Zhongguo meishu quanji bianji weiyuanhui, eds.; Li Xueqin, Editor-in-Chief, *Gongyi meishu*, vol. 5: *Qingtongqi (xia)*. *Zhongguo meishu quanji* (Beijing: WW, 1992 [second printing; 1986, first printing]), 78, Pl. 91 (Shizishan [Shaoxing, Zhejiang]; h 17 cm).

30 E.g., Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music: Chime-Bells in the Culture of Bronze Age China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 30, fig. 15 (unprovenanced); 31, fig. 16 (Zhaogu [Huixian, Henan]).

31 Fu Xinian, “Zhanguo Zhongshan wang Cuo mu chutude ‘zhaoyutu’ ji qi lingyuan guanzhide yanjiu,” *KGXB* 1980.1, 97–118.

32 Including Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 98, Pl. 113 (early part of the Middle Warring States, ca. early 4 c. BC; Xiadu, Yixian, Hebei).

33 Chongqingshi wenhuaju, Chongqingshi bowuguan, et al., *Sichuan Handai shi que* (Beijing: WW, 1992).

34 Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo, *Qindu Xianyang kaogu baogao*. Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo tianye kaogu baogao di 25 hao (Beijing: Kexue, 2004), 764, fig. 1; 765, fig. 2; 770, fig. 6.

35 Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo Han cheng gongzuodui, “Han Chang'ancheng Weiyanggong disihao jianzhu yizhi fajue jianbao,” *KG* 1993.11, 1002–11.

36 E.g., Tianchang (Anhui) M6, Anhuisheng, “Anhui Tianchangxian,” *KG* 1979.2, 323, fig. 12; Huchang (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1, Yangzhou, “Yangzhou Hanjiangxian Huchang,” *WW*

37 Huang Xiaofen, *Han mude kaoguxue yanjiu*, 159, maintains that Han domes and groin vaulting are unlike those of Western architecture, just as the Han roof, particularly when flattened at the top, has no connection to Western practices (Huang Xiaofen, 161). She notes that the dome rarely occurs during the Han. Chinese terminology does not distinguish between groin vaulting of various kinds and the dome (both are *qiong* 穹). The distinction is important from the technical standpoint; I have tried to convey it where description or illustration in the excavation reports seems to permit.

38 Malcolm A. R. Colledge, *Parthian Art* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 25; 39, fig. 11.

39 Colledge, *Parthian Art*, 66.

40 Colledge, *Parthian Art*, 66.

41 Frank Sear, *Roman Architecture* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982), 78–83, 166–72.

42 Michael W. Meister, M. A. Dhaky, Krishna Deva, eds., *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture. North India: Foundations of North Indian Style, ca. 250 BC-AD 1100* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, American Institute of Indian Studies, 1988), 5–11.

43 Meister et al., *Foundations of North Indian Style*, 11.

44 See also Robert E. Fisher, *Buddhist Art and Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993), 32, fig. 16–17.

45 Suidexian, “Shaanxi Suide,” WW 1983.5, 28, fig. 1.

46 Nanjing, “Jiangsu Hanjiang Ganquan erhao,” WW 1981.11, 1, fig. 1.

47 Yangzhou, “Jiangsu Hanjiangxian Ganquan Laohudun,” WW 1991.10, 64, fig. 3, 4.

48 Colledge, *Parthian Art*, 26, fig. 3D; 66.

49 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 372, fig. 227 (M5041); 373, fig. 229 (M5080); vol. 2, Pl. 127:1-2 (M5041); Pl. 127:5 (M5081).

50 *Shangsunjiazhai*, Pl. 18:3.

51 Huang Xiaofen, *Han mude kaoguxue yanjiu*, Pl. 30, mistakenly classifies the coffered ceiling as a form of groin vaulting or dome. Although coffering can be combined with, for instance, the dome, as in the Roman Pantheon (ca. AD 118-25), the Han coffered ceiling is flat. For the Pantheon, see Sear, *Roman Architecture*, 166–72.

52 Luoyang, “Luoyang Jingyuan,” WWZLCK 9 (1985), 165, fig. 6.

53 Jining (Shandong), Jiningshi, “Shandong Jining,” KG 1994.2, 127; 128, fig. 1; 129, fig. 2, 4; Qinglongshan (Peixian, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), Nanjing, “Dong Han Pengcheng xiang Miao Yu mu,” WW 1984.8, 22; 23, fig. 3; Nanjing bowuguan, “Xuzhou Qingshanquan Baiji Dong Han huaxiang shi mu,” KG 1981.2, 137–150, Pl. 10. Steinhardt, “From Koguryō to Gansu and Xinjiang,” 154,

notes its adoption in Koguryō (Korea) tombs, ca. AD 3–7 c.

54 A. I. Meljukova, *Stepi evropejskoj časti SSSR v skifo-sarmatskoe vremja* (Moscow: Nauka, 1989), 320, fig. 157A; also Lioudmila Galanina, Nonna Gratch, *L'Art scythe. Zénobius Spetchinsky*, trans. (Leningrad: Aurora, 1987), 6, illustration at bottom of page.

55 Niharranjan Ray, *Maurya and Post-Maurya Art: A Study in Social and Formal Contrasts* (New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research, 1975), Pl. 73 (Niharranjan).

56 Ray, *Maurya and Post-Maurya Art*, Pl. 34; also pictured in Fisher, *Buddhist Art and Architecture*, 40, fig. 27.

57 Colledge, *Parthian Art*, 71, fig. 33.

58 Nanjing, “Xuzhou Qingshanquan Baiji,” KG 1981.2, 139, fig. 5.

59 Cf. the rotated, recessed squares in the ceiling of Area 1, Grotto 1, and the painted lotus within rotated squares on the ceiling of Gangcha Grotto, Dungkar-Pica Grotto site (Jada, Ali Plateau, Tibet), perhaps ca. AD 11–15 c. Xizang zizhiq wenwuju, Sichuan lianhe daxue kaogu zhuan, “Xizang Ali Dongsha, Piyang shiku kaogu diaocha jianbao,” WW 1997.9, 10, fig. 8:1 (Area 1, Grotto 1), 2 (Gangcha Grotto); Col. Pl. 2:1 (Area 1, Grotto 1).

60 Nanshanli, 33, fig. 26.

61 Colledge, *Parthian Art*, 36, fig. 9G (Palmyra, temple of Bel, ca. AD 32).

62 Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo Hancheng gongzuodui, “Han Chang’ancheng Weiyanggong,” *KG* 1993.11, 1003, fig. 1.

63 Colledge, *Parthian Art*, 43–5; 44, fig. 16.

64 Du Baoren, et al., “Dong Han Situ Liu Qi,” *KG* 1986.5, 46, fig. 1:1, upper right.

65 Colledge, *Parthian Art*, 36, fig. 9A (Aï Khanoum, Phase IV).

66 Colledge, *Parthian Art*, 60, fig. 28:5, 6A, 6B, 7.

67 *Shaogou*, opposite p. 26, fig. 12A:1.

68 Wang Zhongshu, *Han Civilization*, trans. K. C. Chang et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 177–8, suggests a progression in Han tomb construction from wood to hollow brick to small, solid brick, to stone. For attempts to date tombs based on structure, see, for example, Huang Xiaofen, *Han mude kaoguxue yanjiu*; Liang Yong, “Cong Xi Han Chu wang mude jianzhu jiegou kan Chu wang mude pailie shunxu,” *WW* 2001.10, 71–84. See also, as an example, the tomb of Bu Qianqiu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan), Luoyang, “Luoyang Xi Han Bu Qianqiu,” *WW* 1977.6, 9; the Bu Qianqiu report, *WW* 1977.6, 9, 12, further deduces the tomb’s date by the absence among burial goods of coins later than Zhaodi and Xuandi (86–49 BC).

69 Huang Xiaofen, *Han mude kaoguxue yanjiu*, 33, maintains that hollow brick replaced wood in the construction of the box tomb from the Late Warring States onward in the Zhengzhou and Luoyang regions of Henan (no references given) and that the box tomb becomes rare or disappears from Luoyang and Chang’an (Xi’an Municipality, Shaanxi) after the Middle Western Han (*ibid.*, 71). Both

statements suggest that these politically important metropolitan centers set the trend in matters of technical advancement and style, but are otherwise misleading.

70 *Shaogou*, (after p. 240,) fig. 101.

71 *Shaogou*, 227, fig. 55.

72 *Shaogou*, 83–6, also ventures a chronological development of brick-laying patterns. Few examples of most of the patterns identified are provided, making the results inconclusive regardless of how the tombs in question are dated.

73 For a summary of the dates I have derived for Shaogou tombs, see the Alphabetical Listing of Dated Han Sites.

74 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 456–67.

75 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 466.

76 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 1, 456. Cf. *SJ*, 113:2967–9, according to which Zhao Tuo, Qin Prefect (*ling*) of Longchuan in the Nanhai Commandery, took advantage of the civil war ending the Qin dynasty first to kill Qin administrators in the area, then to declare himself king. He was recognized by Han Gaozu in 196 BC (see also *HS*, 1B:73). In response to restrictions on trade in iron during the regency of the Empress Dowager Lü, he declared himself emperor of Nanyue under the title Wudi in 183 BC (*HS*, 3:99; 95:3848).

77 Or, for that matter, part of the Early Western Han. Cf. *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 465, 528.

78 Since the Eastern Han claimed power in AD 25, I have taken the previous year as the end of the Wang Mang era and the subsequent Chinese civil war. For each chronological division, I have adopted the use of consecutive dates to prevent overlapping in chronological divisions. I have followed the periodization given in *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 456–67. Pages 528–9, in the English summary of the excavation report, in effect present six periods, elevating the subdivisions of period I detailed in the main text (pp. 456–62) to the status of a full chronological division. This alternative chronology is also followed in the tomb inventories for burials in the 1000-series (pp. 487–99). Note that some inventory pages are out of order.

79 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 456–67.

80 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 456, 463, 465–7.

81 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 460–1.

82 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 460, *Changqiu jushi* (長秋居室), from the offices of the Changqiu Palace, residence of the empress. See HS, 19A:734; Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*, 69–73.

83 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 457–60, 461–2.

84 Cf. von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 527.

85 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 100, fig. 50; 102, fig. 51 (both, joined pots; M1180:32, 1164:13, 1157:2, 1165:10, 1095:2, 1173:39, respectively); 109, fig. 55:1–6 (*fou*; M1125:5, 1076:15, 1043:9, 1065:2, 1085:5, 1009:1, respectively).

86 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 462.

87 Guangzhou cemetery tombs for which my dating coincides with that of the excavation report include: for period I, M1010, 1026, 1028, 1040, 1048, 1056, 1065, 1066, 1069, 1070, 1075, 1082, 1083, 1084, 1085, 1088, 1097, 1105, 1107, 1121, 1139, 1142, 1143, 1145, 1148, 1152, 1177, 1180, and 1181, all ca. 122 BC; M1095, 1144, ca. 113 BC; M1101, ca. 168 BC; M1173, ca. 115 BC. Period II: M2044, ca. 70 BC. Period IV: M4039, ca. AD 65. Period V: M5004, 5005, 5014, 5040, 5071, 5076, 5077, and 5080, all ca. AD 90; M5028, ca. AD 76; M5043 and 5054, both ca. AD 80; M5050 and 5052, both ca. AD 104; M5069, ca. AD 101; +M5041 dates to AD 76; +M5060, to AD 80; +M5065, AD 97; +M5068, AD 170.

88 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 251; 296, also M4013, 4020, and 4029 entrance ramps redug.

89 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 365–8; vol. 2, Pl. 126:5.

90 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 368.

91 See also, however, Han tombs XYNIIM19, XYNIIM2, and YXNIIM9 in the foundations of Qin palaces 2 and 3 at Xianyang (Shaanxi): Shaanxisheng, *Qindu Xianyang kaogu baogao*, 668, 675, 672.

92 *Shaogou*, 154.

93 By way of example, two wood box tombs were used within one grave to house the double burials of Haizhou (Lianyungang Municipality, Jiangsu) and Huchang (Hanjiang, Yangzhou

Municipality, Jiangsu) M5. However, at Yandaishan (Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) YYM1 and the tomb of Huo He (Haizhou [Lianyungang Municipality, Jiangsu]), a single wood box tomb contained two separate coffins.

94 Li Xueqin, *Eastern Zhou and Qin Civilizations*, 198. See also Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi), Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Pingle Yinshanling Zhanguo mu,” *KGXB* 1978.2, 250, although the authors at times conflate a politically-expansive Chu with the state of Yue. Similarly, the report summary identifies a bronze spearhead, Yinshanling scattered find 7 (*KGXB* 1978.2, 246, fig. 38:2), as an import from Chu territory (*KGXB* 1978.2, 250). The description of the piece attributes the form and hence production to dynastic Qin; the place-name “Chanling” cut into the blade is identified as Han-era, located in former Chu territory in what is now Hubei (*KGXB* 1978.2, 246; for Chanling, see *HS*, 28A:1594). The association of the blade is therefore with the Qin and Han dynasties; as an heirloom, it merely passed through former Chu territory on its way further south. At most, this illustrates interregional contact which maintained pre-unification patterns of trade.

95 Xiong Zhuanxin, Wu Mingsheng, “Hunan gu Yuezu qingtongqi gailun,” in *Zhongguo kaogu xuehui disici nianhui lunwen ji* 1983 (Beijing: WW, 1985), 164.

96 Von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, esp. 272, 276 (wood box tombs); *ibid.*, 274 (vessel forms).

97 Note that flaring legs were not limited to *ding*: *Zhongguo meishu quanji bianji weiyuanhui*, eds., Li Xueqin, Editor-in-Chief, *Gongyi meishu*, vol. 4: *Qingtongqi (shang)*. *Zhongguo meishu quanji* (Beijing: WW, 1992 [third printing; 1990, first printing]), 14, Pl. 15 (Early Shang *jia* 𣪠, Jingdang, Qishan, Shaanxi); 15, Pl. 16 (Early Shang *jia*, Liuan, Anhui); 93, Pl. 102 (Late Shang *jia*, Guanyi, Feixi, Anhui); 94, Pl. 103 (Late Shang *jue* 爵, Guanyi, Feixi, Anhui); 152, Pl. 164 (Early Western Zhou *jue*, Luoyang, Henan); 179, Pl. 196 (Early Western Zhou *jue*, Chinese Museum of History, Beijing); 184, Pl. 202 (Early Western Zhou *jue*, Shanghai Museum); but also on *ding*: 6, Pl. 7 (Early Shang,

Zhengzhou, Henan); 95, Pl. 104 (Late Shang, Zushinao, Jiangxi); and in Lu Liancheng, Hu Zhisheng, *Baoji Yuguo mudi* (Beijing: WW, 1988), vol. 2, Col. Pl. 22:4 (Rujiazhuang BRM1-B:17); Pl. 17:1 (Zhuyuangou BZM13:17); Pl. 165:1, 2 (Rujiazhuang BRM1-B:45, 44, in these cases *jue*), all Middle Western Zhou.

98 Xiong/Wu, “Hunan gu Yuezu qingtongqi gailun,” 158, fig. 1:7 (Baohexu), 8 (Hunan Provincial Museum acc. no. 5:18).

99 Lu/Hu, *Baoji*, vol. 2, Pl. 153 (Rujiazhuang BRM1-A:1-5); see also Beijing daxue lishixi kaogu jiaoyanshi Shang Zhouzu, ed., *Shang Zhou kaogu* (Beijing: WW, 1979), Pl. 50A, top row.

100 Of which there are multiple examples; see also Li/Falkenhausen, “On the Typology of Chu Bronzes,” 77.

101 Xiong/Wu, “Hunan gu Yuezu qingtongqi,” 158, fig. 1:5.

102 Zheng Houben, “Ningzhenqu chutu Zhoudai qingtong,” *Zhongguo kaogu xuehui disici*, 133, fig. 8:1, also notes these antecedents, but dates them to the Springs and Autumns period.

103 *Zhongguo meishu*, *Qingtongqi (shang)*, 210, Pl. 231.

104 Shanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo, *Shangma mudi* (Beijing: WW, 1994), Pl. 5:2, 3.

105 Xiong/Wu, “Hunan gu Yuezu qingtongqi,” 158, fig. 1:3.

106 Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 17, Pl. 22.

107 Lu/Hu, *Baoji*, vol. 2, Pl. 136:1.

108 A comment on Jiang Tingyu, Lan Riyong, “Guangxi xian-Qin qingtong wenhua chulun,” in *Zhongguo kaogu xuehui disici nianhui lunwenji* 1983, 258, fig. 2:1, 3 seems necessary. These two *ding* are not identical to my *ding* 19–20. They therefore do not counter the ca. 122 BC date advanced in the present typology. In contrast, Jiang/Lan, 258, fig. 2:2 is the same as the ca. 122 BC Guangzhou M1026:17 (*Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 29:6), datable through my typologies, but not included in them.

109 For the Dong-Son drums, see Pham Huy Thong, *Dong Son Drums in Viet Nam* (NP: The Viet Nam Social Science Publishing House, 1990); for the Southeast Asian distribution of the “Heger type I” variant of the bronze drums, see Charles Higham, *The Bronze Age of Southeast Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 298, fig. 8:2. Examples in the non-Chinese coastal south include the undatable Longzhong (Hexian, Guangxi), Hexian bowuguan, “Guangxi Hexian Longzhong yandongmu qingli jianbao,” *KG* 1993.4, 326, fig. 3:2–3; and the also-undatable Puluo (Xilin, Guangxi), which yielded four (Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu wenwu gongzuodui, “Guangxi Xilinxian Putuo tonggu muzang,” *WW* 1978.9, 43–4; 44, fig. 2; 47, fig. 4; 48, fig. 7; 50, fig. 14, 16). The boating décor occurs on the Longzhong (Hexian, Guangxi) bronze drum (Hexian bowuguan, “Guangxi Hexian Longzhong,” *KG* 1993.4, 326, fig. 3:2) and on one of the drums from Puluo (Xilin, Guangxi) (Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Guangxi Xilinxian Putuo,” *WW* 1978.9, 47, fig. 4).

110 *Nanyue*, vol. 1, *thap* in bronze: 52, fig. 35 (B58); 54, fig. 37 (B59); 224, fig. 148 (E78); and in earthenware: 116, fig. 78:1-2 (C88-89).

111 *Luobowan*, 26, fig. 22 (M1:10, bronze drum); Col. Pl. 1 (M1:10); Pl. 9:1-2 (M1:10), 3–4 (bronze drum, M1:11); 30, fig. 27:1-3 (bronze *thap*, M1:1-3, respectively); Pl. 11:1-3 (M1:1-3, respectively), 4–5

(bronze *thap*, M1:4); 39, fig. 34:2 (top of bronze drum reused as platter, M1:13); the depiction of boating occurs on the Luobowan (Guixian, Guangxi) M1:10 bronze drum, *Luobowan*, 26, fig. 22; Col. Pl. 1; Pl. 9:1–2.

112 For instance, Shizhaishan (Jinning, Yunnan) A-M1 drums (Yunnansheng bowuguan kaogu fajue gongzuo zu, “Yunnan Jinning Shizhaishan gu yizhi ji muzang,” *KGXB* 1956.1, 52–5; Pl. 3:3; Pl. 4–5); Tianzimiao (Chenggong, Kunming Municipality, Yunnan) M41:117 and *thap* M41:101, 103 (with feet and a sculptural lid), 100 (narrower version of *thap*) (Kunmingshi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, “Chenggong Tianzimiao Dian mu,” *KGXB* 1985.4, Pl. 15:5; 523, fig. 16:3; 523, fig. 16:1–2 and Pl. 15:2; 523, fig. 16:4 and Pl. 15:3, respectively). An example of the boating décor appears on the bronze cowrie container, Tianzimiao (Chenggong, Kunming Municipality, Yunnan) M41:103, Kunmingshi, “Chenggong Tianzimiao,” *KGXB* 1985.4, 523, fig. 16:1–2. Cf. Sophia-Karin Psarras, “Rethinking the Non-Chinese Southwest,” *Artibus Asiae*, vol. LX, no. I (2000), 5–58.

113 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 457–462, 527. Strangely, both *weng* and *guan* with four lugs are considered later in date than their two-lugged counterparts and, in contrast with the two-lugged versions, are not held to be “Yue” (*Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 457, 459).

114 Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Pingle Yinshanling Zhanguo mu,” *KGXB* 1978.2, 250. Commendably, the excavation report concludes that there is no way of knowing whether such migration took place or not.

115 Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi), Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Pingle Yinshanling Zhanguo mu,” *KGXB* 1978.2, 250; Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Pingle Yinshanling Han mu,” *KGXB* 1978.4, 487. The “Warring States” Yinshanling report attributes the waist pit to Chu tombs in the Jiangsu region (*KGXB* 1978.2, 250). This probably means Yue tombs, after conquest of the state by Chu.

116 Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu wenwu gongzuodui, “Pingle Yinshanling Han mu,” *KGXB* 1978.4, 487.

117 Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Pingle Yinshanling Zhanguo mu,” *KGXB* 1978.2, 246, fig. 38:7, and Pl. 12:4 (scattered find 14); 246, fig. 38:8 and Pl. 12:3 (scattered find 15), described, but not discussed, in the report. An example of this form from Jiahuiyangjia (Gongcheng, Guangxi) is dated to the Springs and Autumns (ca. 771–475 BC) in *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan, Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu bowuguan*, eds., *Ouluo yicui: Guangxi bai Yue wenhua wenwu jingpin ji* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 2006), 29. Cf. Fu Juliang, “Hunan diqude buduichengxing tongqi,” *KG* 1994.4, 346–54, Pl. 7.

118 E.g., Higham, *The Bronze Age of Southeast Asia*, 115, fig. 4.24a, b (bronze; both, Viet Khe, Haiphong Province); 123, fig. 4.28f (bronze; Co Loa); 120, fig. 4.26a (mold for casting a bronze pediform axe; Lang Ca).

119 Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Pingle Yinshanling Zhanguo mu,” *KGXB* 1978.2, 228, fig. 25:1–6, respectively: M15:5, 115:8, 108:13, 74:1, 3:13, 21:2.

120 Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Pingle Yinshanling Zhanguo mu,” *KGXB* 1978.2, 250. *Ding* are included in this list, but some do occur on the site, as p. 230, fig. 27:1–4 (M71:1, 119:17, 110:12, 22:14, respectively), in bronze, and p. 228, fig. 25:16–18 (M129:3, 115:6, 15:4, respectively), in earthenware.

121 In M20, 22, 24, 34, 52, 64, 65, 77, 106, 109, 119, 120, 134, 146, 153, 158, and 167. Of these, only M52 and 134 are dated by the excavators to the Han. They are also the only two burials at Yinshanling identified as having been robbed (*KGXB* 1978.4, 491, 493). All of these tombs yielded one piece of jade except M22 (6 pieces), 64 (5), 119 (2), 120 (2), 153 (14), 158 (2) (Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Pingle Yinshanling Zhanguo mu,” *KGXB* 1978.2, 252–8; Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu wenwu gongzuodui, “Pingle Yinshanling

Han mu,” *KGXB* 1978.4, 490–5).

122 Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Pingle Yinshanling Zhanguo mu,” *KGXB* 1978.2, 252. M129 yielded a small, lacquered box (Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Pingle Yinshanling Zhanguo mu,” *KGXB* 1978.2, 257). No lacquered coffins are documented for the site’s “Han-era” tombs (Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu wenwu gongzuodui, “Pingle Yinshanling Han mu,” *KGXB* 1978.4, 490–5).

123 Liao Jinxiong, “Guangdong Shixingxian,” *KG* 1993.5, 385–97.

124 Shixingxian bowuguan, “Guangdong Shixingxian,” *KG* 1988.6, 499–501.

125 Shixingxian bowuguan, “Guangdong Shixingxian,” *KG* 1988.6, 500–1, with the date given on p. 501.

126 Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu wenwu gongzuodui, “Pingle Yinshanling Han mu,” *KGXB* 1978.4, 492–3.

127 Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu wenwu gongzuodui, “Pingle Yinshanling Han mu,” *KGXB* 1978.4, 492–3, 494–5.

128 To summarize: Yinshanling tombs that I have redated are: M3 (reported as Warring States, redated as ca. AD 90), 15 (Warring States, ca. 122 BC), 21 (Warring States, ca. 122 BC), 26 (Warring States, ca. AD 9), 71 (Warring States, ca. 122 BC), 74 (Warring States, ca. AD 90), 94 (Late Western Han, ca. AD 90), 108 (Warring States, ca. 70 BC), 115 (Warring States, ca. AD 90), 119 (Warring States, ca. AD 5), 124 (Late Western Han, ca. AD 67), 125 (Late Western Han, ca. AD 90). Tombs for which my dating coincides with that of the excavation report include: M48 (Early Western Han, ca. 122 BC), 51 (Early Western Han, ca. 122 BC), 53 (Early Eastern Han, ca. AD 90), 112

(Early Eastern Han, ca. AD 90), 116 (Early Eastern Han, ca. AD 87), 117 (Early Eastern Han, ca. AD 90), 134 (Early Eastern Han, ca. AD 80), 143 (Early Eastern Han, ca. AD 90), 148 (Early Eastern Han, ca. AD 90). For the excavators' dates, see Yinshanling, Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, "Pingle Yinshanling Zhanguo mu," *KGXB* 1978.2, 252–8; Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu wenwu gongzuodui, "Pingle Yinshanling Han mu," *KGXB* 1978.4, 490–5.

129 M1026, 1027–37, 1140, 1141, and 1170 (*Guangzhou*, vol. I, 25; 26; 42; 67, tables 2–3; 76, table 5; 78–9, table 7).

130 M1, 7, 8, 28, 41, 65, 82, 115, 126, and 145 ("Warring States" Yinshanling, Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, "Pingle Yinshanling Zhanguo mu," *KGXB* 1978.2, 252–8); M27, 45, 87, 100, 112, 116, 117, 128, and 137 ("Han-era," Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu wenwu gongzuodui, "Pingle Yinshanling Han mu," *KGXB* 1978.4, 490–5).

131 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 31; 32, fig. 9; 67, table 2. This is the only burial on the site to combine the gravel floor and the waist pit.

132 Eight of the "Warring States" burials at Yinshanling (M28, 65, 71, 73, 74, 108, 110, and 115; Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, "Pingle Yinshanling Zhanguo mu," *KGXB* 1978.2, 252–8) and eleven of the site's "Han-era" tombs (M53, 105, 122, 125, 128, 133, 136, 139, 148, 149, and 150; Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu wenwu gongzuodui, "Pingle Yinshanling Han mu," *KGXB* 1978.4, 490–5) contained a wood box tomb and, except for M105, a coffin.

133 Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, "Guangxi Hexian Hedonggaozhai," *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 30.

134 Burial structure type 1: Lequn M5, 6, 8–12; Fengqing M2, 3, 6–14 (Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, "Guangxi Zhaoping," *KGXB* 1989.2, 214–

5).

135 Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Guangxi Zhaoping,” *KGXB* 1989.2, 214, 215. Interestingly, Zhejiangsheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, *Zhejiang Yuemu* (Beijing: Kexue, 2009), 106, suggests that the gravel lining the central strip of the entrance corridor to the ground-level Yue tomb of Longshan (Anji, Zhejiang) D141M1 (Early Warring States; *ibid.*, 165) was designed to facilitate drainage.

136 Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Guangxi Zhaoping,” *KGXB* 1989.2, 215.

137 Lequn M5, 6, 8–12; Fengqing M2 (Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Guangxi Zhaoping,” *KGXB* 1989.2, 228).

138 Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Guangxi Zhaoping,” *KGXB* 1989.2, 215.

139 Burial structure type 3: Lequn M2-4, 13–14; Jietang M2 (Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Guangxi Zhaoping,” *KGXB* 1989.2, 217–8; 228). Jietang M2, however, has an unpaved floor (*KGXB* 1989.2, 218).

140 Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Guangxi Hepuxian Tangpai,” *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 46.

141 Pingshuoxian kaogudui, “Shanxi Shuoxian,” *WW* 1987.6, 31; 34–5, fig. 69.

142 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 26.

143 Von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 192–4, noting that “in some easterly areas ... e.g., in Shandong, waist-pits occurred with some frequency through at least the middle of Eastern Zhou” (p. 192).

144 M1022-1026; *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 25.

145 Yinshanling M1, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 41, 42, 43, 46, 54, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 70, 71, 74, 75, 77–82, 84–6, 91–3, 95, 98, 99, 102, 103, 106–10, 113–15, 119–21, 126, 129, 130, 135, 145–7, 152–6, 158–64, 166–8 (Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Pingle Yinshanling Zhanguo mu,” *KGXB* 1978.2, 252–8); M27, 45, 48, 51, 83, 87, 94, 97, 100, 127, 142, 149 (Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Pingle Yinshanling Han mu,” *KGXB* 1978.4, 490–5).

146 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 25–6.

147 Yinshanling M28, 65, 71, 74, 108, 110, 115 (Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Pingle Yinshanling Zhanguo mu,” *KGXB* 1978.2, 252–7); M149 (Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Pingle Yinshanling Han mu,” *KGXB* 1978.4, 494–5).

148 *Luobowan*, 18–19; 98–9.

149 *Luobowan*, 5–9; 98–9.

150 *Luobowan*, 9–11; 12, fig. 7, table 2; 101.

151 *Luobowan*, 78–86; Pl 41–3.

152 *Luobowan*, 54; 55, fig 47:3; Pl. 28:1(M1:156).

153 *Luobowan*, 110 (M2:102 [inscribed], 103); 110, fig. 73:1 (M2:102); Pl. 57:5, 6 (M2:102, 103).

154 *Luobowan*, 110; 110, fig. 73:2; Pl. 58:5 (both, M2:110).

155 *Luobowan*, 54 (M1:157–18); 55, fig. 47:1, 2 (M1:157, 158); Pl. 28:2 (M1:158); 110 (M2:99–101); Pl. 56:4, 5 (M2:100, 101).

156 *Luobowan*, 75 (M1:290, 624); 74, fig. 58:2; Pl. 39:1 (both, M1:290).

157 *Luobowan*, 69–71 (M1, multiple); 70, fig. 55:1–3 (M1:598, 291, 292, respectively); Pl. 36–7 (M1:590, 292, 377, 375, 376, 291, 633–6).

158 *Luobowan*, 60; 62, fig. 51:1 (M1:308).

159 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 26.

160 Eight-one of eighty-eight waist pits in the Yinshanling tombs ascribed to the Warring States contained ceramics; the waist pits of M17, 24, 54, 58, 63, 95, and 167 were empty (Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Pingle Yinshanling Zhanguo mu,” *KGXB* 1978.2, 252–8). For the twelve tombs with waist pits assigned by excavators to the Han era, all contained ceramics (Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Pingle Yinshanling Han mu,” *KGXB* 1978.4, 490–5).

161 Shanxisheng, “Shanxi Xiaxian Wangcun,” *WW* 1994.8, 35.

162 The waist pits of Yinshanling (Pingle, Guangxi) M11, 56, 60, 103, 107, 121, 152, 159, 161 (Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Pingle Yinshanling Zhangguo mu,” *KGXB* 1978.2, 252–258) and M27, 45 (Guangxi Zhuangzu zizhiqu, “Pingle Yinshanling Han mu,” *KGXB* 1978.4, 490–5) each contained a cup.

163 Cf. Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) +M147, +M1037 (*Shaogou*, 154); Zhongzhoulu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) +M813 (*Zhongzhoulu*, 133, fig. 102:4; 134); +*Chuping yuannian* (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi; *WW* 1987.6, 71–72). For the term *zhenmuping*, see Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, “Two Eastern Han Sites,” in *China's Early Empires*, eds. Nylan and Loewe, 101.

164 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 456–62.

165 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 459–60.

166 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 460.

167 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 471, considers the report's *hu* type IV and “oddly-shaped” *ding* to be Yue. Since the more analytical portions of the report, as noted, do not explicitly make this statement, I have not examined these forms here. See [Chapter 4](#) for further analysis.

168 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 459. For examples, see M1097:28, 1175:66 (*Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 136, fig. 76:1, 2, bronze); and M1181:49, 1180:50 (p. 120, fig. 64:5–6, earthenware).

169 *Guangzhou* M1001, 1002, 1004–1006, 1008, 1009, 1013, 1015,

1016, 1018, 1022–1030, 1035–1037, 1039, 1042, 1050, 1052, 1053, 1057, 1060, 1064, 1072, 1099, 1105, 1106, 1108, 1109, 1114, 1119, 1122, 1123, 1128, 1141, 1155–1158, 1160, 1164, 1165, 1167, 1170, and 1171 (*Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 458).

170 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 458–62.

171 E.g., *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 103, fig. 1–5 (M1040:3, 1056:17, 1077:13, 1121:9, 1174:49). The report considers three-legged “boxes” types I (vol. 1, 105, fig. 53:1, M1143:7), including my *guan* 62, and II (vol. 1, 105, fig. 53:2, M1069:18), including my *guan* 61, to be “Yue,” but not the closely related type III (vol. 1, 105, fig. 53:3, M1070:31). I have not traced the origin of these forms, but suspect that they may lie with northern Chinese *dīng*, as, for instance, a Late Springs–Autumns (ca. late 9 – early 8 c. BC) Qin earthenware *dīng* Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M103:5. See Xianyangshi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, ed., *Renjiazui Qinmu* (Beijing: Kexue, 2005), Col. Pl. 1:2.

172 These types are identified as Yue in *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 457.

173 Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji bianji weiyuanhui, eds., *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji: Qin, Han. Zhongguo meishu fenlei quanji*, vol. 12 (Beijing: WW, 1998), 31, Pl. 29, four joined *dīng*, identified by inscription as belonging to the household of the Senior Princess (*zhang gongzhu*) Guantao, daughter of Wendi.

174 *Shaogou*, 98, fig. 49:15.

175 Untyped *guan*: M1016, 1064, 1108, 1156; untyped *weng*: M1006, 1008, 1016 (*Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 487–97).

176 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 487–97.

177 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 457–62. Only the table on p. 461 provides specifics regarding form, but the examples given are all from “Chinese” tombs. Referring to the tomb inventories avoids this ambiguity.

178 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 105, fig. 53:1–2 (M1143:7, 1069:8).

179 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 96, fig. 47:2 (M1097:6); vol. 2, Pl. 10:3 (M1026:22). Not listed in the tomb inventories in *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 487–97, but included in the table on *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 462.

180 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 96, fig. 47:1, 3, 4 (M1029:6, 1117:13, 1173:24).

181 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 109, fig. 55:1–5, 6–7 (M1125:5, 1076:15, 1043:9, 1065:2, 1085:5; M1009:1, 1066:40).

182 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 94, fig. 46:3, 5 (M1125:3, 1150:1).

183 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 97, fig. 48:2–3, 5 (M1182:21, 1177:64; M1180:100).

184 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 99, fig. 49:1–2 (M1148:31, 1068:4).

185 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 120, fig. 64:3 (M1105:1).

186 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 125, fig. 68:1, 2 (M1077:7, 1116:64).

187 For problems of dating, cf. von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 274. For Lower Yangzi *fou*, see Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 108, Pl. 94, Shimen (Jiangshan, Zhejiang), glazed stoneware; 115, Pl. 103, Fushan Orchard (Jurong, Jiangsu), vitreous earthenware.

188 Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 169, Pl. 180, Tangziyancun (Changhezhen, Xiaoshan Municipality, Zhejiang), Springs-Autumns, glazed stoneware; 179, Pl. 195, Shangxieshucun (Nanchixiang, Shaoxing, Zhejiang), Warring States, glazed stoneware; 183, Pl. 199, Yanshan (Chengguanzhen, Shengxian, Zhejiang), Warring States, grey earthenware; 185, Pl. 201, Nanshan, Pingshui Brick and Tile Factory (Shaoxing, Zhejiang), Warring States, grey earthenware.

189 Henansheng wenwu yanjiusuo, Henansheng Danjiang kuqu kaogu fajuedui, Xichuanxian bowuguan, *Xichuan Xiasi Chunqiu Chumu* (Beijing: WW, 1991), e.g., Col. Pl. 8 (M2:51); Pl. 13:3, 4 (M7:3, 4); Pl. 27:2 (M1:72); Pl. 53:1, 2 (M2:51, 55).

190 Hubeisheng, *Zeng hou Yi mu*, vol. 2, Pl. 78:1 (C-186).

191 Shanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo, "Shanxi Houma Shangma mudi fajue jianbao," WW 1989.6, 9, fig. 11:2 (M1004:11).

192 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 528.

193 *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 99, fig. 49:4.

194 Von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 277, fig. 57, second row, far left.

195 Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (shang)*, 63, Pl. 68; 125, Pl. 134.

196 Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 140, Pl. 140, argillaceous grey earthenware.

197 Shijiazhuangshi, “Hebei Dilu Gaozhuang,” *KG* 1994.4, Pl. 5:6.

198 *Shaogou*, 98, fig. 49:18.

199 Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 194, Pl. 215.

200 Hubeisheng, “1978-nian Yunmeng,” *KG* 1981.1, Pl. 10:4 (M2:8).

201 Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji bianji weiyuanhui, eds., *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji*, vol. 1: *Xia, Shang. Zhongguo meishu fenlei quanji* (Beijing: WW, 1996), 120, Pl. 121, Erligang (Zhengzhou Municipality, Henan), Early Shang (ca. 15 c. BC); 127, Pl. 128, Baijiazhuang (Zhengzhou Municipality, Henan), Middle Shang (ca. 14 c. BC); 132, Pl. 133, Longtouzhen (Chenggu, Shaanxi), Middle Shang.

202 E.g., Tianma-Qucun (Quwo, Shanxi) IIIM62:83, Shanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo, Beijing daxue kaoguxue xi, “Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jinhou mudi disici fajue,” *WW* 1994.8, 10, fig. 16:3; Tianma-Qucun IIIM31:4, Shanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo, Beijing daxue kaoguxue xi, “Tianma-Qucun yizhi Beizhao Jinhou mudi disanci fajue,” *WW* 1994.8, 25, fig. 4:2.

203 Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji bianji weiyuanhui, eds., *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou (2). Zhongguo meishu fenlei quanji* (Beijing: WW, 1995), 152, Pl. 174, Huixian, Henan.

204 Often associated with the southwest and what became the states of Ba and Shu, this form is found in many areas of China, including the Far South. An example from Shixia (Maba, Qujiang, Guangdong) M42 is dated to the late neolithic (ca. 3000–1500 BC): Guangdongsheng bowuguan, Xianggangshan Zhongwen daxue wenwuguan, Guangdong Provincial Museum; Art Gallery, Chinese University of Hong Kong, *Guangdong chutu xian-Qin wenwu. Archaeological Finds from Pre-Qin Sites in Guangdong* (Hong Kong: Guangdongsheng bowuguan, Xianggangshan Zhongwen daxue wenwuguan, 1984), 190–1, no. 40.

205 E.g., Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 120, Pl. 111, Western Zhou, stoneware *he* (盃, for pouring water), Tunxi Airport M3 (Anhui); 149, Pl. 156, Springs-Autumns, *guan*, argillaceous grey earthenware with black slip, Huangtulidai (Jiangyin Municipality, Jiangsu); 150, Pl. 158, Springs-Autumns, vitreous earthenware *guan*, Wujiang (Jiangsu).

206 Guangdongsheng, *Guangdong chutu xian-Qin wenwu*, 240–1, no. 68, Matougang (Qingyuan, Guangdong) M2; 242–3, no. 69, Wuhua (Guangdong); 244–5, no. 70, Shanglin (Dongshan, Wuhua, Guangdong).

207 Zhejiangsheng, *Zhejiang Yuemu*, 152, fig. 3-50:3 (M1Q:112).

208 Guangdongsheng, *Guangdong chutu xian-Qin wenwu*, 210–11, no. 49, Tazaijinshan (Fubin, Guangdong) M1, *hu*; 212–3, no. 50, Tazaijinshan M11, pitcher; 220–1, no. 55, Jiaoling (Guangdong), *hu*; 203 views both these pieces and the *guan* from Matougang, Wuhua, and Shanglin with, as I describe it, the “Far South profile” as indigenous, the latter because of their geometric décor. To my eye, the “double F” and lozenge motifs of the *guan* with geometric décor are closely related to early Chinese bronze décor, even if distribution over the surface of the vessel is quite different. As such, this décor is not enough to convince me of an unequivocally non-Chinese origin for these pieces. Their form, as noted above, has Chinese counterparts and, as below, Chinese antecedents. Contrast von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 274.

209 E.g., on Early Shang *ding*: Zhongguo qingtongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 1, 24, Pl. 25, Zhengzhou (Henan); 25, Pl. 26 and 37, Pl. 38, both: no provenance, Shanghai Museum; Middle Shang *ding*: *ibid.*, 43, Pl. 44, Chuqiu (Nanhui, Henan); Middle Shang *hu*: *ibid.*, 135, Pl. 136, Xiangyang Muslim Food Factory (Zhengzhou Municipality, Henan); 136, Pl. 137, Longcheng (Huangpopan, Hubei); 141, Pl. 142, no provenance, Shanghai Museum; 142, Pl. 143, Longtouzhen (Chenggu, Shaanxi), with three legs. Late Shang *you*: Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi*, vol. 4, 62, Pl. 67, Anyang (Henan); Early Western Zhou *you*: *ibid.*, 125, Pl. 134, Gaojiabao (Jingyang, Shaanxi) and 133, Pl. 143, Zhuyuangou (Baoji, Shaanxi); Early Western Zhou *ding*: *ibid.*, 126, Pl. 135, Shijiayuan (Chunhua, Shaanxi); Middle Western Zhou *hu*: *ibid.*, 192, Pl. 213, Baijia (Fufeng, Shaanxi) and 196, Pl. 217, Zhuangbai (Fufeng, Shaanxi); Middle Western Zhou *ding*: *ibid.*, 193, Pl. 214, Qiangjiacun (Fufeng, Shaanxi); Late Western Zhou *fanghu* (*hu* square in cross-section): Tianma-Qucun (Quwo, Shanxi) IIM64:103, Shanxisheng, “Tianma-Qucun,” WW 1994.8, 6, fig. 5, 7.

210 *Shangsunjiazhai*, 218.

211 Qinghaisheng Huangyuanxian bowuguan, Qinghaisheng wenwu kaogudui, Qinghaisheng shehui kexueyuan lishi yanjiushi, “Qinghai Huangyuanxian Dahuazhongzhuang Kayue wenhua mudi fajue jianbao,” KGYWW 1985.5, 27, 34.

212 Qinghaisheng wenwuchu, Qinghaisheng kaogu yanjiusuo, *Qinghai wenwu* (Beijing: WW, 1994), 7.

213 *Shangsunjiazhai*, 217, citing HHS, 87:2869–908. The term “Lushui nomads” occurs in passing on HHS, 87:2880, 2881; I find nothing in this chapter, or elsewhere, to equate the nomads of the Lu River (*Lushui hu* [盧水胡]) with the Xiongnu. *Shangsunjiazhai* refers to those Yuezhi tribes living among the Qiang of northeastern Qinghai as the “Lesser Yuezhi (*xiao Yuezhi* [小月氏]).” HHS, 87:2899, explains that

Yuezhi who did not migrate westward with the majority of their people after defeat by the Xiongnu in the late 2nd/early 1st c. BC intermarried with the Qiang and later “surrendered” to the Han; they are known as Huangzhong Yuezhi. The term “Lesser Yuezhi” is used by the *Shiji* and *Hanshu* (e.g., *SJ*, 111:2931; *HS*, 55:2481). The *Shiji* explanation of the Yuezhi division, however, cites the Qiang of Nanshan, rather than Huangzhong (*SJ*, 123:3162). Nanshan (the Southern Mountains) lay in the southern Western Regions (*xiyu*), west of the Han commandery of Jincheng (*HHS*, 88:2914), placing them on the southern side of the southern end of the Gansu corridor, south of Wuwei, with Jincheng lying further south (Tan Qixiang, ed., *Zhongguo lishi dituji*, vol. 2: *Qin, Xi Han, Dong Han shiqi* [Shanghai: Ditu, 1982], 33–4, 57–8). I cannot find either Huangzhong or Lushui listed in the *Hanshu* or *Hou Hanshu* treatises on geography (*HS*, 28B:1609–15; *HHS*, *zhi* 23:3516–21). From references in the *Hou Hanshu* chapter on the Western Qiang, both areas appear to have been organized as Dependent States (*shuguo* [屬國]) and thus primarily non-Chinese (*HHS*, 87:2881 [Lushui], 2884, 2886 [Huangzhong]). If we assume that Huangzhong was located near the modern county of the same name (Qinghai), it would have been south or southwest of Jincheng. It is possible that the Lesser Yuezhi did indeed move farther south from the Nanshan and relocate in Huangzhong. Nonetheless, the *Hou Hanshu* refers to Yuezhi tribes in Huangzhong as multiple (“the various Yuezhi of Huangzhong,” *HHS*, 87:2884); numerous, unnamed tribes of nomads and Qiang must also be assumed from similar references throughout *HHS*, *juan* 87 (e.g., *HHS*, 87:2883, 2884, 2897, 2898, *inter alia*). Even from a textual standpoint, it thus becomes impossible, in my view, to attempt any attribution for whatever non-Chinese cultures may be represented at Shangsunjiazhai.

214 Deliberately disturbed burials have been reported in “accompanying burials” at the Transbaikalian site of Dyrestuj (Buriatia, Russia), attributed to the Xiongnu: S. S. Minjaev, *Dyrestujskij mogilnik. Arxeologičeskije pamjatniki Sjunny*, vol. 3 (Saint Petersburg, 1998), 41–2, 112. Sergej Minjaev believes that these disturbances mark the sacrifice of these individuals. There is considerable variation in which bones are displaced or body parts removed, which suggests to me that the disturbance was not in itself highly ritualized or that any ritual involved was loosely defined. Ethnic attribution remains problematic, in my view, as for most, if not all, supposedly Xiongnu sites. Cf. Sophia-Karin Psarras, “Defining ‘Xiongnu’” (in preparation).

215 *Shangsunjiazhai*, 216–20.

216 Information on those interred is found in tables arranged according to the type of tomb structure: *Shangsunjiazhai*, 12, 22, 28, 34, 47–9, 52, 58–9, 78–85; for burial goods, animal sacrifice, and the date assigned by the excavators, see *Shangzunjiazhai*, 222–40.

217 Shaanxisheng, *Qindu Xianyang kaogu baogao*, 667, 799.

218 Wang/Ge, *Xuzhou Shizishan*, 19 (no illustration number); *Dabaotai*, 74–7.

219 *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 179–81 (M1), 311–20 (M2); Dingxian, *WW* 1981.8, 2.

220 *Longshouyuan*, 50.

221 Hubeisheng bowuguan, “1978-nian Yunmeng,” *KGXB* 1986.4, 488.

222 Hubeisheng bowuguan, “1978-nian Yunmeng,” *KGXB* 1986.4, 488–9. In Shuihudi M47, animal sacrifice was represented by a cow skull and feet (*KGXB* 1986.4, 488; Pl. 10:4). In each of these cases (M43, 44, 45, 47), the skulls (and, in M47, feet) were placed on top of the wood box tomb; the muzzles faced east. The authors of this excavation report suggest that this may have been Qin practice (*KGXB* 1986.4, 489). Nonetheless, few tombs at Shuihudi yield animal skulls (only eight out of fifty tombs, counting the adjacent Dafentou burials): in addition to M43, 44, 45, and 47, these include M7, 9, 11 (*Shuihudi*, 6, fig. 8; 67, table 5), 36 (*KG* 1981.1, 29). Although all the skulls were placed on top of the tomb, their direction varies. I do not find the practice noted for predynastic and dynastic Qin cemeteries in the Xianyang (Shaanxi) area, such as Huangjiagou (Xianyang

Municipality, Shaanxi; Shaanxisheng, *Qindu Xianyang kaogu baogao*), Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi; Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*), Guanghua Rubber Overshoes Factory (Guanghua jiaoxiechang [Maopo, Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]), Maopo Post and Telephone Institute (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi), and Shijia xingcheng (Fanjia [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]; all: Xi'an shi wenwu baohu kaogusuo, *Xi'an nanjiao Qinmu* [Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin, 2004]). In the absence of additional data, it seems to me impossible to attribute this use of animal skulls to the Qin or, indeed, to any specific group within the Han. Dog skeletons were likewise found inside the threshold leading into Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M39 (*Longshou*, 57; 58, fig. 35; Pl. 6, lower left) and in the entrance shaft of Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory M27 (*Longshou*, 47; 48, fig. 29). From the dog bones found in the Houloushan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) XHM1:116 *hu* (WW 1993.4, 33, fig. 6:6), dogs must also have been used for meat. The position of the dogs near the entrance of Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory M27 and 39 seems, however, to suggest the role of guardian.

223 *Longshouyuan*, 47 (M27), 80 (M54).

224 For instance, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 280, fig. 194:2 (G67, contained bird bones); 287, fig. 200:2 (G44, contained bones and shells of cattle, pig, domestic fowl, turtle, and clam); vol. 2, Pl. 185:3 (G47, contained bones and shells of domestic fowl, pigs, ox, and clams).

225 For the use of teeth, see particularly Xichagou (Xifeng, Liaoning), a mixed Xiongnu-Xianbei-Wuhuan site: Sun Shoudao, “Xiongnu Xichagou wenhua’ gumuqunde faxian,” WW 1960.8/9, 25 (horse teeth). Note, however, that cow teeth were found in Dafentou (Yunmeng, Hubei) M3 (Dafentou, *KGXB* 1986.4, 522). For a survey of burial practices for animal sacrifice among the northern non-Chinese, see Sophia-Karin Psarras, “Exploring the North: Non-Chinese Cultures of the Late Warring States and Han,” *Monumenta Serica* 42 (1994), 1–125.

226 *Shangsunjiazhai*, 128–31, esp. 130, fig. 77; 216, 218, Pl. 48–9,

found in M108, 116, 132, 146, 148, 153, 156, and 171.

227 *Shangsunjiazhai*, 130, fig. 77:10 (M153:4).

228 *Shangsunjiazhai*, 130, fig. 77:1 (M156:3), 4 (M116:5), 9 (M156:2).

229 *Shangsunjiazhai*, 130, fig. 77:2 (M132:9, jug), 3 (M146:10, cup), 5 (M146:11, cup), 6 (M148:6, jug), 7 (M171:11, cup).

230 *Shangsunjiazhai*, 130, fig. 77:11 (M108:8). For Shang examples, see Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 36, Pl. 11, Baijiazhuang (Shangcheng, Zhengzhou Municipality, Henan); 37, Pl. 12, Luodamiao habitation site (Zhengzhou Municipality, Henan). For Xindian, e.g., Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 77, Pl. 59, Zhangjiagou (Kangle, Gansu). For Shajing, e.g., Gansusheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, “Sanjiaocheng yu Hamadun Shajing wenhua yicun,” *KGXB* 1990.2, 211, fig. 6:1–3, Sanjiaocheng habitation site (Jinchang Municipality, Gansu).

231 E.g., Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 75, Pl. 57, Xindian Culture, no provenance, Jianxia Muslim Autonomous Region Museum, handles on belly; 79, Pl. 62, Xindian Culture, Hetaozhuang (Minhe, Qinghai), handles on the shoulder; 105, Pl. 91, Siwa Culture, Pingliang (Gansu), handles on shoulders. Cf. also Gansusheng, “Sanjiaocheng yu Hamadun,” *KGXB* 1990.2, Pl. 6:8 (handles on belly); Pl. 8:3 (handles on shoulder), Shajing Culture, Sanjiaocheng and Hamadun (Jinchang Municipality, Gansu). Cf. Qinghaisheng Huangyuanxian bowuguan, “Qinghai Huangyuanxian Dahuazhongzhuang,” *KGYYW* 1985.5, 19, fig. 15:12 (handles on shoulder), Dahuazhongzhuang (Huangyuan, Qinghai), Kayue Culture. The dating of these cultures remains problematic. The Sanjiaocheng report suggests a timespan of Late Western Zhou to Warring States, based on radiocarbon dates (Gansusheng, “Sanjiaocheng yu Hamada,” *KGXB* 1990.2, 231, 237). K. C. Chang suggests a range of the late second millennium through the first half of the first millennium BC for Xindian, Siwa, and Shajing (Kwang-Chih Chang, *The Archaeology of*

Ancient China [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986, 4th edition; 1st edition, 1963], 387).

232 For both the tomb of the King of Nanyue and Luobowan, the most obviously non-Chinese vessels are the bronze drums and bronze pail-shaped containers (*thap*) of Dong-Son type (Vietnam), e.g., *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Col. Pl. 25 (B59), Pl. 17:3–4 (B57-59), 18 (B58), 130:3 (E78, *thap*); *Luobowan*, Col. Pl. 1 (M1:10), Pl. 9 (M1:10-11, drums); Pl. 11 (M1:1-4, *thap*). For discussion and examples of bronze *thap*, see Charles Higham, *The Bronze Age of Southeast Asia*, 112, fig. 4.22.

233 *Shangsunjiazhai*, 151, fig. 89:9; 151–2; Pl. 69:1-2 (MB-1*:20).

234 *Shangsunjiazhai*, 220. Accordingly, the term “Xiongnu” used on the seal is a broad (and political) description. Because the seal was found in Qinghai, excavators reason that its inscription should be understood as in fact referring to the Lushui nomads, textually ascribed to that general region (*HHS*, 87:2880, 2881).

235 *Shangsunjiazhai*, 220. Tombs falling into this classification are: M3, 5, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 26, 30, 31, 32, 34, 36, 46, 49, 52, 54, 59, 73, B-1*, B-2, B-3, B-4, B-6, B-7, and B-8.

236 *Shangsunjiazhai*, 133; 135, fig. 80:2; 217 (for some discussion); Pl. 53:1-2 (M24:12).

Chapter 3

1 Barbieri-Low, “The Organization of Imperial Workshops during the Han Dynasty,” 72–3, citing *HS*, 68:2948–9; 93:3734, 3740.

2 Albert E. Dien, “Developments in Funerary Practices in the Six Dynasties Period: the *Duisuguan* or ‘Figured Jar’ as a case in Point,” in *Between Han and Tang*, vol. 2, ed. Wu Hung, 510.

3 The importance of the crossbow for the defense of the deceased is further suggested by the common image in Han tombs of a crossbow-bearing guardian figure, as in the tomb of Lord Feng or his consort (Tanghe [Nanyang Municipality, Henan]), *KGB* 1980.2, 250, fig. 18:1, 2.

4 *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 84–5; 81–3, also lists three swords, a shortsword or dagger, two *ge* halberds; 85, 87, seventy arrows (all in bronze); and 101, nine swords, including four shortswords; 106, two *ji* lance; 106, 108, one spear; 109, twenty bow-ends; 109, 111, 371 arrows, (all in iron). *Mancheng* M2, less well-armed, nonetheless included, 265, 267, two swords, two crossbows (M2:1321, gilded), and eighteen arrows (all bronze). This clearly indicates that women could indeed have weapons among their burial goods. The presence of a sword, for instance, therefore does not mean that the deceased was male (as suggested by Baonüdu [Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu] M104, Yangzhou, “Jiangsu Hanjiangxian Yangshouxiang Baonüdu,” *WW* 1991.10, 59). The *Mancheng* tombs likewise disprove association of *lian* cosmetics (or toiletries) boxes with women, as hypothesized by the Baonüdu report: *Mancheng* M2 yielded two lacquer *lian* (*Mancheng*, vol. 1, 300, 302), but M1, tomb of the king, also yielded one, including a mirror (*Mancheng*, vol. 1, 81). The Baonüdu report identifies two jade plugs found in the M104 coffin as meant for the anus and vagina. This would seem decisive evidence, but in practical terms, it proves difficult. *Mancheng* M2 yielded an anal plug, but no vaginal plug is mentioned, nor is any other jade of similar shape reported to have been found in the pelvic region, inside the jade burial suit (*Mancheng*, vol. 1, 245). *Mancheng* M1 yielded an anal plug and jade penis sheath (*Mancheng*, vol. 1, 37). For most men, the latter is not reported. In contrast, Pingshan (Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1, Yangzhou, “Yangzhou Pingshan,” *WW* 1987.1, 35 (M1:3), a two-coffin burial, reports two jade plugs as ornaments. They cannot be taken as belonging to a woman, since both could be anal plugs, one for each of the deceased. Their position in the grave is not noted. The four small (1.8 cm in length) glass plugs from Pingshan are not specifically attributed to any tomb (*WW* 1987.1, 35). From their size, they are likely to be ear and/or nostril plugs. Given theft of jade

in antiquity and potential inaccuracies in reporting, the evidence of jade plugs becomes tenuous. Therefore, we cannot with confidence assume that certain objects are associated with the sex of the deceased, rather than with less tangible factors (religious views, occupation, status, wealth). Indeed, Pingshan M4, a single burial, contained both a sword and a lacquer face guard (WW 1987.1, 28, M4:54, face guard; 29, fig. 6:7, M4:55, iron sword), disproving the assumptions of the authors of the Baonüdu report (WW 1991.10, 59) either with regard to face guards as associated with women or to swords as associated with men.

5 Cf. John Boardman, *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 148, notes Chinese mirrors found in Eastern Europe.

6 *Wei zhi sangong* (位至三公), see Fan Ye, *HHS*, *zhi* 24:3556. These mirrors were assumed to date to the Jin (AD 266–316) and Eastern Jin (AD 317–420) dynasties until an example was found in the AD 179 tomb of Wang Dang (Luoyang Municipality, Henan); see Luoyang, “Luoyang Dong Han guanghe ernian Wang Dang,” WW 1980.6, 55. The same type is also found in the AD 175 Mamaozhuang (Lishi, Shanxi) M14 (Shanxisheng, “Shanxi Lishi,” WW 1996.4, 15–6) and ca. AD 176 Zhangwan (Lingbao, Henan) M5, as well as in the undatable M4 (Henansheng, “Lingbao Zhangwan,” WW 1975.11, 81).

7 Shaanxisheng bowuguan, *Shaanbei*, 82–3, Pl. 74–5; 27, Pl. 17.

8 Luoyang, “Luoyang Dong Han guanghe ernian Wang Dang,” WW 1980.6, 55; 54, fig. 4–5.

9 Luoyang, “Luoyang Dong Han guanghe ernian Wang Dang,” WW 1980.6, 55; 54, fig. 4–5. The salutation is repeated with variation: “to the Chief of the Check Point at the Gate of the noble spirits of the tomb, the master of the tomb, the emperor of the tomb” (*mu bohun mentingzhang muzhu muhuang* [墓伯魂門亭長篁主篁皇]).

10 Tomb of Wang Dang (Luoyang Municipality, Henan), Luoyang, “Luoyang Dong Han guanghe ernian Wang Dang,” *WW* 1980.6, 55; 54, fig. 4–5 (deed inscribed on lead strip); tomb of Liu Yuantai (Ganquanshan [Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu]), Jiang Hua, “Yangzhou Ganquan chutu Dong Han Liu Yuantai,” *WW* 1980.6, 57 (deed inscribed on a seven-sided ceramic baton).

11 For example, in addition to the *lian* noted below: Zhongguo meishu quanji bianji weiyuanhui, eds., *Huihua bian*, vol. 18: *Huaxiang shi huaxiang zhuan. Zhongguo meishu quanji* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu, 1988), 22–3, Pl. 27, Chengnanzhang (Jining, Shandong); 162, Pl. 198, Xindu (Sichuan); 190, Pl. 246, Yihe (Pengshan, Sichuan); 196, Pl. 260, Yanling (Sichuan). See also Xinye (Henan), Wang Baoxiang, “Henan Xinye,” *KG* 1964.2, 91, fig. 5.

12 Yangzhou bowuguan, “Jiangsu Hanjiang Yaozhuang,” *WW* 1988.2, 38, fig. 30; 40, fig. 34 (M101:190, 123).

13 *Mawangdui* (B), 62.

14 Shaanxisheng bowuguan, *Shaanbei*, 31, Pl. 21.

15 Including other examples: Zhongguo meishu, *Huihua bian*, vol. 18, 6–7, Pl. 7, Qishan (Jiaxiang, Shandong); 22–23, Pl. 26, Chengnanzhang (Jining, Shandong); 52, Pl. 62, Beisai (Yi’nan, Shandong); 53, Pl. 63, Beisai (Yi’nan, Shandong); 99, Pl. 118, Tanghe County Knitting Mill (Henan); 100, Pl. 119, Tanghe County Knitting Mill (Henan); 106, Pl. 125, Tanghe County Knitting Mill (Henan); 113, Pl. 132, Nanyang (Henan); 114, Pl. 134, Shaogangdian (Nanyang, Henan).

16 Including Xu Jing feeding his toothless father; William Watson, *Arts of Dynastic China* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1981), Cat. Pl. 325, the Tomb of the Painted Basket, i.e., Namjôngni (P’yôngyang,

Democratic People's Republic of Korea), held in the Central History Museum (P'yôngyang). See also Wang Peixin, *Lelang wenhua – yi muzang wei zhongxinde kaoguxue yanjiu* (Beijing: Kexue, 2007), 43, fig. 19:10.

17 For summary, see Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine*, 192–3.

18 Xiao Tong, comp., *Wen xuan*. David Knechtges, trans. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), vol. 2, 273–5.

19 Wang Xueli et al., *Qin wuzhi wenhua shi* (Xi'an: Sanqin, 1994), 355; carriage scene cited by Jean M. James, *A Guide to the Tomb and Shrine Art of the Han Dynasty 206 BC–AD 220* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1996), 1, referring to “The Qin Palace Excavations,” *China Pictorial* 1982.6, 37–41 (not seen); Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo, *Qindu Xianyang kaogu baogao*, 178–9, fig. 5.9, procession scenes; 179, fig. 5.10, team of four galloping horses; both, Qin palace at Xianyang; 178, refers to murals in the Han palace of Changle, in Chang'an.

20 *Han Yangling kaogu chenlie guan*, 83, fig. 132, 133, respectively.

21 Ma Jianxi, “Qin gongdian yizhi huaxiang zhuan shijie,” *KGWW* 1990.5, 101, fig. 2.

22 Ma Jianxi, “Qin gongdian,” *KGWW* 1990.5, 100, fig. 1.

23 Wang et al., *Qin wuzhi wenhua shi*, 371, fig. VIII-24; 372, fig. VIII-25.

24 To cite only a few of the many examples from tombs: that of Bu Qianqiu (Luoyang Municipality, Henan), Luoyang bowuguan,

“Luoyang Xi Han Bu Qianqiu,” *WW* 1977.6, 3, fig. 4, 5; Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5040, *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 125:6; Cigou (Xiangcheng, Henan), Henansheng, “Henan Xiangcheng Cigou,” *KGXB* 1964.1, 117, fig. 5; Pl. 1:4, 2:5–6; the undated Erligang (Zhengzhou Municipality, Henan) C1M32, 33, Henansheng wenhuaju wenwu gongzuodui, “Zhengzhou Erligang Han huaxiang kongxinzhuan mu,” *KG* 1963.11, 592, fig. 3 (M32); 594, fig. 7 (M33). For residential remains, see Chongan (Fujian), *KGXB* 1990.3, 355, fig. 13 (T7[3]:31); also in the warehouse site of Hanguguan (Pandong [Xin'an, Henan]), Luoyangshi dier wenwu gongzuodui, “Huanghe Xiaolangdi Pandongcun Han Hanguguan cangku jianzhu yizhi fajue jianbao,” *WW* 2000.10, 24, fig. 24:4; as flooring in the Pelorus 2 area and in the county seat associated with Jingdi's burial at Yangling (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi), *Han Yangling kaogu chenlie guan*, 91, fig. 142; 132, fig. 236; in building 2, Gui Palace (Chang'an Municipality, Shaanxi), *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo*, Riben Nailang guoli wenhuacai yanjiusuo (Zhong-Ri lianhe kaogudui), “Han Chang'an Guigong erhao jianzhu yizhi B-qu fajue jianbao,” *KG* 2000.1, 8, fig. 9:1 (T1(3):36); Weiyang Palace (Chang'an Municipality, Shaanxi), *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo Han Chang'ancheng gongzuodui*, “Han Chang'ancheng Weiyanggong xi'nanjue lou yizhi fajue jianbao,” *KG* 1996.3, Pl.4:5; see also, as wall paintings, the Qin Palace 1, Building 1, Room 9, Wang et al., *Qin wuzhi wenhua shi*, 355, fig. VIII-11:2. See also the government storehouse at Xiaolangdi (Yandong, Xin'an, Henan), Luoyangshi dier wenwu gongzuodui, “Huanghe Xiaolangdi Yandongcun Hanguguan cangku jianzhu yizhi fajue jianbao,” *WW* 2000.10, 24, fig. 24:4.

25 Martin J. Powers, *Art and Political Expression in Early China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

26 Hans Bielenstein, “Han Portents and Prognostications,” *BMFEA* 56 (1984), 97–112.

27 Powers, *Art and Political Expression*, 206ff. If, for instance, the story of Jing Ke's attempt to assassinate Qin Shihuangdi were depicted in shrines such as those of the Wu family (Jiaxiang, Shandong) as criticism of the reigning emperor, would such a public threat have gone unpunished? For Jing Ke in the Wu Liang shrine, see Liu/Yue,

28 Anping, 11–3, fig. 20–28 (ceiling).

29 Beijing lishi bowuguan, Hebeisheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, *Wangdu Han mu bishu* (Beijing: Zhongguo gudian yishu, 1955), 9, 13; Pl. 31–36.

30 Beijing lishi bowuguan, *Wangdu*, 13; Pl. 36.

31 Xiao Tong, *Wen xuan*, vol. 2, 271, 273–5. Powers, *Art and Political Expression*, might reply that Lu was a stronghold of Confucianism. However, Powers classifies “flying birds and running beasts” as the “ornamental tradition,” in (political) opposition to the “classical,” “Confucian” school.

32 “Religious” material usually means the “Buddhist,” typically identified by the portrayal of Buddha, or “Taoist,” also termed “popular religion,” generally associated with the depiction of immortals.

33 For the inscription, see Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine*, 25, fig. 20; 25; 215.

34 Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine*, 214–5.

35 Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine*. Cf. also James, *Guide to the Tomb and Shrine*, 115, who views the Wu shrines as a “demonstration of loyalty to the imperial house,” but who concurs that the iconography is “unique.” Powers, *Art and Political Expression*, goes much further than Wu Hung, generalizing the notion of the Wu Liang shrine as a

manifestation of personal belief to encompass all of Han art. For Powers, both subject matter and style of execution indicate political affiliation and hence personal views. Since a single style of execution, as well as any given image, may extend over more than one province, in modern terms (see [Chapter 3](#), “Décor as Product”), and since a given iconography is not limited to one style of execution, we cannot accept style as indicative of belief of any kind. If, however, an individual has sufficient wealth, style (and medium) may of course be selected to fulfill personal aesthetic views. Within these perimeters of finance and taste, no visual feature of décor seems to identify personal views.

[36](#) Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine*, 209; 364, fn. 162, cites *HHS*, 64:2121.

[37](#) Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine*, 29–30.

[38](#) Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine*, 222–3.

[39](#) Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine*, 223.

[40](#) Beijing lishi bowuguan, *Wangdu*, 12; Pl. 18.

[41](#) Beijing lishi bowuguan, *Wangdu*, Pl. 22.

[42](#) Chongqing Wushanxian wenwu guanlisuo, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo Sanxia gongzuodui, “Chongqing Wushanxian Dong Han liujin tong paishide faxian yu yanjiu,” *KG* 1998.12, 78, fig. 1:2 (Nandongjingkan); 79, fig. 2:3–4 (both, Xiaogouzi, Jiangdongzui). All, Wushan (Chongqing Municipality, Sichuan).

43 Chongqing, “Chongqing Wushanxian,” *KG* 1998.12, 81, fig. 4:1, Nandongjingkan (Wushan, Chongqing Municipality, Sichuan).

44 Chongqing, “Chongqing Wushanxian,” *KG* 1998.12, 81, fig. 4:2, Cigarette Factory (Wushan, Chongqing Municipality, Sichuan).

45 Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine*, 16, 28, 32, 55, 92. James, *Guide to the Tomb and Shrine*, 115, accepts the argument that the Wu Liang shrine is followed by those of the Left and the Front, also adopted by Jiang Yingju, Wu Wenqi, “Wushici huaxiang shi jianzhu paizhigao,” *KGXB* 1981.2, 165–84 (cited by James, 116).

46 Liu/Yue, *Han Dynasty Stone Reliefs*, 16 (Wu Liang shrine, Queen Mother of the West), 32 (King Father of the East); 67 (Front shrine, central figure unclear, but assumed to be the Queen Mother in contrast with the King Father), 55 (King Father); 92–3 (Left shrine, King Father).

47 Liu/Yue, *Han Dynasty Stone Reliefs*, 56–7, bottom (Front shrine); *Zhongguo meishu, Huihua bian*, vol. 18, 9, Pl. 10, bottom (Wu Liang shrine). For placement within the shrine, I follow Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine*, 15–6, in his modification of Wilma Fairbank's reconstructions, for which see: Wilma Fairbank, “The Offering Shrines of ‘Wu Liang Tz'u’,” in Wilma Fairbank, *Adventures in Retrieval* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 41–86.

48 Liu/Yue, *Han Dynasty Stone Reliefs*, 110, top.

49 Liu/Yue, *Han Dynasty Stone Reliefs*, 41 (Wu Liang shrine); 76–7, bottom (Front shrine); 112–3, top (Left shrine).

50 Wu Family Shrines, Liu/Yue, *Han Dynasty Stone Reliefs*, 40 (top); Wu Hung, *The Wu Liang Shrine*, 68–9, lower right (Front Shrine); 96,

top (Left Shrine).

51 Wu Family Shrines, Liu/Yue, *Han Dynasty Stone Reliefs*, 112–3, top.

52 Balimiao (Yanggu, Shandong), Liaocheng diqu, “Shandong Yangguxian Balimiao,” WW 1989.8, 54, fig. 11, bottom.

53 Note that the side towers associated with the Wu shrines are decorated with a different style of execution: Liu/Yue, *Han Dynasty Stone Reliefs*, 139–42.

54 Zhu Xilu, *Jiaxiang Han huaxiang shi* (Ji'nan: Shandong meishu, 1992), 50–3, fig. 62–5.

55 Zhu Xilu, *Jiaxiang*, 52, fig. 64.

56 Zhu Xilu, *Jiaxiang*, 117, acknowledges that the Songshan stones could have come from either a tomb or a shrine. Jiang Yingju, “Handaide xiaocitang,” KG 1983.8, 741–51, reconstructs Songshan as shrines. I have used the M1, 2 designation not out of conviction but to match Zhu Xilu, my usual reference for Songshan illustrations.

57 Zhu Xilu, *Jiaxiang*, 44, fig. 51, bottom.

58 Balimiao (Yanggu, Shandong), Liaocheng diqu, “Shandong Yangguxian Balimiao,” WW 1989.8, 54, fig. 11.

59 Shaanxisheng bowuguan, *Shaanbei*, 113, fig. 118.

60 *Holingor*, Pl. 35.

61 *Anping*, Pl. 44, 40.

62 Shanxisheng, “Shanxi Xiaxian Wangcun,” *WW* 1994.8, 39, fig. 11 (photograph), 12 (reconstruction).

63 *Mawangdui* (B), 19.

64 *Mawangdui* (B), 19, 23.

65 Luoyang, “Luoyang Xi Han Bu Qianqiu,” *WW* 1977.6, 11, fig. 34.

66 Luoyangshi, “Luoyang Qianjingtou,” *WW* 1993.5, 13.

67 Baojishi, “Shaanxisheng Qianyangxian,” *KG* 1975.3, 180, fig. 5–8.

68 Lord Feng (Tanghe [Nanyang Municipality, Henan]), *Nanyang diqu*, “Tanghe,” *KGXB* 1980.2, 242, fig. 5; 243, fig. 6:1–4.

69 Lord Feng (Tanghe [Nanyang Municipality, Henan]), *Nanyang diqu*, “Tanghe,” *KGXB* 1980.2, 244, fig. 8:6–7.

70 James, *Guide to the Tomb and Shrine*, 66–7, argues that the representation of only three of the four directional animals indicates that these three are not representative of the cardinal points, or all

four would be depicted. The argument is fallacious, given that any unit of iconography may be depicted independently of its associated parts, as seen with the image of the unharnessed horse and carriage next to a tree.

71 Jiaxing diqu, “Zhejiang Haining,” WW 1983.5, 10, fig. 22–3.

72 Hence, James, *Guide to the Tomb and Shrine*, 1, 36, 37, has no basis for her hypothesis that murals or banners replaced actual grave goods.

73 Mawangdui (B), 23.

74 Michael Loewe, *Ways to Paradise: The Chinese Quest for Immortality* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1979).

75 James, *Guide to the Tomb and Shrine*, 23.

76 Precedent for these banners may be found in the Late Middle Warring States (ca. late 4 c. BC) state of Chu tomb, Mashan (Jiangling, Jingzhou Municipality, Hubei) M1: Hubeisheng Jingzhou diqu bowuguan, *Jiangling Mashan yihao Chumu* (Beijing: WW, 1985), 8–10; 10, fig. 12.

77 James, *Guide to the Tomb and Shrine*, 26–7.

78 Mawangdui (B), 26–34.

79 Although at this time, the earliest extant wall painting in a Han tomb is that of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou

Municipality, Guangdong]), that painting consists only of stylized vines (*Nanyue*, vol. 2, Col. Pl. 1). As precedent, we now have only whitewashed, plastered walls in the horse and carriage pit no. 1 of the Warring States tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan (Sanji [Pingshan, Hebei] M1, d. 309 BC), where no décor has been perceived (Hebeisheng, *Cuo mu*, vol. 1, 38). Traces of pigment have been found in the northern chamber of King Cuo's boat pit, associated with fragments believed to be from mats. It is unclear whether the walls of the chamber or the mats were painted (Hebeisheng, *Cuo mu*, vol. 1, 45).

80 *Mawangdui* (B), 26–31.

81 *Mawangdui* (B), 32–4.

82 *Mawangdui* (B), 62.

83 Anon., “Shandong Feicheng Han huaxiang shi mu diaocha,” *WWCKZL* 1958.4, 35, fig. 1; 36, fig. 2.

84 Cf. the carved décor on the wood box tomb from the undatable Dongyang (Xuyi, Jiangsu) M1, Nanjing, “Jiangsu Xuyi Dongyang,” *KG* 1979.5, Pl. 4:1, 4.

85 Liaoningsheng, “Liaoyang jiucheng Dongmenli,” *WW* 1985.6, 36, fig. 40; 37, fig. 41–3; 38, fig. 44–6; 39, fig. 48.

86 E.g., Wangcun (Xiaxian, Shanxi), Shanxisheng, “Shanxi Xiaxian Wangcun,” *WW* 1994.8, 39, fig. 11 (original), 12 (reconstruction).

87 Liu/Yue, *Han Dynasty Stone Reliefs*, 82–3, top; 102, top,

respectively.

88 Liu/Yue, *Han Dynasty Stone Reliefs*, 16, 18–29, 34–9, 42–8 (Wu Liang Shrine); 92–3 (Left Shrine).

89 Anon., “Shandong Feicheng,” *WWCKZL* 1958.4, 36, fig. 2 (which I will designate here as stone 1); 35, fig. 1 (here, stone 2).

90 We can only speculate about the effect of these different methods of production on production time and, hence, cost. I assume that removing stone from the background would require more work. Nonetheless, there are many examples of the negative background technique being used to execute simple images. Thus, cost might reasonably have depended more on compositional complexity. Certainly, a number of other factors which have left no trace to our eyes would also have had an impact: *inter alia*, availability of materials, type of material (including variety of stone), availability of artisans, deadlines, customization of work, individual commissions, etc. For this reason, any conclusions we may be tempted to make about cost must remain speculative.

91 E.g., William Charles White, *Tomb Tile Pictures of Ancient China* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1939); also Huang Minglan, ed., *Luoyang Han huaxiang zhuan* (N.P.: Henan meishu, 1986), 32, 126, 130, etc.

92 Zhongguo meishu, *Huihua bian*, vol. 18, 15, Pl. 18.

93 Zhongguo meishu, *Huihua bian*, vol. 18, 51, Pl. 61.

94 Zhu Xilu, *Jiaxiang*, 36–8, fig. 43–5 (Songshan “M1” stones 1–3); 40–3, fig. 47–50 (Songshan “M1” stones 5–8); 50–3, fig. 62–5 (Songshan stones “M2” 14–17); 27, fig. 28 (Suijiazhuang); 61, fig. 78

(Nanwushan stone 1); 62, fig. 79 (Nanwushan stone 2); 63, fig. 80 (Nanwushan stone 3); 64–5, fig. 81–4 (Qishan stones 1–3); 75, fig. 100 (Xunzicun); 77, fig. 104 (Hualincun).

95 Liaocheng diqu, “Shandong Yangguxian Balimiao,” WW 1989.8, 51–4, fig. 7–12.

96 Jiaxing diqu, “Zhejiang Haining,” WW 1983.5, 16, fig. 44–5, stones North 7, 8.

97 Leshanshi yaimu bowuguan, “Sichuan Leshanshi Tuogouzui Dong Han yaimu qingli jianbao,” WW 1993.1, 48–9, fig. 23.

98 Henansheng wenwu yanjiusuo, *Mixian Dahuting Hanmu* (Beijing: WW, 1993), e.g., 97, fig. 73; Pl. 4, 5, 12, 13.

99 Hebeisheng, “Hebei Yangyuanxian Beiguan,” WW 1991.4, 43, fig. 16.

100 The Chinese Culture Center, San Francisco, *Stories from China's Past: Han Dynasty Pictorial Tomb Reliefs and Archaeological Objects from Sichuan Province, People's Republic of China*. Exhibit catalogue (San Francisco: The Chinese Culture Foundation of San Francisco, 1987), 122, Pl. 34.

101 Such as the Left Wu Family Shrine, Liu/Yue, *Han Dynasty Stone Reliefs*, 112; the Wu Liang Shrine, *ibid.*, 41, top; Songshan “M2,” Zhu Xilu, *Jiaxiang*, 50–3, fig. 62–5.

102 Examples include Lao Laizi in the Front Wu Family Shrine, Liu/

103 For instance, *Zhongguo meishu, Huihua bian*, vol. 18, 165, Pl. 203, Bolong (Deyang, Sichuan), riders; 167, Pl. 206, Sanjie (Pengxian, Sichuan), immortals; 178, Pl. 225, Taiping (Pengxian, Sichuan), acrobats; 179, Pl. 226, Anren (Dayi, Sichuan), banquet; all, stamped brick.

104 E.g., *Zhongguo meishu, Huihua bian*, vol. 18, 184, Pl. 234, Sanjie (Pengxian, Sichuan), fishing; 186, Pl. 239, Yangzishan (Chengdu, Sichuan), salt mining; 189, Pl. 244, Xindu (Sichuan), market scene; all, stamped brick.

105 E.g., Tomb of Wang Deyuan, Shaanxisheng bowuguan, *Shaanbei*, 24–5, Pl. 14–5; *Zhongguo meishu, Huihua bian*, vol. 18, 66, Pl. 77, Tingjiacha (Suide, Shaanxi).

106 *Zhongguo meishu, Huihua bian*, vol. 18, 62, Pl. 72.

107 Zhu Xilu, *Jiaxiang*, 76, fig. 101.

108 Tomb of Wang Deyuan (Suide, Shaanxi), Shaanxisheng bowuguan, *Shaanbei*, 21–2, Pl. 10–11; unidentified tombs in Suide, *ibid.*, 86, Pl. 78; 88–93, Pl. 80–6; 94, Pl. 88. Some of these are fantastic hunts, with feline prey (*ibid.*, 89, Pl. 81; 91, Pl. 84; 94, Pl. 88). At least some of these scenes probably invoke paradise, as suggested by the immortal and fabulous animals interspersed with hunters and deer in the panel reproduced on p. 92, Pl. 85.

109 *Zhongguo meishu, Huihua bian*, vol. 18, 31, Pl. 35 (fishing); 44, Pl. 53 (hunting).

110 Nanjing bowuyuan, Peixian wenhuaguan, “Dong Han Pengcheng xiang Miao Yu mu,” *WW* 1984.8, 25, fig. 7–8.

111 Both the Guanghan (Sichuan) and Dahuting (Mixian, Henan) examples are provided by Chinese Culture Center, *Stories from China's Past*, 113 (text by Martin J. Powers); 112–3, Pl. 26; Henansheng, *Mixian Dahuting*, 105–6, fig. 80–1.

112 Xinye (Henan), Wang Baoxiang, “Henan Xinye,” *KG* 1964.2, 91, fig. 1, 3–5. See also Fanji (Xinye, Henan), Henansheng, “Xinye Fanji,” *KGXB* 1990.4, 503, supplemental fig. 31-3 (M23, 28, 39, respectively); 506, supplemental fig. 6:1-3 (M38, 25, 35, respectively), all undated.

113 Zhengzhoushi bowuguan, Zhang Xiuqing, “Henan Zhengzhou xin faxiande Handai huaxiang zhuan,” *WW* 1988.5, 61–7.

114 Yichang diqu, “Hubei Dangyang Banyue,” *WW* 1991.12, 70, fig. 11–4; 71, fig. 16–7, especially.

115 Jiaxing diqu, “Zhejiang Haining,” *WW* 1983.5, 14, fig. 37–9, stones East 10–12.

116 Nanyang diqu wenwu gongzuodui, Dengxian wenhuaguan, “Henan Dengxian faxian Han kongxin huaxiang zhuan,” *KG* 1982.3, 324, fig. 1 (photo); 325, fig. 2, top (rubbing), Yaodian (Dengxian, Nanyang Municipality, Henan); Chinese Culture Center, *Stories from China's Past*, 173, fig. 20.

117 Hebeisheng, “Hebei Dingxian Beizhuang,” *KGXB* 1964.2, 152, 155–9. Had the Beizhuang stone blocks been inscribed only with a place name, we might have conjectured that these places paid for the stone rather than offering it in kind. However, several of the stones were labelled not only with place-names, but with *shi* (石, “stone”),

often also identifying the mason (*gong* [工]) as the block's producer (*zuo* [作]). This precision seems to imply that the stones were shipped from geographically dispersed quarries.

118 Even at Songshan (Jiaxiang, Shandong) “M1,” as in stones 1, 2, and 4: Zhu Xilu, *Jiaxiang*, 36, fig. 43; 37, fig. 44; 39, fig. 46, respectively.

119 *Zhongguo meishu*, *Huihua bian*, vol. 18, 185, Pl. 237, stamped brick, jugglers, Jiuchipu (Pengxian, Sichuan); 114, Pl. 133, carved stone, entertainer, Cuizhuang (Nanyang, Henan); 159, Pl. 194, stamped brick, laborers, Bolong (Deyang, Sichuan); Haining (Zhejiang), Jiaxing diqu, “Zhejiang Haining,” *WW* 1983.5, 14, fig. 37–9, carved stone, jugglers; Zhu Xilu, *Jiaxiang*, 76, fig. 101, carved stone, the man making the wheel, Hongshan (Jiaxiang, Shandong).

120 This is especially visible in banquet and homage scenes: *inter alia*, Feicheng (Shandong), Anon., “Shandong Feicheng Han huaxiang shi mu diaocha,” *WWCKZL* 1958.4, 35, fig. 1; Wangcun (Xiachuan, Shanxi), Shanxisheng, “Shanxi Xiachuan Wangcun,” *WW* 1994.8, 39, fig. 11 (original painting), 12 (reconstruction).

121 Chinese Culture Center, *Stories from China's Past*, 115; *Zhongguo meishu*, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 202, Pl. 238.

122 Cf. the gilded bronze horse from the burial goods pit of the unnamed tumulus near Maoling (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi), Xianyang diqu, “Shaanxi Maoling,” *WW* 1982.9, 14, fig. 45; Pl. 1; also in *Zhongguo meishu*, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 178, Pl. 208; 152–153, Pl. 177, bronze, dynastic Qin, from the burial goods pits at Qin Shihuangdi's tomb, Lintong (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi), is similar.

123 No article, *KGYWW* 1981.4, frontispiece, no. 2; also *Zhongguo meishu*, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 180, Pl. 212.

124 Xie Chongkun, “Yunnan Zhaotong chutu Handai ‘ren lu tongzuo’,” *KG* 1986.3, 280, fig. 1.

125 Chinese Culture Center, *Stories from China's Past*, 14–15, Col. Pl. 2–3 (Pixian); 132–5, Pl. 42 (Pixian), fig. 6 (Xindu), 7 (unspecified).

126 Chinese Culture Center, *Stories from China's Past*, 143, Pl. 48 (Chengdu); 144, Pl. 49 (Pengxian).

127 Nanyang diqu, “Henan Fangchengxian Chengguanzhen,” *WW* 1984.3, 39, fig. 3.

128 Shaanxisheng bowuguan, *Shaanbei*, 31, Pl. 21.

129 Luoyang, “Luoyang Jianxi Qilihe,” *KG* 1975.2, Pl. 11:1, 2.

130 Luoyangshi, “Luoyang Miaonan,” *WW* 1994.7, 41, fig. 13:2; Col. Pl. insert 1:2.

131 Chengdushi, “Sichuan Chengdu Zengjiabao,” *WW* 1981.10, 27, fig. 4, 5 (M1); Pl. 4:1, 3–4 (M2).

132 Liu/Yue, *Han Dynasty Stone Reliefs*, 140–2.

133 Zhu Xilu, *Jiaxiang*, 44, fig. 51.

134 Including: Zhu Xilu, *Jiaxiang*, 66, fig. 85 (Wulaowa, stone 1); 68, fig. 88 (Wulaowa, stone 4), 89 (Wulaowa, stone 5); 70, fig. 91 (Wulaowa, stone 7); 76, fig. 102 (Hongshan, stone 2); 87, fig. 126 (Zhifangzhen, stone 1), 127 (Zhifangzhen, stone 2); all, undatable. For Wulaowa, see also Jiaxiangxian wenguansuo, Zhu Xilu, “Jiaxiang Wulaowa faxian yipi Han huaxiang shi,” *WW* 1982.5, 71–8. For Jiaxiang in general, see also: Shandong Jiaxiangxian wenwu guanlisuo, Li Shixing, “Ji Shandong Jiaxiang faxiande yipi Han huaxiang shi – jiantan youguan wenti,” *KGWW* 1988.3, 21–7, 33; Pl. 1.

135 Zhongguo meishu, *Huihua bian*, vol. 18, 58, Pl. 68.

136 Liu Peigui, Zheng Fang, Wang Yan, “Zoucheng chutu Dong Han huaxiang shi,” *WW* 1994.6, 32–6.

137 Zhu Xilu, *Jiaxiang*, 96, Pl. 140–1 (Shencun, stones 1–2, respectively); 104, Pl. 157–9 (Tuanlixiang kuangshan, stones 3–5); both, Jiaxiang (Shandong), carved stone, undatable.

138 Xuzhoushi bowuguan, *Xuzhou Han huaxiang shi* (N.P.: Jiangsu meishu, 1985), Pl. 162 (Jiawang [Tongshan]), 176 (Taishang [Tongshan]), 254 (Zhangxu [Peixian]), 262 (Baishan [Peixian]), 263 (Peixian); all, Xuzhou Municipality (Jiangsu); all, stone, undatable.

139 Nanyang diqu, “Tanghe,” *KGXB* 1980.2, 244, fig. 8; 250, fig. 17–8; 251, fig. 19–22.

140 Shaanxisheng bowuguan, *Shaanbei*, 84, Pl. 76; 85, Pl. 77.

141 Shanxisheng, “Shanxi Lishi Mamaozhuang,” *WW* 1992.4, 34–7, fig. 54–62.

142 Henansheng, *Mixian Dahuting*, 314–15, fig. 218–19 (stone; rubbing, drawing, respectively); Col. Pl. 1–5 (paint); An Jinhuai, Wang Yugang, “Mixian Dahuting Handai huaxiang shi mu he bihua mu,” *WW* 1972.10, Pl. 7:4 (photograph of the same stonework just cited, identified by this source as from M1).

143 *Mawangdui* (A), vol. 2, Pl. 38–57, 27–31. The coffin has a black ground with cream, amber, brown, and red décor; the color is best seen in Li Zhengguang, *Handai qiqi yishu* (Beijing: WW, 1987), Pl. 33–76, but no complete view is given. Note that otherwise, most of this book's illustrations are paintings reconstructing lacquer décor. For selected drawings, see Sun Zuoyun, “Mawangdui yihao Han mu qiguan hua kaoyi,” *KG* 1973.4, 247–54.

144 Significantly, many common elements of Han and, indeed, preimperial décor are foreign in origin. See Sophia-Karin Psarras, “Sources of Han Décor” (forthcoming).

Chapter 4

1 The context in which the northern Vietnamese *thap* occurs is still only vaguely dated, but must be assumed at least partially contemporaneous with the Han, given the close ties evident between Vietnam and the Han-era south and southwest, both Chinese and non-Chinese. No prototypes for the bucket have otherwise been advanced. See also Higham, *The Bronze Age of Southeast Asia*, 113, 118, 129, and 132; cf. Sophia-Karin Psarras, “Rethinking the Non-Chinese Southwest,” *Artibus Asiae* 60.1 (2000), 5–58.

2 The choice of eight as a significant number is quite arbitrary.

3 Single-example types are: *hu* 1, 13, 16–18, 22, 29, 40, 47–9, 58, 72, 73, 88, 99, 111, 114, 115, 120, 127, 128, 131, 135; *guan* 3, 26–8, 32–

4, 38, 50, 54, 55, 60, 65, 66, 70, 73, 75, 77–9, 110–12, 115, 118, 119, 164, 171, 173, 179, 188, 190, 193, 197, 199, 203, 206, 210, 214, 238, 239, 243–5, 249, 256, 259, 262, 266, 271–3, 282, 284, 289, 290, 295, 298, 303; *ding* 7, 9, 11, 12, 19, 20, 23, 29, 30, 42–4, 51, 52, 54, 61, 65–7, 71, 72, 75, 84–7, 94–7, 99, 100, 103, 104.

4 For Qin examples, see Miyang (Henan), Zhumadian diqu, “Henan Miyang,” *WW* 1980.9, 23, fig. 19, ca. 219–210 BC; see also Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi), Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 121, fig. 112:5–10; Pl. 17:3–6; Pl. 18:1–2, bronze-imitating earthenware, bodies deeper than the Miyang example, assigned to the Late Warring States and dynastic Qin (*ibid.*, insert after p. 264, fig. 213; 286). In a Han context, in bronze, resembling the Miyang piece, see Xunyang (Shaanxi), Xunyangxian, “Xunyang,” *KG* 1989.6, 105, fig. 1:3.

5 For Qin examples, see Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi), Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 121, fig. 112:11–2; Pl. 18:3–4, Late Warring States and dynastic Qin (*ibid.*, insert after p. 264, fig. 213; 286). Han examples of the “cocoon” *hu* include: Zifangshan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1, Xuzhou, “Jiangsu Xuzhou Zifangshan,” *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 61, fig. 4:10 (M1); fig. 4:9 (M2); fig. 4:11 (M3); Yinqueshan (Linyi Municipality, Shandong) M4:14, Shandongsheng, “Linyi Yinqueshan,” *KG* 1975.6, 366, fig. 5:1; Taolou (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M3:13, Xuzhou, “Xuzhoushi dongjiao Taolou,” *KG* 1993.1, 17, fig. 4:4; Houloushan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), Xuzhou, “Xuzhou Houloushan,” *WW* 1993.4, 33, fig. 6:9 (XHM1:72); fig. 6:16 (XHM1:64); fig. 6:21 (XHM1:124); Jiangshan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), Jiang Shanxiu, “Jiangsusheng Tongxian Jiangshan,” *WWZLCK* 1 (1977), 107, fig. 6 (12 examples); Jiulishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1:33, Xuzhou, “Jiangsu Xuzhou Jiulishan,” *KG* 1994.1, 1064, fig. 3:5; Kuishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), Xuzhou, “Jiangsu Xuzhou Kuishan,” *KG* 1974.2, Pl. 7:4, 5 (2 examples); Mishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M4:18, Xuzhoushi, “Jiangsu Xuzhoushi Mishan,” *KG* 1996.4, 39, fig. 6:4; and Suizhou (Hubei), Suizhoushi, “Hubei Suizhoushi,” *WW* 1989.8, 46, fig. 6.

6 For Qin examples dated to the Early-to-Late Warring States, see Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi), Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*,

7 Chinese archaeologists sometimes consider the shape identified here as *mou* to be a kind of *fu*: Teng Mingyu, “Lun Qin fu,” *KG* 1995.8, 732, fig. 1, item 1; Song Zhimin, “Shilun Shu wenhua he Ba wenhua,” *KGXB* 1999.2, 132, fig. 6, items 2–4. Although adopted by Qin, the *fu* is considered the product of the Ba culture in western Hubei. Despite Song Zhimin’s conclusion that Ba is recognizable from the beginning of the Bronze Age onward (Song Zhimin, *KGXB* 1999.2, 131), the date of origin for Ba remains unclear to me. Song dates the earliest *fu* to the Shang dynasty, ca. 15–11 c. BC (Song Zhimin, *KGXB* 1999.2, 135); however, the form is common from the Eastern Zhou, ca. 770–221 BC. Cf. also Li Xueqin, *Eastern Zhou and Qin Civilizations*, 226, 213, identifying *mou* and *fu* with Late Warring States (ca. 3 c. BC) Qin and Shu. See also *fu* from the Zaoshi (Shimen, Hunan) habitation site, dated by its excavators to the Shang: Hunansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, “Hunan Shimen Zaoshi Shangdai yicun,” *KGXB* 1992.2, 196, fig. 10:11, 14, 15.

8 As defined in the Bronze Age, see von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 531 (*hu*); 49, 524 (*ding*).

9 As defined for the Han era, see Michèle Pirazzoli-t’Serstevens, “The Art of Dining in the Han Period: Food Vessels from Tomb No. 1 at Mawangdui,” *Food and Foodways*, vol. 4 (3 + 4) (1991), 218.

10 Von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 183, notes that, beginning in the Early Western Zhou (ca. 11–10 c. BC), *guan* occur among burial goods in earthenware, but rarely in bronze. For bronze *guan*, see *Zhongguo meishu*, *Qingtongqi (shang)*, 56, Pl. 60, Late Shang, western section, Yinxu (Anyang, Henan); *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou (2)*, 95, Pl. 107, Late Springs–Autumns, no provenance, Freer Gallery (Washington, D.C.); Hubeisheng, *Zeng hou Yi mu*, vol. 2, Pl. 75:1, tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng (Leigudun [Suizhou Municipality, Hubei] M1), d. 433 BC, C-229.

11 Xuzhou, “Xuzhou Shiqiao,” *WW* 1984.11, 27, fig. 19, 23; 28, fig. 24:1–4; 29, fig. 28.

12 Cf. von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 49–50.

13 Xinxiangshi, “Henan Xinxiang Wulingcun,” *KGXB* 1990.1, Pl. 17:6.

14 E.g., most of *ding* 83 and 88, except for Tangshan (Nanchang Municipality, Jiangxi) M3, Jiangxisheng, “Jiangxi Nanchang,” *KG* 1981.5, Pl. 10:6 (*ding* 83), and Wulipai (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M007, Hunansheng, “Changsha Wulipai,” *WW* 1960.3, 41, fig. 5 (*ding* 88) published as a *he* pitcher.

15 E.g., Hetoushan (Wuzhou Municipality, Guangxi) M1, Wuzhoushi, “Guangxi Wuzhoushi Hetoushan,” *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 138, fig. 9 (*ding* 88).

16 *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 12: *Qin, Han*, 69, Pl. 67.

17 Gao/Jia, “Han chuping yuannian,” *WW* 1987.6, 72, fig. 1–2.

18 *Zhongzhoulu*, 41, fig. 21:1.

19 *Lolang*, vol. 1, 226, fig. 62.

20 *Guan* with soot: Shangjiao (Lintong, Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M18:38C, Qinyong, “Lintong Shangjiaocun,” *KGYYWW* 1980.2, 46, fig. 5:13, bronze *mou*, *guan* 4; Luobowan (Guixian,

Guangxi) M1:38, *Luobowan*, Pl. 14:3, bronze *mou*, *guan* 39; Xichang (Liangshan, Sichuan) M101, *Liangshanzhou*, “Sichuan Liangshan Xichang,” *KG* 1990.5, 423, fig. 9:2, earthenware *mou*, *guan* 141; Shangsunjiazhai (Datong, Qinghai) *M153:4, earthenware, *Shangsunjiazhai*, Pl. 47:5. *Ding* with soot: +Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) E13, earthenware, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 233, fig. 160:1, *ding* 20; Dongjiazhuang (Laixi, Shandong) M1, bronze, Laixixian, “Laixixian Dongjiazhuang,” *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 186, fig. 3, *ding* 38; Ju'nan (Shandong), bronze, Wu Ruiji, “Shandong Ju'nanxian,” *WW* 1995.8, 36, fig. 1, *ding* 56.

21 +Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) C88, C89, with carbonized food, *Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 65:2, left (C88, earthenware, *guan* 40); Pl. 65:2, right (C89, earthenware, *ding* 41); Sujiayituo (Suide, Shaanxi), *guan* 239, earthenware, carbonized rice, Suidexian, “Shaanxi Suidexian,” *WW* 1983.5, 32, fig. 8:2.

22 *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 247, fig. 161; vol. 2, Col. Pl. 21; Pl. 168.

23 *Zhongguo taoci*, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 3, 147, Pl. 140

24 *Mancheng* (Hebei) M1:4326, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 49.

25 *Mancheng* (Hebei) M1:5176, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 58; 59, fig. 40:4.

26 *Mancheng* (Hebei) M1:4101, *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 52; 55, fig. 36:1–2.

27 *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 255, 258–261; vol. 2, Col. Pl. 23.

28 Converting volume according to Twitchett and Loewe, *The*

29 *Shaogou*, 156–9, table 26.

30 E.g., Luoyang Post and Cable Office (Luoyang Municipality, Henan), Luoyangshi, “Luoyang youdianju,” *WW* 1994.7, 31, fig. 18.

31 Luoyangshi, “Luoyang youdianju,” *WW* 1994.7, 31, fig. 18:12 (IM372:66); 27, fig. 10:5 (IM372:73). Contents are not reported.

32 *Zhongguo taoci*, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 3, 147, Pl. 140, reading “*ji ci*” as “auspicious sacrifices,” hence good luck.

33 *Shaogou*, 169.

34 *Shaogou*, 98, fig. 49:14.

35 *Zhongzhoulu*, 133, fig. 102:4.

36 Gao/Jia, “Han chuping yuannian,” *WW* 1987.6, 72, fig. 1–2.

37 Jiningshi, “Shandong Jining Shizhuan,” *WW* 1992.9, 28.

38 Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, “De l'efficacité plastique à la productivité: les grès porcelaineux du Jiangnan aux IIIe-IVe siècles de notre ère,” *T'oung Pao*, vol. LXXXIV (1998), 48–9, also adopting a ca. AD early-3rd through early-4th c. date; 46, fig. 5:3–7, for illustrations.

39 Haoba (Shangyu, Zhejiang) M52:1, Wang Yuxian, “Zhejiang Shangyu Haoba,” *WW* 1983.6, 43, fig. 9.

40 *Shaogou*, 110, fig. 53:4.

41 Yang/Xie, “Shaanxi Ansaixian Wangjiawan,” *KG* 1995.11, 1047, fig. 1:9.

42 *Longshou*, 41, fig. 23:5.

43 *Shaogou*, 108, fig. 52:3.

44 Chengdushi, “Chengdu Fenghuangshan,” *WW* 1992.1, 91, fig. 5:7.

45 Luoyang, “Luoyang Jingyuan,” *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 169, fig. 19:5.

46 *Shaogou*, 108, fig. 52:7.

47 Yangzhou, “Jiangsu Hanjiangxian Yangshouxiang Baonüdu,” *WW* 1991.10, 49, fig. 29:6.

48 For other small vessels, see also *Shaogou*, 108, fig. 52:1 (M7:16, *hu* 62), 2 (M2:29, unclassified), 4 (M31:9, *hu* 65), 5 (M143:5, unclassified), 6 (M16:6, *hu* 74), 8 (M137:11, unclassified), 9 (M59A:37, *hu* 100), 10 (M1040:11, *hu* 74); 110, fig. 53:3 (M1001:4, not classified), 5 (M1004A:28, not classified), 6 (M1020:47, unclassified), 7 (M146:19, *guan* 299).

49 *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 250.

50 *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 249, fig. 193:1 and vol. 2, Pl. 169:2, M2:3042, *hu*; vol. 1, 249, fig. 193:2 and vol. 2, Pl. 170:3, left, M2:3054, *ding*; vol. 1, 249, fig. 3 and vol. 2, Pl. 170:3, right, M2:3048, *yan*; vol. 1, 249, fig. 193:4 and vol. 2, Pl. 170:1, M2:3029, *fanghu*); 270, fig. 182:4 and vol. 2, Pl. 188:1, M2:3019, *bianhu*; 248–50 identifies all except the *bianhu* as *mingqi*; 265 describes the *bianhu*, but does not identify it as a *mingqi*; vol. 2, Pl. 170:5, M2:3038, *yan*.

51 *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 250, fig. 164 (M2:3043, with handle), 165 (M2:3112, no handles); vol. 2, Pl. 170:2 (M2:3112).

52 *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 249.

53 With fewer highly decorated items than M1, *Mancheng* M2 nonetheless yielded bronzes, including the gilded Changxin Palace lamp (M2:4035; *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 259, fig. 173; vol. 2, Col. Pl. 23; Pl. 177), two pre-Han *hu* (M2:4028, 4029; *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 247, fig. 161 [M2:4028]; 248, fig. 162 [M2:4029]; vol. 2, Col. Pl. 21 [M2:4028]; Pl. 168 [M2:4028], 169:1 [M2:4029]), a mountain-lidded incense burner, *boshanlu* (M2:3004; *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 256–7, fig. 170–1; vol. 2, Col. Pl. 22; Pl. 175), a gilded and inlaid double cup stand (M2:3032; *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 267, fig. 179; vol. 2, Col. Pl. 25; Pl. 182), a pair of gilded, silver-plated, and inlaid weights in the form of leopards (M2:3056–7; *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 268, fig. 180; vol. 2, Col. Pl. 26; Pl. 183), etc.

54 *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 265.

55 *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 77, fig. 51:2 (M1:4016, “bottle-shaped”), 3 (M1:4017, *guan* with handle), 4 (M1:4263, basin), 5 (M1:4377, basin); vol. 2, Pl. 40:1 (M1:4263, basin), 2 (M1:4377, basin), 3 (left, M1:4017, *guan* with handle; right, M1:4016, “bottle-shaped” piece).

57 Vessel types including bronze: *hu* 8, 9, 14, 15, 18, 19, 23–6, 45, 53, 61, 63, 66, 68, 75–7, 86, 93, 98, 101, 102, 108–10, 113, 125; *guan* 3, 4, 37, 39–41, 74, 140, 141, 171, 172, 193, 283, 306; *ding* 1–3, 13–15, 17, 18, 22, 24–7, 29, 31, 34, 36–40, 53, 55, 56, 73, 74, 76–81, 83, 88, 92, 95, 100.

58 *Ding* 11: Mawangdui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) M1:66, *Mawangdui* (A), vol. 1, 123, fig. 107:1, earthenware, body with engobe décor, lid lacquered; *ding* 45: Houma (Shanxi) M4:4, Shanxisheng, “1990-nian Shanxi Houma,” *WW* 1993.7, 47, fig. 8:1, earthenware, engobe décor; *ding* 50: Panmiao (Jining Municipality, Shandong) M15:8, Guojia wenwuju, “Shandong Jining jiaoqu Panmiao,” *WW* 1991.12, 59, fig. 24:7, earthenware, engobe décor; *ding* 60: Wuling (Xinxiang Municipality, Henan) M39:5, Xinxiangshi, “Henan Xinxiang Wulingcun,” *KGXB* 1990.1, 112, fig. 12:16, earthenware, engobe décor; *ding* 61: Luoyang Post and Cable Office (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM372:80, Luoyangshi, “Luoyang youdianju,” *WW* 1994.7, 28, fig. 11:6, earthenware; *ding* 74: Longshou Military Base (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M9:3, Zhang et al., “Xi'an beijiao Longshoucun,” *KGYYW* 1992.6, 26, fig. 7:1; *Longshou*, 93, fig. 128:4, earthenware, engobe décor; *ding* 76: Longshou Military Base (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M10:3, Zhang et al., “Xi'an beijiao Longshoucun,” *KGYYW* 1992.6, 26, fig. 7:3, earthenware, engobe décor; *ding* 77: Fangxin (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M6:13, Cheng et al., “Xi'anshi Weiyangqu,” *KGYYW* 1992.5, 27, fig. 5:5, glazed earthenware, stamped décor; *ding* 79: Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) M92:22, Xi'anshi, “Xibei yiliao sheluechang Fuliqu 92-hao,” *KGYYW* 1992.5, 35, fig. 2:9, earthenware, engobe décor; *ding* 81: Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5036:24, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 436, fig. 271:5, bronze; *ding* 84: Northwestern Medical Equipment Factory (Fannan [Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi]) unnumbered tomb, Ni Zhijun, “Xibei yiliao sheluechang,” *KGYYW* 1992.5, 22, fig. 2:5, glazed earthenware, stamped décor; *ding* 92: Guolufang (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M7:1, Ma/Sun, “Xianyang jichang,” *KGYYW* 1992.2, 20, fig. 10:13, earthenware, engobe décor.

59 *Ding* 67: Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M136A:36, *Shaogou*, 116, fig. 55:6, earthenware; *ding* 68: Shaogou (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) M136A:35, *Shaogou*, 116, fig. 55:7, earthenware; *ding* 69: Jingyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) unnumbered tomb, Luoyang, “Luoyang Jingyuan,” *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 169, fig. 19:9, earthenware.

60 *Ding* 20: +Tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) E13, *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 233, fig. 160:1, earthenware, engobe décor; *ding* 42: Water Treatment Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M55:29, Shaanxisheng, “Xi'an jingshuichang,” *KGYWW* 1990.6, 49, fig. 6:1, glazed earthenware, stamped décor; *ding* 43: Zifangshan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M2, Xuzhou, “Jiangsu Xuzhou Zifangshan,” *WWZLCK* 4 (1981), 61, fig. 4:3, earthenware; *ding* 46: Houloushan (Tongshan, Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) XHM1:78, Xuzhou, “Xuzhou Houloushan,” *WW* 1993.4, 33, fig. 6:1, earthenware, engobe décor.

61 *Ding* 89: +Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5041:13, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 410, fig. 251:1, earthenware; *ding* 90: Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5076:2, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 410, fig. 251:2, earthenware; *ding* 97: Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5080:46, *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 410, fig. 251:3, glazed earthenware.

62 Guo Yong, “Shanxisheng Youyuxian,” *WW* 1963.11, 8, fig. 9.

63 Surface treatment of vessels has occasionally been used to distinguish between ceramics made for the living and those made for the dead. Margaret Medley and Julia White have maintained that Han lead-flux glazes were used only on funerary ware (Margaret Medley, *The Chinese Potter: A Practical History of Chinese Ceramics* [Oxford: Phaidon, 1989, third edition], 52; Julia M. White, Ronald Y. Otsuka, *Pathways to the Afterlife: Early Chinese Art from the Sze Hong Collection* [Denver: Denver Art Museum/University of Hawaii Press, 1993], 75, no. 31, entry by Julia White). Medley, in particular, cites the toxicity of lead. It is worth noting that, since 1971, the U.S. Food and Drug

Administration has regulated, but never banned, use of lead in glazes, even those applied to dishes (“Lead Hazard Reduction,” posted on www.dhs.wisconsin.gov/lead/doc/Porcelain%2520and%2520Ceramic2.pdf; “Lead in Ceramic Glazes: What Did We Learn?,”.pdf posted on http://digitalfire.com/4sight/hazards/ceramic_hazard_lead_un_ceramic_glazes_what_did_we_learn_368.html; for the FDA's November 19, 2010 “Guidance for Industry,” see www.fda.gov/consumers/consumerupdates/ucm233531.htm; see also “Lead in Dishware,” Center for Environmental Health, www.ceh.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=435&Itemid=274/).

Lead toxicity is probably a modern concern. Traditional methods of lacquer production are highly toxic (Alain Thote, class communication, EPHE [Paris], 1988). That modern preoccupations with toxicity cannot be superimposed on the past is made clear from the consumption of cinnabar (mercuric acid) by Han ascetics in search of immortality (Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, *La Chine des Han: histoire et civilisation* [Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1982], 195).

64 My thanks to my mother, Mary E. Psarras, a ceramist, for asking for this, and for her help with myriad technical questions involving ceramics.

65 Few ceramic pieces identify the kiln where they were produced. The inscription on the Guangzhou (Guangdong) M5065 brick with a date corresponding to AD 97 continues “made at Ganxi, long life and good fortune” (*Ganxi zao wan sui fu chang* [甘溪造萬歲富昌]) (*Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 381, fig. 235:4). A catalogue jointly published by the Guangzhou Museum and the Art Gallery, Chinese University of Hong Kong, identifies Ganxi as the site of an imperial kiln (Guangzhou bowuguan, Xianggangshan Zhongwen daxue wenwuguan, *Sui Gang Han mu chutu wenwu. Archaeological Finds from Han Tombs at Guangzhou and Hong Kong* [Hong Kong: Guangzhou bowuguan, Xianggangshan Zhongwen daxue wenwuguan, 1983], 242–3, no. 98A, identifying the site as Mayugang. For equivalence with Guangzhou M5065, see *Guangzhou*, vol. 1, 21). The inscription on a brick from Keshan (Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong), not included in the *Guangzhou* excavation report, follows the date of manufacture (equivalent to AD 104) with “[at] the Chen Cihua kiln, north of the Dongye Bridge” (*Dongye qiao bei Chen Cihua yao* [東冶橋北陳次華窯]), which the Guangzhou-Hong Kong catalogue identifies as a private kiln

(Guangzhou, *Sui Gang Han mu chutu wenwu*, 242–3, no. 98B).

66 Cf. Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, “De l'efficacité plastique,” *T'oung Pao*, vol. LXXXIV, 21.

67 Chongqingshi, “Chongqingshi Linjiangzhilu,” *KG* 1986.3, 232.

68 Wang Peixin, *Lelang wenhua*, 41, fig. 17:7.

69 Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 3, 147, Pl. 140.

70 Michael Loewe, “Social Distinctions, Groups and Privileges,” in *China's Early Empires*, eds. Nylan and Loewe, 303–4.

71 Loewe, *The Governance of the Qin and Han*, 154.

72 *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 57.

73 I omit *hu* 25 from this discussion since nine of its fourteen examples are of bronze.

74 Yeling (Gongxian, Henan), Gongxian, “Henan Gongxian Yelingcun,” *KG* 1974.2, 134, fig. 2, left; Jingyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM337:44, *WW* 1992.12, 13, fig. 11:4.

75 Heshanmiao (Yiyang, Hunan) M25:5, Hunansheng, “Hunan Yiyang,” *KGXB* 1981.4, Pl. 23:4; Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang)

(87)M12:13, Longyouxian, “Zhejiang Longyouxian Donghuashan,” *KG* 1990.4, 331, fig. 3:9; Zhu Tusheng, “Zhejiang Longyouxian Donghuashan,” *KG* 1993.4, 332, fig. 5:8 ([87]M12:13), fig. 5:7 (79M22:5), fig. 5:6 (89M28:3); Dongjiazhuang (Laixi, Shandong) M2, Laixixian, “Laixixian Dongjiazhuang,” *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 187, fig. 12.

76 Pingshan (Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M3:31, Yangzhou, “Yangzhou Pingshan,” *WW* 1987.1, 34, fig. 28:3, earthenware, glazed; + Huchang (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M5, Yangzhou, “Jiangsu Hanjiang Huchang wuhao,” *WW* 1981.11, 23, fig. 36 (two examples cited), earthenware, green glaze on upper portion of vessel; Qilidian (Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), Nanjing, “Jiangsu Yangzhou Qilidian,” *KG* 1962.8, Pl. 5:4 (two examples cited), earthenware, glazed; Shamaosi (Lianyungang Municipality, Jiangsu) LSM1:7, Lianyungangshi, “Lianyungang,” *WW* 1990.4, 81, fig. 2:4, earthenware, yellow-green glaze; Suzhou Northern Suburbs (Jiangsu) well SPJ5:2 (fragment), Suzhou, “Suzhou beijiao,” *KG* 1993.3, 258, fig. 6:2, earthenware; Tianbaodun (Suzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M27, Suzhou, “Tianbaodun,” *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 178, fig. 11, earthenware, glazed; Xupu (Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), Yangzhou, “Jiangsu Yizheng Xupu,” *WW* 1987.1, 15, fig. 34, M101:65, grey earthenware, yellow-green glaze; 15, fig. 33, M101:77, grey earthenware, yellow-green glaze; Yandaishan (Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) YYM1:20, Nanjing, “Jiangsu Yizheng Yandaishan,” *KGXB* 1987.4, 482, fig. 11:5, vitreous earthenware, high fired; Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M2:22, Anhuisheng, “Wuhushi Hejiayuan,” *KGXB* 1983.3, Pl. 23:4, vitreous grey earthenware, yellow-green glaze, relatively high fired; Sanjiaoyu (Tianchang, Anhui) M10:2, Anhuisheng, “Anhui Tianchangxian Sanjiaoyu,” *WW* 1993.9, 4, fig. 6:5, earthenware; M17:7, *WW* 1993.9, 3, fig. 4:8, earthenware; Tianchang (Anhui) M9:22, Anhuisheng, “Anhui Tianchangxian,” *KG* 1979.4, 326, fig. 14:3, argillaceous but slightly grainy grey earthenware, light yellow-green glaze; Water Treatment Plant (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi) M55:36, Shaanxisheng, “Xi'an jingshuichang,” *KGYYW* 1990.6, 49, fig. 6:11, vitreous earthenware, red-brown glaze.

77 In fact, *hu* 35 and *guan* 98 often appear together: Donghuashan (Longyou, Zhejiang) 79M22:3 (*hu* 35), 5 (*guan* 98), 89M28:15 (*hu* 35), 3 (*guan* 98), Zhu Tusheng, “Zhejiang Longyouxian Donghuashan,” *KG* 1993.4, 334, fig. 6:7 (*hu* 35); 332, fig. 5:7 (*guan* 98); 334, fig. 6:2 (*hu*

35); 332, fig. 5:6 (*guan* 98); Dongjiazhuang (Laixi, Shandong) M2, Laixixian, “Laixixian Dongjiazhuang,” *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 187, fig. 10, 11 (both, *hu* 35), 12 (*guan* 98); Hejiayuan (Wuhu Municipality, Anhui) M2:36 (*hu* 35), 22 (*guan* 98), Anhuisheng, “Wuhushi Hejiayuan,” *KGXB* 1983.3, Pl. 24:6 (*hu* 35), 23:4 (*guan* 98); Jingyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) IM337:62, 44, Luoyangshi, “Luoyang Jingyuan,” *WW* 1992.12, 13, fig. 11:5, 4; Qilidian (Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu), Nanjing, “Jiangsu Yangzhou Qilidian,” *KG* 1962.8, Pl. 5:7, 4; Tianbaodun (Suzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M27, Suzhou, “Tianbaodun,” *WWZLCK* 9 (1985), 178, fig. 7, 8 (both, *hu* 35), 11 (*guan* 98); Tianchang (Anhui) M9:25, 22, Anhuisheng, “Anhui Tianchangxian,” *KG* 1979.4, 326, fig. 14:4, 3; Xupu (Yizheng, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M101:74, 65, Yangzhou, “Jiangsu Yizheng Xupu,” *WW* 1987.1, 16, fig. 36; 15, fig. 34; Yeling (Gongxian, Henan), Gongxian, “Henan Gongxian Yelingcun,” *KG* 1974.2, 134, fig. 2, center, left.

78 For example, a Late Shang *fou* in the undated Han tomb at Laofushan (Nanchang Municipality Southern Suburbs, Jiangxi): Jiangxisheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, “Jiangxi Nanchang Laofushan Xi Han muguo mu,” *KG* 1965.6, 271, fig. 6; Pl. 3:2; cf. *Zhongguo meishu, Qingtongqi (shang)*, 67, Pl. 72, Taixi (Gaocheng, Hebei). Also the Late Western Zhou *xu* [*character unreproducible*] in the undatable Han tomb at Sandian (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi): Zhu Jieyuan, Li Yuzheng, “Xi'an dongjiao Sandiancun Xi Han mu,” *KGYYW* 1983.2, 24, fig. 2; Pl. 5:2; cf. *Zhongguo meishu, Qingtongqi (shang)*, 216, Pl. 240, no provenance, Shanghai Museum. For pre-Han objects in dated Han tombs, see [Table 3.1](#).

79 Vessel types with examples in stoneware or porcelain: *hu* 32, 34, 35, 39, 44, 96, 100, 116; *guan* 93, 98, 100, 101, 103, 142, 169, 170, 176, 230, 232, 246, 252, 259, 261, 265, 301, 303, 304, 305; *ding* 35.

80 Daniel Rhodes, *Clay and Glazes for the Potter* (Radnor, PA: Chilton Book Co., 1973 [revised edition]), 19. For “China stone” (*cishi* [瓷石]), primarily feldspar, added to clay bodies, cf. Pirazzoli-t-Serstevens, “De l’efficacité plastique,” *T’oung Pao*, vol. LXXXIV (1998), 24, 34–5; Medley, *The Chinese Potter*, 14.

81 Rhodes, *Clay and Glazes*, 18, 20, gives 1800 C as the maturation temperature for pure kaolin.

82 Zhao Qingyun, *Henan taoci shi*, 22; Col. Pl. 3:10; *Zhongguo taoci*, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 11; 31, Pl. 1, Gongxian (Henan), Xia; 47, Pl. 23, Zhengzhou (Henan), Shang; 49, Pl. 25, Anyang (Henan), Shang; Rhodes, *Clay and Glazes*, 50–1.

83 Zhao Qingyun, *Henan taoci shi*, 22.

84 Rhodes, *Clay and Glazes*, 50.

85 Ma Xilun, “Shandong Yishuixian Niulingbu,” *KG* 1993.10, 954, fig. 1:4.

86 Rhodes, *Clay and Glazes*, 52. Cf. Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, “De l'efficacité plastique,” *T'oung Pao*, vol. LXXXIV (1998), 35, noting the term *zijintu* (紫金土) for red clay.

87 Jiangxisheng, “Nanchang dongjiao,” *KGXB* 1976.2, 174; Pl. 1:6.

88 Rhodes, *Clay and Glazes*, 50, 53–5. See also Daniel Rhodes, *Stoneware and Porcelain: The Art of High-Fired Pottery* (New York: Chilton Book Co., 1959).

89 As with clay bodies, few analyses of Han glazes have been published. References to lead glazes refer to the use of lead as the flux (to lower firing temperature), not to coloring agents. Most excavation reports, however, describe glaze only in terms of appearance, primarily color. “Natural glaze” refers to ash, which may fall from the kiln onto the ware. “Silver glaze” indicates the iridescent silvery

appearance of green lead-based glazes which sometimes occurs after prolonged exposure to decomposing matter, as in the grave. “Proto-celadon” has emerged as an alternative to “celadon” (*qingci* [青瓷]), referring to any green/blue glaze other than the spinach-green associated with the use of lead, without implying the high firing temperature of celadon as such. Daniel Rhodes defines celadon as an iron oxide glaze fired in reduction (ferric Fe_2O_3 to ferrous FeO iron), which produces colors ranging from black to green; color is determined by additional minerals in the glaze compound (Rhodes, *Clay and Glazes*, 266). By this definition, some Han stoneware with green or green-grey glaze may indeed be termed celadon. High-fired ware with a luminous black glaze has been found at the kiln site of Zhangzishan (Shangyu, Zhejiang), but is not attested in my typologies. This glaze is composed of 4–5% ferric oxide (hematite) which the report authors maintain turned from green to black between 1200 and 2400 C (Baiguanzhen [Shangyu, Zhejiang], Zhejiangsheng, “Zhejiang Shangyuxian,” *WW* 1981.10, 33). Given the little known of Han kiln capacity, the lower end of this range must be assumed. “Tin slip” earthenware is discussed in Li Jianmao, “Changsha Chu Hanmu chutu xitude kaocha,” *KG* 1998.3, 71–5. Note that use of lacquer over earthenware is documented in my typologies through ca. AD 175, Fenghuangshan Park (Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan) M1:12, *guan* 263 (Chengdushi, “Chengdu Fenghuangshan,” *WW* 1992.1, 90, fig. 2:4). Clay body analysis has been published for Dabaotai (Beijing Municipality), but the objects tested are not identified by inventory number (*Dabaotai*, 120–1). No analysis of the black slip used on some of these pieces is provided.

90 He Fushun, “Shandong Jiexiangxian,” *KGYYW* 1988.3, 109, fig. 1:2.

91 Jiexiang (Shandong), He Fushun, “Shandong Jiexiangxian,” *KGYYW* 1988.3, 109, fig. 1:1, which provides analysis of the glaze as approximately 60% alumina (Al_2O_3), 30% silicic acid, 5% lead oxide, and 5% of both ferric oxide and copper oxide.

92 Zhao Qingyun, *Henan taoci shi*, 22; Col. Pl. 3:9; *Zhongguo taoci*, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 12, specifies a date of Middle Shang or earlier, with the greatest concentration in the Lower Yangzi and southeastern

coastal regions.

93 Rhodes, *Clay and Glazes*, 22.

94 Rhodes, *Clay and Glazes*, 22.

95 Medley, *The Chinese Potter*, 14.

96 Zhejiangsheng wenwu kaogusuo, Shangyuxian wenhuaguan, “Zhejiang Shangyuxian faxiande Dong Han ciyaozhi,” *WW* 1981.10, 35.

97 Zhenjiangshi bowuguan, Liu Xing, “Zhenjiang diqu chutude yuanshi qingci,” *WW* 1979.3, 57, analyzed shards of kaolin-based Springs and Autumns (ca. 771–475 BC) and Six Dynasties (ca. AD 221–557) high-fired ware. Firing temperatures for both were estimated to have been around 1300–1320 C. Liu Xing believes that temperatures of 1240–1260 C were more likely.

98 Cf. Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, “De l'efficacité plastique,” *T'oung Pao*, vol. LXXXIV (1998), 25.

99 Cf. Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, “De l'efficacité plastique,” *T'oung Pao*, vol. LXXXIV (1998), 24.

100 For the Springs and Autumns, see Zhenjiangshi bowuguan, “Zhenjiang diqu,” *WW* 1979.3, 56–7, Pl. 4–5. For the Han and later, see P. Hughes-Stanton, Rose Kerr, compilers, *Kiln Sites of Ancient China: Recent Finds of Pottery and Porcelain* (London: Oriental Ceramic Society, n.d. [ca. 1980]), 1.

101 Baiguanzhen (Shangyu, Zhejiang), Zhejiangsheng, “Zhejiang Shangyuxian,” WW 1981.10, 33–5, Pl. 5; Ningbo (Zhejiang), KG 1980.4, 343–6.

102 Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, “De l'efficacité plastique,” *T'oung Pao*, vol. LXXXIV (1998), 31–2.

103 Zhao Qingyun, *Henan taoci shi*, 156–7.

104 Hughes-Stanton, Kerr, *Kiln Sites of Ancient China*, 39 (Guangdong), 55 (Hunan), 61 (Sichuan), 63 (Anhui), 72 (Hebei), 79 (Henan), 91 (Shandong). No kilns are mentioned in Jiangsu or Hubei. For detailed studies of mostly post-Han kiln sites, see Wenwu bianji weiyuanhui, ed., *Zhongguo gudai yaozhi diaocha fajue baogao ji* (Beijing: WW, 1984). Today, the main centers of kaolin production for ceramics, sanitary works, and paper coating are in Guangdong, Guangxi, Fujian, Yunnan, Hebei, Henan, Jiangxi, and Jiangsu: I. R. Wilson, “Kaolin and Halloysite Deposits of China,” *Clay and Minerals*, vol. 39, no. 1 (March 2004), 1–15 (not seen); <http://claymin.geoscienceworld.org/content/39/1/1/>, with abstract (seen) and link to article (not seen).

105 Hu 32, 34–6, 39, 44, 96; *guan* 93, 98.

106 No distinctive Middle Yangzi vessel forms are classified here.

107 I will not discuss vessel décor in this work, except in the context of preimperial bronzes. Far South vessel décor, however, is so distinctive that its discovery in Shaanxi, for instance, immediately suggests that the vessels in question must have been imported. For examples of this, see “Han Chang'an cheng faxian liang Han jiaocang tongqi,” KG 1985.5, 401, 402, especially. For Far South décor, see Sophia-Karin Psarras, “The Han Far South,” *Asiatische Studien* 51.3 (1997), 757–86.

108 *Guan* 198, 201, Far South forms also documented in Hunan; *hu* 107, *guan* 230, a Far South form also attested in both Hunan and Hubei.

109 *Hu* 87, 97, 100, 126; *guan* 148, 156, 167, 247, 288.

110 Western non-Chinese vessel forms, however, are readily identifiable, as in *guan* 280–1, which, despite being much later, must represent the cultural influences that produced the singular *guan* 164.

111 Nationally distributed forms include: *hu* 23, whose shape is compatible with the formal tendencies of the Far South but whose origin is difficult to deduce; *hu* 25, 41, 98, 101; *guan* 167, 170.

112 *Han Yangling kaogu chenlie guan*, 18, Pl. 18.

113 *Longshou*, Pl. 15, lower right (M3:5); 61, upper right (M11:1); 60, lower right (M174:5).

114 *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 95:3 (M4018:29), 5 (M4015:17).

115 *Guangzhou*, vol. 2, Pl. 100:1 (M4039:45); 141:1 (M5029:11).

116 Weishanxian, “Shandong Weishanxian,” *KG* 1995.8, 693, fig. 7:4.

117 Xianyangshi, “Shaanxi Xianyang Maquan,” *KG* 1979.2, 129, fig. 5:3.

118 Chongqingshi wenhuaju, Hunansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, Wushanxian wenwu guanlisuo, “Chongqing Wushan Maituo Han muqun fajue baogao,” *KGXB* 1999.2, 162, fig. 11:1 (M39:7), 2 (M29:28), 6 (M38:23), 7 (M22:11).

119 I.e., Mancheng (Hebei) M1:4108, 119 BC (*Mancheng*, vol. 1, 50, fig. 32:1) and Xingping (Shaanxi) *hu* A and B, 103 BC (Liu/Zhu, “Han Maoling,” *WW* 1980.7. 93, fig. 2; 94, fig. 4), all bronze.

120 Yangzhou, “Jiangsu Hanjiang Huchang wuhao,” *WW* 1981.11, 23, fig. 39 (*guan* 92); 23, fig. 36 (*guan* 98).

121 Yangzhou, “Jiangsu Yizheng Xupu,” *WW* 1987.1, 16, fig. 38 (M101:11, *guan* 92); 15, fig. 34 (M101:65, *guan* 98).

122 Cf. *Zhongguo taoci*, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 107, Pl. 93, Fushan Orchard (Jurong, Jiangsu), supposedly Western Zhou; 164, Pl. 174, Deqing (Zhejiang); 165, Pl. 175, Xikou (Longyou, Zhejiang), Springs–Autumns; 167, Pl. 177, Kuanguangdun (Hefeng, Lishui, Jiangsu), Springs–Autumns; all, porcelaneous stoneware. In light of comparison to the Springs and Autumns examples, the Western Zhou date assigned to the Fushan Orchard piece seems too high. Cf. von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society*, 274.

123 See [Chapter 2](#) for the Far South and [Table 4.7](#) for specific comparisons, form by form. Note also that forms that appear characteristic of the Han Far South, as well as Han Lower Yangzi forms such as *hu* 33, continue in production through the Sui-Tang era: Quan Kuishan, “Zhongguo nanfang Sui Tang mude fenqu fenqi,” *KGXB* 1992.2, 164, fig. 10 (cf. Han Lower Yangzi); 174, fig. 16 (cf. Han Far South).

124 By pairing their illustrations, *Shaogou* recognizes the close resemblance between these pieces, *ding* and *dui*: *Shaogou*, Pl. 26:1–2

(M125:31, 32), 3–4 (M74:67, 47); 27:1–2 (M135:6, 7), 3–4 (M136A, 74:48). I have classified M74:67, 125:31, and 135:6 as *ding* 62; M136A:35, as *ding* 68. A further pair, *Shaogou*, Pl. 27:5–6 (M1034:20, 147:11), is not, to my eye, closely related. *Shaogou* M1034 remains undated. *Dui* from a number of other sites are closely related to *Shaogou* M1034:20: ca. 70 BC Shamaosi (Lianyungang Municipality, Jiangsu) LSM1:1, 2 (Lianyungangshi, “Lianyungang,” WW 1990.4, 81, fig. 2:6, 5), undated Dongyang (Xuyi, Jiangsu) M3:11, 12 (Nanjing, “Jiangsu Xuyi Dongyang,” KG 1979.5, 420, fig. 8:1, 4), ca. 70 BC Tianbaodun (Suzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M27 (Suzhou, “Tianbaodun,” WWZLCK 9 [1985], 179, fig. 15), +70 BC Huchang (Hanjiang, Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M5 (Yangzhou, “Jiangsu Hanjiang Huchang wuhao,” WW 1981.11, 23, fig. 37). The occurrence of like-*dui* and *ding* convinces me that at least some *dui* may be used for dating. I have nonetheless not included them in the typologies.

125 For Qin examples, see Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 100, fig. 99:3, *Renjiazui* (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M284:1, dynastic Qin.

126 Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 100, fig. 99:5, *Renjiazui* (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi) M217:3, dynastic Qin; 130, fig. 117:3 (M60:1, Middle Warring States), 9 (M221:2, Early Warring States).

127 Cf. *Zhongguo qingqongqi*, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 1, 120, Pl. 121, Erligang (Zhengzhou Municipality, Henan), Early Shang (ca. 15 c. BC); 127, Pl. 128, Baijiazhuang (Zhengzhou Municipality, Henan), Middle Shang (ca. 14 c. BC); 132, Pl. 133, Longtouzhen (Chenggu, Shaanxi), Middle Shang.

128 For other Qin examples, see Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 155, fig. 130:1 (M247:2, dynastic Qin), 2–5 (M97:1, 177:1, 257:3, 1, all Late Warring States).

129 Xianyangshi, *Renjiazui*, 127, fig. 115:6 (M25:2, Late Warring States, cf. *hu* 84); 135, fig. 120:1 (M181:3, Late Warring States, cf. *guan* 82), 2 (M234:3, Early Warring States, cf. *hu* 83), 3 (M215:3,

Middle Warring States, cf. *hu* 83), 12 (M225:5, Middle Warring States, cf. *guan* 16). All, Renjiazui (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi).

130 Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 99, Pl. 114. I am uncertain why this piece would be termed a *hu* rather than *lei* or *fou*.

131 Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (shang)*, 159, Pl. 174.

132 Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (shang)*, 178, Pl. 195.

133 E.g., Zhongguo qingtongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou* (2), 44, Pl. 49, *lei*.

134 E.g., M1004:11, Shanxisheng, “Shanxi Houma Shangma,” *WW* 1989.6, 9, fig. 11:2.

135 Zhongguo qingtongqi, *Zhongguo qingtongqi*, vol. 8: *Dong Zhou* (2), 160, Pl. 182, *fou*. It is unclear to me why this piece would be a *fou*, while the Jinsheng vessel noted above is classified as a *lei*.

136 Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (shang)*, 73, Pl. 80.

137 Henansheng wenwu yanjiusuo, Henansheng Danjiang kuqu fajuedui, Xichuanxian bowuguan, *Xichuan Xiasi Chunqiu Chu mu* (Beijing: WW, 1991), 42, fig. 34 and Pl. 16:3 (M36:3, Late Middle Springs-Autumns); 68, fig. 57 and Pl. 27:2 (M1:72, Early Middle Springs-Autumns); 224, fig. 166 (M3:6) and Pl. 81:3 (M3:5, Early Late Springs-Autumns); 244, fig. 181 and Pl. 91:2 (M4:4, Early Late Springs-Autumns); 252, fig. 187 and Pl. 95:1 (M10:39, Late Middle Springs-Autumns). Note that a bronze *lei* of the same type as the Jinsheng example excavated at Matougang (Qingyuan, Guangdong)

M1 is attributed to Chu, rather than northern China, because of the “hook and volute” surface décor. This attribution seems questionable to me. See Guangdongsheng *Guangdong chutu xian-Qin wenwu*, 229, supplemental illustration 6.

138 Hubeisheng, *Zeng hou Yi mu*, vol. 1, 436, fig. 3 (drawing); vol. 2, Pl. 162:2, right (photo).

139 Henansheng, *Xichuan Xiasi*, Pl. 53:2 (M2:55, Early Late Springs-Autumns).

140 E.g., Zhongguo taoci, *Zhongguo taoci*, vol. 2, 169, Pl. 180, Tangziyancun (Changhezhen, Xiaoshan Municipality, Zhejiang), Springs-Autumns; 179, Pl. 195, Shangxieshucun (Nanchixiang, Shaoxing, Zhejiang), Warring States; 183, Pl. 199, Yanshan (Chengguanzen, Shengxian, Zhejiang), Warring States; 185, Pl. 201, Nanshan, Pingshui Brick and Tile Factory (Shaoxing, Zhejiang), Warring States.

141 The circulation of pre-Han objects extends beyond vessels, as with the Warring States bronze *ge* with bird-shaped finial (counterweight) and a tiger incised on the blade, from the Ba-Shu region found at Dongquanhe (Laiwu Municipality, Shandong), Liu Weidong, “Shandong Laiwu Dongquanhecun,” *WW* 1993.12, 32, fig. 2:1–2; Pl. 2:2; recognized as such, 35. For comparison of blade décor, but not form, cf. Sichuansheng bowuguan, *Ba Shu qingtongqi*, 143, Pl. 169, Warring States, bronze, Luojuanian (Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan); for Ba-Shu use of the bird as finial, but not the finial form as such, see Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji bianji weiyuanhui, eds., *Zhongguo qingtongqi quanji*, vol. 13: *Ba Shu. Zhongguo meishu fenlei quanji* (Beijing: WW, 1994), 43, Pl. 49, Warring States, bronze, Qingyangxiaoku (Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan). Reuse of jade is readily documented where pieces can be seen to have been recut to fit a setting: as in headrests from Houloushan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) XHM1:136 (Xuzhou, “Xuzhou Houloushan,” *WW* 1993.4, 43, fig. 33:1, 3) and Mancheng (Hebei) M1:5188 (*Mancheng*, vol. 2, Col. Pl. 11; vol. 1, 262, recognizes this reuse), where parts of the original looped dragons have been cut off. Jade crescents from Mancheng are

also reworked from *bi* discs (*Mancheng*, vol. 1, 137, fig. 95:1–2, M1:5240, 5241; 138, discussion, M1; 295, discussion, M2; 296, fig. 199:6–7, M2:4011). The jade burial suit of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]) incorporates a jade *bi* disc into the top of the head covering (*Nanyue*, vol. 2, Pl. 202:1, right) and the body of the garment randomly incorporates fragments of comma-patterned jade, which must have been salvaged from broken objects (personal observation, July 2000). In these cases, although the jade must naturally be older than the object into which it has been incorporated, it need not be pre-Han. Similarly, the surface treatment of an almond-shaped pendant with interlocking spiral motif from the Qie Mo Shu tomb (Hanjiang [Yangzhou Municipality, Jiangsu]; Yangzhoushi, “Yangzhou Xi Han ‘Qie Mo Shu,’” *WW* 1980.8, 4, fig. 7:9) corresponds to décors from the Early Springs and Autumns period (Zhongguo yuqi quanji bianji weiyuanhui, eds., *Zhongguo yuqi quanji*, vol. 3: *Chunqiu Zhanguo. Zhongguo meishu fenlei quanji* [Shijiazhuang Municipality, Hebei: Hebei meishu, 1993], 2, Pl. 2; 3, Pl. 3; 5, Pl. 7, tomb of Meng, Lord of Huang; Baoxiangsi [Guangshan, Henan]). That the shape of this pendant cuts into these patterns suggests that the piece was reworked from an old jade. Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, “Ateliers, patronage et collections princières à l’époque Han,” *Comptes-rendus des séances de l’Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, vol. 134, no. 2 (1990), 529, notes reworked jades in the burial goods pits of the King of Qi (Wotuo [Zibo Municipality, Shandong]). I also suspect that some jades from the tomb of the King of Nanyue are pre-Han, but identification is difficult from published photographs and, of course, impossible from drawings.

142 *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 247, fig. 161.

143 Rawson, “Chu Influences,” *Arts Asiatiques* 44 (1989), 93.

144 Anon., *Zhongshan: tombes des rois oubliés* (Paris: Association française d'action artistique, 1984) [hereafter : *Zhongshan*], no. 7.

145 *Zhongshan*, no. 21.

146 Shandong Zhuchengxian, "Shandong Zhucheng Zangjiazhuang," WW 1987.12, 53, fig. 13:3; Fenshuiling M26:12, Shanxisheng, "Shanxi Changzhi Fenshuiling," KG 1964.3, 120, fig. 9:3.

147 Hubeisheng, "Yichang Qianping," KGXB 1976.2, 119, fig. 4.

148 Hubeisheng, *Jiangling Yutaishan*, Pl. 33.

149 Hubeisheng Yichang diqu bowuguan, Beijing daxue kaoguxi, *Dangyang Zhaojiahu Chumu* (Beijing: WW, 1992), 146, fig. 104:6.

150 Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 128, Pl. 146, H 37 cm, G 17 cm.

151 Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 101, Pl. 116, H 11.4 cm, M 10.5 cm.

152 Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 146, Pl. 169.

153 Hubeisheng, *Dangyang*, 138, fig. 98:1, 2, respectively.

154 Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, "Hubei Yunxian," KGXJK 6 (1989), 155, fig. 14:16.

155 *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 248, fig. 162:1.

156 *Shuihudi*, 44, fig. 53.

157 Hubeisheng, “Yichang Qianping,” *KGXB* 1976.2, 124, fig. 12.

158 Also related is the Lieshi Park (Changsha Municipality, Hunan) example, noted above: *Zhongguo meishu, Qingtongqi (xia)*, 128, Pl. 146.

159 Published in Watson, *Ancient Chinese Bronzes*, Pl. 73.

160 This characterization does not mean that Han renditions of this motif were necessarily simplified, nor that the version identified here as Warring States ceased to be produced in the Han.

161 *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 79, fig. 53:5.

162 *Zhongguo meishu, Qingtongqi (xia)*, 129, Pl. 147.

163 Luoyang bowuguan, “Luoyang Zhongzhoulu Zhanguo che ma keng,” *KG* 1974.3, 174, fig. 3, considered ca. 4 c. BC, belonging to the royal state of Zhou (northern Chinese in culture).

164 Shandong Zhuchengxian, “Shandong Zhucheng Zangjiazhuang,” *WW* 1987.12, 55, fig. 21:2.

165 Nanjing, “Jiangsu Lianshui Sanlidun,” *KG* 1973.2, 86, fig. 8; cf. *Zhongguo guqian pu* (Beijing: *WW*, 1989), 91–100.

166 Nanjing, “Jiangsu Lianshui Sanlidun,” *KG* 1973.2, 82, fig. 3:2.

167 Zhongguo yuqi quanji bianji weiyuanhui, eds., *Zhongguo yuqi quanji*, vol. 3: *Chunqiu Zhanguo*, 109, Pl. 170 (tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng, Leigudun [Suizhou Municipality, Hubei]) and (shorter), 126, Pl. 191 (Liuchengqiao [Changsha Municipality, Hunan]M1).

168 Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 117, Pl. 135.

169 For the deer, see Sanlidun (Lianshui, Jiangsu), Nanjing, “Jiangsu Lianshui Sanlidun,” *KG* 1973.2, Pl. 11:1. Cf. the lacquer sculptures of deer from Chu, e.g., Hubeisheng, *Zeng hou Yi mu*, vol. 2, Pl. 142 (E-113).

170 Nanjing, “Jiangsu Lianshui Sanlidun,” *KG* 1973.2, 82, fig. 3:1.

171 Including Zhongshan (*Zhongshan*, no. 13, tripod); Yan examples in bronze (Beijingshi, *Beijing kaogu sishinian*, Pl. 17:2, Zhongzhaofu, Tongxian, Beijing Municipality) and ceramic (Beijingshi, *Beijing kaogu sishinian*, 55, fig. 28:1, Huairu, Beijing Municipality). Less often, perhaps under northern influence, this practice appears in Chu-related contexts, as Hubeisheng, *Zeng hou Yi mu*, vol. 2, Pl. 52:2, *ding* C-101 with standing oxen. The décor of this *ding* evidences northern influence in the use of elongated animal forms.

172 Bernhard Karlgren, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Bronzes in the Alfred F. Pillsbury Collection* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1952), 130, no. 47; Pl. 66.

173 Karlgren, *Pillsbury Collection*, 133, no. 48; Pl. 68.

174 Which Thomas Lawton dates to the first half of the Warring States in Thomas Lawton, *Chinese Art of the Warring States Period: Change and Continuity, 480–222 BC* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1982), 83, no. 38.

175 Kong Xiangxing, *Zhongguo tongjing*, 154.

176 *Zhongguo meishu*, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 125, Pl. 143, illustrating the Sanlidun *hu* dates this material to Middle-Late Warring States. Middle Warring States seems to me a reasonable choice given Chu parallels such as *Zhongguo meishu*, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 118, Pl. 136, the Wangshan (Jiangling, Hubei) silver - and - gold inlaid *zun*. The Chu versions paralleling Jincun work use a décor composed of irregular curves producing a series of mirror images. Overall, the effect is less predictable than northern work, less regular in the individual elements but not in the design as a whole. Despite these differences, visually if not verbally distinct, the same date may be applied to both northern and southern products of this type. Jenny F. So, *Eastern Zhou Ritual Bronzes from the Arthur M. Sackler Collections* (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Foundation, 1995), 267, dates both the Pillsbury and the Sanlidun *ding* to the 3rd c. BC.

177 Nanjing, “Jiangsu Lianshui Sanlidun,” *KG* 1973.2, Pl. 9:1; *Zhongguo meishu*, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 125, Pl. 143.

178 *Zhongguo meishu*, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 9, Pl. 11; 11, Pl. 13, respectively. This is true as well of Gaozhuang (Fengxi, Shaanxi) M3:2 in ceramic, whose base is not modeled in the form of an animal, but which bears attached to the ring-form handles, themselves perpendicular to the body, large plaques suggestive of the Chu antlered heads (Wu Zhenfeng, Gao Zhiru, “Shaanxi Fengxi Gaozhuang Qin mudi fajue jianbao,” *KGYYW* 1981.1, Pl. 7:5, Early Warring States).

179 *Zhongshan*, no. 24, a bronze basin on openwork pedestal, with an eagle of this type on a perch in the center of the basin.

180 *Zhongzhoulu*, 65, fig. 37.

181 But the ring foot also occurs in Jin work such as *hu* from Liyu, Hunyuan, Shanxi (Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi [xia]*, Pl. 56) and Shangma (Houma Municipality, Shanxi; Shanxisheng, *Shangma mudi*, 59, fig. 45:1, 2, M15:7, M5218:1).

182 Henansheng, *Xichuan Xiasi*, 76, fig. 65, M1:48 (*jian*).

183 For Qin: e.g., Xicun (Fengxi, Shaanxi) 80M118:38, 80M118:47, 80M162:04, the last of gold, in Yongcheng kaogudui, Li Zizhi, Shang Zhiru, “Shaanxi Fengxi Xicun Zhanguo Qin mu fajue jianbao,” *KGYWW* 1986.1, 21, fig. 15:3–5, not dated in this report, but presumably contemporaneous with King Cuo of Zhongshan (d. 309 BC). For Zhongshan; *Zhongshan*, no. 28, of silver and bronze, from the tomb of King Cuo. These heads are stylized nearly beyond the point of recognition as animals. Largely square overall, the face is formed by two circular eyes, loosely spiraling ears and jowls. Animal heads of this type, but more abstracted, also occur (seemingly more rarely) in Chu, also on appliqué ornaments. See Hubeisheng, *Jiangling Wangshan*, 141, fig. 95:8 (Wangshan WM2:T55-1), dated to this same time.

184 Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 117, Pl. 135.

185 *Zhongshan*, no. 25 (tubular bronze vessel); Hubeisheng, *Zeng hou Yi mu*, vol. 2, Col. Pl. 9:3 (C-139 *jian*); Col. Pl. 9:2 (C-132, 133, 135, double set of *hu* on a stand).

186 Although the eagle appears also, rarely, in Chu, for instance as a stand for two goblets in Baoshan M2:189 (lacquer): Hubeisheng, *Baoshan Chumu*, vol. 1, 138–41, fig. 85A–D. The same bird type is depicted more frequently in the north and may therefore be interpreted as constituting northern Chinese influence.

187 Anhuisheng, “Wuhushi Hejiayuan,” *KGXB* 1983.3, 387, fig. 4:2 (height 22.5 cm, mouth 9.3 cm, girth 18.2 cm).

188 E.g., *Zhongguo meishu, Qingtongqi (xia)*, 107, Pl. 123, originally inlaid, from Taerpo (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi), Middle–Late Warring States; *Zhongshan*, no. 4, tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan, d. 309 BC; Miyang, Henan M3:13, Zhumadian diqu, “Henan Miyang,” *WW* 1980.9, 23, fig. 18 (the latest inscribed date on an object from this tomb is 210 BC).

189 Hebeisheng, “Hebei Handan Baijiacun,” *KG* 1962.12, 623, fig. 13.

190 Hubeisheng, *Zeng hou Yi mu*, vol. 2, Pl. 67:4. For an excellent photograph of the detail not visible on the excavation report photograph, see Anon., *War and Ritual: Treasures from the Warring State, 475-221 BC* (Singapore: Empress Place Museum, 1993), 73.

191 Cf. Psarras, “Shared Imagery,” *Early China* 23–4 (1998–99), 1–88.

192 Anhuisheng, “Wuhushi Hejiayuan,” *KGXB* 1983.3, 387, fig. 4:1 (height 23.4 cm, mouth 8.4 cm, girth 16.6 cm).

193 A similar shape is attested at Jinjiashan (Dangyang, Hubei) JM135:7 (Hubeisheng, *Dangyang Zhaojiahu Chumu*, 206, fig. 166:8), close to JM59:3 (Hubeisheng, *Dangyang*, 193, fig. 152:3), later Middle Warring States, but does not seem characteristic of Chu.

194 Zhumadian, “Henan Miyang,” *WW* 1980.9, Pl. 3:4; also a late burial example in Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M25:22, Hubeisheng, “1978-nian Yunmeng,” *KGXB* 1986.4, 500, fig. 24:6 (buried ca. 173 BC).

195 This earlier horizon is reinforced by the occurrence of the form in Qiujiahe (Changle, Shandong) M128:16, dating to the Late Warring

States: Shandongsheng Weifangshi bowuguan, Shandongsheng Changlexian wenguansuo, “Shandong Changle Qiujahe Dong Zhou mu,” *KGXB* 1990.1, Pl. 12:1.

196 Shanxisheng, *Shangma mudi*, 75, fig. 62.

197 E.g., Kong Xiangxing, *Zhongguo tongjing*, 38–71, background pattern.

198 Luoyangshi wenwu gongzuodui, “Luoyangshi Zhongzhouzhonglu Dong Zhou mu,” *WW* 1995.8, 14, fig. 15:8, 9.

199 Luoyangshi, “Luoyangshi Zhongzhouzhonglu,” *WW* 1995.8, 14, fig. 15:5.

200 Anhuisheng, “Wuhushi Hejiayuan,” *KGXB* 1983.3, 385, fig. 2:2.

201 Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 33, Pl. 40.

202 Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 35, Pl. 43.

203 Guo Baojun, *Shanbiaozhen yu Liulige*, Pl. 22:1.

204 Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo, *Shangcunling Guoguo mudi* (Beijing: Kexue, 1959), Pl. 34:2 (M1052:161), Pl. 51:2 (M1706:108), Pl. 56:5 (M1810:23), Pl. 60:4 (M1820:19). Also a Jingshan (Hubei) example of the same type in Anon., *Zhonghua renmin gonghe guo chutu wenwu xuan* (Beijing: WW, 1976), Pl. 26.

206 Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 11, Pl. 13. See also Liulige (Huixian, Henan) M1:25, late-4th to early-3rd c. BC, originally inlaid bronze: Guo Baojun, *Liulige yu Shanbiaozhen*, Pl. 89. Note that objects with a décor shared by Liulige M1 pieces (e.g., M1:51 *lian*, Guo Baojun, *Shanbiaozhen yu Liulige*, 63, fig. 29) of hunting and ritual scenes appear dated to the Middle Warring States at Gaozhuang (Huaiyin Municipality, Jiangsu) in Huaiyinshi bowuguan, “Huaiyin Gaozhuang Zhanguo mu,” *KGXB* 1988.2, multiple examples, e.g., fig. 25 M1:0153, fragments. Such décor is customarily dated to the Early Warring States, as in Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 81, Pl. 94, copper inlaid *hu* (Baihuatan, Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan). In addition, décor shared between Liulige M59:17, a Jin-type *ding* (Guo Baojun, *Shanbiaozhen yu Liulige*, Pl. 92), given the same late 4th to early 3rd c. BC date in the excavation report, is now datable to the Early Warring States through comparisons with (*inter alia*) Shangma (Houma Municipality, Shanxi) M4006:5 (Shanxisheng, *Shangma mudi*, 37, fig. 23:2), dated very late in the Springs–Autumns period. This era is often interpreted as Late Springs–Autumns/Early Warring States, and assigned to the early 5th c. BC. The Liulige M1:25 *fanghu* would therefore date to ca. the Early Warring States. Middle Warring States examples include that of King Cuo of Zhongshan (Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi [xia]*, 84, Pl. 98) as well as a copper-inlaid example (*Zhongshan*, no. 5); a turquoise-inlaid example of Middle–Late Warring States date from Houchuan (Shaanxian, Henan: Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi [xia]*, 110, Pl. 127); and a piece in the Museum of Eastern Antiquities (now the Ashmolean), Oxford University, published by William Watson, *Ancient Chinese Bronzes*, Pl. 58, as Early–Middle Warring States. This date is confirmed by the piece's curl and dot décor common in Chu at that time. These arguments for an Early Warring States date for Gaozhuang (Huaiyin Municipality, Jiangsu) M1 are reinforced by the *pan* M1:48 from that site (Huaiyinshi, “Huaiyin Gaozhuang,” *KGXB* 1988.2, 199, fig. 12:2), with a décor of large entwined serpents forming a circle, associated with the hunting and ritual décor noted previously. This is identical to the décor on the *jian* M8101:4 from the Zhongshan site of Sanji (Pingshan, Hebei), whose report recognizes it as Early Warring States: Hebeisheng wenwu yanjiusuo, “Hebei Pingshan Sanji gucheng diaocha yu muzang fajue,” *KGXJK* 5 (1987), 180, fig. 31.

207 Henansheng wenwu yanjiusuo, *Xinyang Chumu* (Beijing: WW, 1986), Col. Pl. 13:2 (M2:320, lacquered wood); Pl. 33:2 (M1:806, earthenware), Pl. 93:4 (M2:314, lacquered wood), Pl. 98:9 (M2:197, earthenware).

208 This form additionally recalls in less baroque form the Late Shang-era square *zun* (wine vessel) from Changning (Hunan) in Anon., *Zhonghua renmin gonghe guo*, Pl. 42.

209 Henansheng wenwu yanjiusuo, *Huaiyangxian wenwu baoguan*suo, “Henan Huaiyang Pinglangtai shiliuhao Chumu fajue jianbao,” WW 1984.10, 22, fig. 9 (M16:52, in earthenware).

210 Watson, *Ancient Chinese Bronzes*, Pl. 58.

211 The King of Qi burial goods pits K1:62 *pan* is included here because of its intricate décor. Qin bronzes are otherwise not considered here.

212 Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 103, Pl. 119.

213 Rawson, “Chu Influence,” *Arts Asiatiques* 44 (1989), 84. The preponderance in [Table 4.8](#) of preimperial bronzes ascribable to Chu may be misleading, skewed particularly by the large number of such pieces from the tomb of the King of Nanyue (Xianggangshan [Guangzhou Municipality, Guangdong]). Given the small size of the sample across all dated sites, I would not read the data as indicating that the Han were more influenced by Chu than by Qin.

214 Anhuisheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, *Anhuisheng bowuguan, Shouxian Caihou mu chutu wenwu* (Beijing: Kexue, 1956), Pl. 48–51.

215 Shanxisheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, Shanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo, "Shanxi Changzhi Fenshuiling Zhanguo mu dierci fajue," KG 1964.3, 123, fig. 12:1, 7.

216 Henansheng, *Xichuan Xiasi*, 113, fig. 92.

217 Hubeisheng, *Zeng hou Yi mu*, vol. 2, Pl. 68:4.

218 Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 120, Pl. 138, Qiujiahuayuan (Shouxian, Anhui), L 10 cm, H 5 cm.

219 Li Xueqin, *Eastern Zhou and Qin*, 157, 184–5.

220 Henansheng, *Xichuan Xiasi*, 215, fig. 158; also 137, fig. 114:3 (M2:50, *jian*); also 110, fig. 89:1, 2 (M2:46); 111, fig. 90 (M2:56).

221 Hubeisheng, *Zeng hou Yi mu*, vol. 1, 180, fig. 83:1 (C-102).

222 For Jin examples: Fenshuiling (Changzhi, Shanxi) M20:1, Shanxisheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, Shanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo, "Shanxi Changzhi Fenshuiling Zhanguo mu dierci fajue," KG 1964.3, 123, fig. 12:8.

223 George W. Weber, Jr., *The Ornaments of Late Chou Bronzes* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1973), 441–80.

224 Anhuisheng, *Shouxian Caihou*, 20.

225 The scroll pattern reinforced by bird heads is common in the Altai during the Han period, where its presence is likely to have contributed to or reinforced the development of the similar décor in China.

226 Hubeisheng, *Jiangling Wangshan*, 141, fig. 95:1.

227 Hubeisheng, *Jiangling Wangshan*, Col. Pl. 4.

228 Hubeisheng Jingsha tielu kaogudui, *Baoshan Chumu* (Beijing: WW, 1991), vol. 1, 195, fig. 125:2.

229 Hubeisheng, *Baoshan*, vol. 1, 191, fig. 120.

230 That Baoshan M2:167, a *zun*, contained chicken bones indicates that this vessel form was used for purposes other than that of heating alcohol, its presumed primary function, sometimes indicated by inscription as at Youyu (Shanxi), Guo Yong, “Shanxisheng Youyuxian,” WW 1963.11, 6.

231 E.g., *Zhongguo meishu*, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 104, Pl. 120, mirror from Jincun (Luoyang Municipality, Henan).

232 The “Yuefu” (樂府) inscribed *niuzhong* bell, bronze, plated in gold and silver, from near the tomb of Qin Shihuangdi: Wang Xueli, *Qin Shihuang ling yanjiu* (Shanghai: Renmin, 1994), 229, fig. 138.

233 A less satisfactory bronze comparison from a Late Warring States Chu site is provided by a mirror from Taohuagang (Yiyang, Hunan) M8:12 (Hunansheng Yiyang diqu wenwu gongzuodui, “Yiyang Chumu,” *KGXB* 1985.1, 107, fig. 24:1). For multiple examples of mirrors from Hunan with similar décor, see Kong Xiangxing, *Zhongguo*

tongjing, 86, 103–8, 114, 117; p. 112, of this same type, is from Huangjiagou (Xianyang Municipality, Shaanxi); p. 110, from Yangzhou (Jiangsu). The pattern is therefore not limited to Chu and it continues to appear during the Han in both north and south: e.g., p. 122 (Shandong), pp. 125–6 (Hunan).

234 Hubeisheng, *Baoshan*, vol. 2, Col. Pl. 7:2, 3.

235 Shanxisheng, “Shanxi Changzhi Fenshuiling,” *KG* 1964.3, 115, fig. 5.

236 Zuo Decheng, *Yunmeng Shuihudi chutu Qin Han qiqi tulu* (NP: Hubei meishu, 1986).

237 *Mancheng*, vol. 2, Col. Pl. 6–7.

238 See Li Xueqin, *Eastern Zhou and Qin*, 454–5, fig. 206. Note that a “toad script” paralleling this is attributed to contemporaneous Jin.

239 This is also true for a different form of elaborate script, likewise called “bird script,” found on the jade and carnelian seals of Cao Xuan (曹X [*character unreproducible*]; undatable): Changshashi, “Changsha Xianjiahu,” *WW* 1979.3, 10, fig. 17. Pronunciation of X provided by Xiangbizui (Changsha Municipality, Hunan), *KGXB* 1981.1, 130.

240 Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 136, Pl. 156 (no provenance).

241 Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 133, Pl. 153.

242 *Inter alia*, the ceramic example from the state of Yan site, Huairou (Beijing): Beijingshi wenwu yanjiusuo, ed., *Beijing kaogu sishi nian* (Beijing: Yanshan, 1990), 56, fig. 30:3. See also the Fenshuiling (Changzhi, Shanxi) M49:6 bronze garment hook in Shanxisheng, “Shanxi Changzhi Fenshuiling,” *KG* 1964.3, Pl. 5:11 (no date); and in copper-inlaid bronze, Jiagezhuang (Tongshan Municipality, Hebei) M18:8, *KGXB* 1953.1–2, 87, fig. 13.

243 Hubeisheng, *Zeng hou Yi mu*, vol. 2, Pl. 36:2 detail of shanked *yongzhong* (甬鐘) bell C-65; Pl. 34:1 detail of the base of the suspension attachment for the *bo* bell C-65; and details of numerous vessel types including: vol. 1, 182, fig. 85:2; vol. 1, 183, fig. 86:1–6.

244 See examples from the tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan (Sanji [Pingshan, Hebei] M1): *Zhongshan*, nos. 78–88; state of Yan examples again from Huairou (Beijing): Beijingshi, *Beijing kaogu sishinian*, 56, fig. 30:1–3, 6–7 (with animals); 56, fig. 30:4–5 (without animals).

245 As at Yunxian (Hubei), Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, “Hubei Yunxian,” *KGXJK* 6 (1989), 149, fig. 10.

246 See Sophia-Karin Psarras, “Shared Imagery: Eastern Zhou Decors and Iconographies,” *Early China* 23–4 (1998–99), 1–88. Cf. Esther Jacobson, “The Stag with Bird-headed Antler Tines,” *BMFEA* 56 (1984), 113–41, Pl. 1–39; for comments on Jacobson's article, see also Psarras, “Han and Xiongnu,” Part I: *Monumenta Serica* 51 (2003), 55–236; Part II: *Monumenta Serica* 52 (2004), 37–93

247 Hubeisheng, *Zeng hou Yi mu*, vol. 2, Pl. 71:2, detail; also vol. 2, Pl. 64:3, detail (*hu* C-132, 135); Pl. 40, 41:3–4 (base of the lithophone rack C-53).

248 Henansheng, *Xichuan Xiasi*, Col. Pl. 4 (sides and base).

249 Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 11, Pl. 13 (Middle Springs–Autumns).

250 *Mawangdui* (A), vol. 2, Pl. 38–57, 27–31.

251 See also Zhang Zhenglang, *Mawangdui Hanmu wenwu*, Pl. 62.

252 An unlined garment embroidered with tigers, birds, and dragons, combined with S-form vines accentuated by thistles from the Chu tomb of Mashan (Jiangling, Hubei) M1 at first appears to provide a more complete antecedent, albeit one executed with heavier lines (Li Xueqin, *Eastern Zhou and Qin*, 366, fig. 162). When the entire cloth is seen, rather than only a detail, the comparison becomes inadequate, although still related. The “vines” are regularly placed to form intersecting diagonals with the animals arranged in heraldic pairs alternately within and without the rhomboids thus formed (Hubeisheng, *Jiangling Mashan*, Col. Pl. 28:3, 4 [N9]).

253 *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 61, fig. 41:1 (M1:4284); vol. 1, 61, fig. 42:2–3 (M1:4286); vol. 2, Col. Pl. 8 (M1:4284, M1:4286); Pl. 28:1 (M1:4282, 4283, 4284, 4285, 4286), 2 (M1:4286), 3 (M1:4284).

254 *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 79, fig. 52:1.

255 *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 79, fig. 52:2.

256 *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 282, fig. 195; vol. 2, Col. Pl. 27:1.

257 Shandong Zhuchengxian, “Shandong Zhucheng Zangjiazhuang yu Gebukoucun Zhanguo mu,” *WW* 1987.12, 47, fig. 1 (*bianzhong*); 50, fig. 8 (incense burner).

258 This date coincides with William Watson's ca. 4–3 c. BC dating of a similar bowl in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (Stockholm) whose décor, difficult to read in Watson's photograph, is not identical to either pattern on the Mancheng bowls. William Watson, *Ancient Chinese Bronzes* (London: Faber and Faber, 1962), Pl. 74a.

259 The Mancheng M1:4286 series has a direct Qin prototype in the Yuefuniuzhong bell (Lintong, Shaanxi), illustrated *inter alia* in Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music*, 184, fig. 91.

260 Huaiyinshi, “Huaiyin Gaozhuang,” *KGXB* 1988.2, 219, fig. 37, 38, etc.

261 Shanxisheng, “Shanxi Houma Shangma,” *WW* 1989.6, 9, fig. 11:1 (M4006:5).

262 *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 187, fig. 128:11–13.

263 Hubeisheng, *Baoshan*, vol. 1, 113, fig. 70. A *nao* bell has a long shank used not for suspension but as a stand; the bell mouth therefore opens upward.

264 Houmashi kaogu fajue weiyuanhui, “Shanxi Houma Dong Zhou yizhi faxian dapi taofan,” *WW* 1960.8/9, 8, fig. 6.

265 *Nanyue*, vol. 1, 283, fig. 196; vol. 2, Col. Pl. 27:2.

266 Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 19, Pl. 24 (Middle Springs–Autumns, Yaojiagang [Fengxiang, Shaanxi]); 23, Pl. 28 (Late Springs–Autumns, Liulige [Huixian, Henan]); 24, Pl. 29 (Late Springs–

Autumns, Hougudui [Gushi, Henan], associated with Chu).

267 Zhongguo meishu, *Qingtongqi (xia)*, 33, Pl. 40 (Late Springs–Autumns, Yancheng [Wujin, Zhejiang]); 35, Pl. 43 (Late Springs–Autumns, Niuxingshan [Xiangxiang, Hunan]).

268 Shanxisheng, *Shangma*, 75, fig. 62, top of a bronze *bo* bell.

269 Hebeisheng, “Hebei Handan Baijiacun,” *KG* 1962.12, 622, fig. 12.

270 Hebeisheng, “Hebei Handan Baijiacun,” *KG* 1962.12, 622, fig. 10. See also a series of *ding* from Shangma (Houma Municipality, Shanxi), e.g.: M15:16, M4090:9, M4090:10, M5218:5 in Shanxisheng, *Shangma*, 44, f. 31; 45, fig. 32:1; 45, fig. 32:2; 45, fig. 32:3, respectively.

Chapter 5

1 *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 58; 59, fig. 40:4.

2 *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 49.

3 Songzui (Fangxian, Hubei), Hubeisheng, “1986-1987-nian Hubei Fangxian Songzui,” *KGXB* 1992.2, 236, f. 12:8 (earthenware); H 11.2 cm, M 10.8 cm.

4 Shuihudi (Yunmeng, Hubei) M24:3, Hubeisheng, “1978-nian Yunmeng,” *KGXB* 1986.4, 509, f. 33:7 (earthenware); H 17 cm, M 13.5 cm.

5 Yunxian (Hubei) M304:1, *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan*, “Hubei Yunxian,” *KGXJK* 6 (1989), 168, f. 25:4 (iron); H 15 cm, M 12.8 cm.

6 Medley, *The Chinese Potter*, 52; White, Otsuka, *Pathways to the Afterlife*, 75, no. 31, entry by Julia White.

7 Most of the few preimperial bronzes found in dated Han tombs are of Warring States production. However, the undatable, badly damaged tomb of Sandiancun (Xi'an Eastern Suburbs, Shaanxi) yielded four inscribed bronze *xu* (for food) dating to the Late Western Zhou, as well as one cowrie coin dating to the Late Shang or Zhou (Zhu Jieyuan, Li Yuzheng, “Xi'an dongjiao Sandiancun,” *KGYWW* 1983.2, 22–5, Pl. 5–7).

Chronological Listing of Dated Han Sites

1 *SJ*, 95:2667, [footnote 2](#). Neither the *Shiji* nor the *Hanshu* biographies of Xiahou Ying, nor the note of his death in the *Shiji* chronological tables give any indication of where he was buried. See *SJ* 22:1127 (tables), 95:2663–7 (biography); *HS*, 41:2076–9 (biography).

2 For burials attributed to the kings of Liang and their families, see Henansheng, *Mangdangshan*. Objective evidence linking burials in the Mangdangshan area (Shangqiu and Yongcheng Municipalities, Henan), specifically Bao'anshan M1 and M2, with King Xiao and his consort is limited to earthenware roof tiles reading “Xiao [burial] park (*Xiao yuan*) and/or “[Burial] park of Xiao of Liang (*Liang Xiao yuan*)” found inside the remains of a memorial hall in the area of the tombs (Henansheng, *Mangdangshan*, 14 lists only the former, 36 lists both), together with a seal reading “[Burial] park of the Queen of Liang (*Liang hou yuan*)” (BM2K1:1736; Henansheng, *Mangdangshan*, 66, f. 30:6) and an earthenware roof tile with the legend “Xiao [burial] park (*Xiao yuan*)” (BM2K1:1755; Henansheng, *Mangdangshan*, 68, f. 31:1). Both the seal and the last-mentioned roof tile were found in a burial goods pit Bao'anshan M2K1 dug into the top of Bao'anshan M2. At

least the roof tiles indeed appear reasonably connected with King Xiao, but I do not see the presence in the burial goods pit of either the roof tile or the seal as linked to Bao'anshan M2. The latter is a cave tomb with internal structures finished in stone blocks; it comprises more than thirty rooms. In contrast, Bao'anshan M3, slightly north of M2, is a pit grave. It is difficult for me to imagine any need for an external burial goods pit for M2; why could the burial goods pit not be part of M3 or similar structures? The excavators believe that the greater proximity of the memorial hall to M1 reinforces attribution of M1 to King Xiao ([ibid.](#), 36; for description of hall, 13). Unfortunately, vessels from the memorial hall site and from M2 are not illustrated in the *Mangdangshan* publication, although they are referred to ([ibid.](#), 14, 42). They may be found in the earlier and overlapping publication, which I have not been able to consult, *Henansheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, Yongcheng Xi Han Liangguo wangling yu qinyuan* (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji, 1996). Finally, *Mangdangshan* notes the discovery of additional tombs (M4, 5) within the Bao'anshan site or funerary park which, as of that volume's publication date, had not yet been excavated (*Mangdangshan*, 5). In any case, I see no grounds at this time for attributing any specific tomb on this site to King Xiao.

3 *Mancheng*, vol. 1, 337. See *HS*, 19A:726; Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*, 18. The title also occurs at Shizishan (Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu; *WW* 1998.8, 46), again without the term *ling* (Prefect).

4 Note that *Shaogou*, 216–21 uses a different approach to classification than that cited here, creating additional subdivisions of the formal types outlined on *Shaogou*, 224–6, on the basis of casting marks on the coin: the presence of a ridge or partial ridge around the central square; the presence or absence of a ridge around the outer, circular edge; crescent-shape marks in addition to the *wushu* characters. These font characteristics occur within the calligraphic specifications given in *Shaogou*, 224–6. In terms of chronology, the calligraphic specifications thus predominate.

5 My thanks to Albert E. Dien for his help understanding the date given in this document, as well as for comments on related cognomen (*zi*).

6 Geng Jianjun mistakenly attributes Xiao and Guyang to Pengcheng (Shizishan, *KG* 2000.9, 80–1), as the geographically-reduced Chu was known when the kingdom had temporarily been disbanded during the years 69–50 BC (*HS*, 36:1925; 14:422). Geng's error seems attributable to an error in the historical atlas he consulted. The atlas, which Geng identifies only as *Zhongguo lishi dituji*, is followed also by Wang Kai (Shizishan, *WW* 1998.8, 47). I do not find these errors in Tan Qixiang, *Zhongguo lishi dituji*, vol. 2: *Qin, Xi Han, Dong Han shiqi* (Shanghai: Ditu chubanshe, 1982), 19–20, 44–5, nor in the *HS* treatise on geography, 28A:1572, 1588, 1589–90, 1638.

7 The title was previously Prefect Grand Supplicator (*taizhu ling*), thus the omission of *ling* following *cisi* does not appear to be significant. The title was changed again, in 104 BC, to Prefect Ancestral Temple Invocator (*miaosi ling*). See *HS*, 19A:726; Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*, 18. The title of Grand Usher (*daxing* [大行]) occurs in Shizishan seal data as well (*WW* 1998.8, 46). From 144 to 104 BC, this title was replaced by Prefect Usher (*xingren ling* [行人令]), becoming Prefect Grand Usher (*daxing ling* [大行令]) in 104 BC (see *HS*, 19A:730; Bielenstein, *op. cit.*, 40). Given the absence of *ling* in the indisputable *cisi* [ling] title, it is conceivable that the *daxing* of the Shizishan seals is in fact a *daxing ling*, dating to no earlier than 104 BC. Note that *cisi* without *ling* also occurs in the seal imprint *Zhongshan cisi* in Mancheng (Hebei) M2.

8 To summarize the attributions and dates proposed by various articles on Shizishan: the excavation report in *WW* 1998.8, 31 and Wei Zheng, Li Huren, Zou Houben, *KG* 1998.8 attribute the tomb to either King Ying(ke) (d. 175 BC) or King Wu (d. 154 BC); Liang Yong, *WW* 2001.10 and Geng Jianjun, *KG* 2000.9 propose an attribution to King Ying(ke); Wei Zheng, *KG* 2002.9 favors King Wu, but acknowledges the possibility of attribution to King Ying(ke); Beijing keji daxue, *WW* 1999.7 and Zhao Ping'an, *WW* 1999.1 favor King Wu; Huang Shengzhang, *KG* 2000.9, proposes attribution to King An (d. 129 BC). Both the excavation report and Huang Shengzhang maintain that the absence of *wushu* coins in the tomb is significant, although the tomb was repeatedly robbed in antiquity.

9 The Shizishan excavation report, WW 1998.8, 31, attributes the undatable Dongdongshan ([formerly Shiqiao,] Xuzhou Municipality, Jiangsu) M1 to Liu Yanshou. There is, however, no basis in published material (i.e., in the initial excavation report, WW 1984.11) for any attribution.

10 Excavators associate all the site's *wushu* coins with ca. 118 BC production. To my eye, however, the coins from M1 appear to include post-118 BC issues: *Dabaotai*, 62, f. 62:2, 4 correspond to Zhaodi castings, ca. 87–74 BC; 62, f. 62:6–10 look to me like Xuandi ca. 73 BC types. M2 coins are said to be of the same kind as those of M1 (*Dabaotai*, 72); photographs provided are not legible (*Dabaotai*, Pl. 75).

11 The inscription on the lacquer box M1:281 reads: “A deserving official, *bingchen* day of the fifth month of year 24, Assistant Superintendent Gao ... [illegible characters] (*Yiguan niansi nian wu yue bingchen cheng Gao*),” *Dabaotai*, 55. The *Dabaotai* excavation report (*Dabaotai*, 95–6) relates this date to year 24 of either Liu Dan (i.e., 94 BC) or Liu Jian (i.e., 50 BC), the only two local kings whose reign lasted at least twenty-four years and whose death occurred after ca. 118 BC. Both of these years include a *bingchen* (丙辰) day in the fifth month. The report's English language abstract translates *bingchen* as relating to the year, not the day, and therefore provides a date of 65 BC (*Dabaotai*, 156). This interpretation appears to be an error, since it does not take into account the term “year 24.” Generally, we would expect the Celestial Stems term to reflect the day when the term appears after the year and the month. By way of comparison, in parallel inscriptions providing a numeric date (year, month, day) followed by a Celestial Stems date, the Celestial Stems term applies to the day, rather than the year. For instance: *Yonghe er nian er yue shi san ri xinmao* (永和二年二月十三日辛卯) from the M1 inscription at Tianzigang (Anji, Zhejiang) is “the thirteenth day of the second month of year 2 of the *yonghe* era, a *xinmao* day” (i.e. March 22, AD 137; WW 1995.6, 28).

12 The kingdom of Jibei was disbanded after the death of Liu Kuan (*HS*, 14:403–4), but recreated in AD 90 (*HHS*, 4:170). Later Han kings of Jibei are documented as dying in AD 120 (*HHS*, 5:231), AD 135

(HHS, 6:265), AD 138 (HHS, 6:268), AD 145 (HHS, 6:277), and AD 162 (HHS, 7:309).

13 The granulated goldwork corresponds to that on a pendant in the shape of a stove, found in the ruins of Chang'an (Xi'an Municipality, Shaanxi): Carol Michaelson, *Gilded Dragons: Buried Treasure from China's Golden Age* (London: The British Museum Press, 1999), 57, no. 28.

14 A similar inscription, also from a lamp, is noted in Guoli zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yansiusuo, Rong Geng, ed., *Jinwen xubian*. Monograph 8 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu, 1935) vol. 2, Inscriptions, 13 verso. It reads: “Shanyang Palace, [two] foot [feet] lamp, made in *jianwu* [twenty-eighth] year, [number twenty-one of] series” (*Shanyang di [er] chi deng jianwu [nianba] nian zao bi [nianyi]* [山陽邸 (二) 尺鐙建武 (廿八) 年造比 (廿一)]).

15 HHS, 46:1543–5. *Shaogou*, 239, mistakenly cites HHS, *juan* 76.

16 Zhao Chao, “Shandong Jiexiang chutu Dong Han yongshou sannian huaxiang shi tiji bukao,” *WW* 1990.9, 88–90, especially 88–9, which considers the name indicative of a Parthian origin. For discussion of Songshan M3 and the reuse here of the Han stones (covered with a layer of lime), see Zhu Xilu, *Jiexiang*, 117; 56–60, f. 70–7 (M3 stones pictured).

17 See HHS, 25:888 (which also mentions his son); 6:257, note 1 (for place of origin). A son, Kuan, died in AD 185 at age 66.

18 During the Later Han, the “Three Excellencies” were the positions of the Grand Commandant (*taiwei*; see HHS, *zhi* 24:3557), the Minister over the Masses (*situ* [司徒]; see HHS, *zhi* 24:3560), and the Minister of Works (*sikong* [司空]; see HHS, *zhi* 24:3561).

19 Jiangsusheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, eds., *Jiangsu Xuzhou Han huaxiang shi* (Beijing: Kexue, 1959), 7–8, Pl. 22–7 (f. 25–32). This tomb has a flat ceiling.

20 Anon., “Shandong Feicheng,” *WWCKZL* 1958.4, 34–6. A date of AD 83, which functions only as a *terminus post quem* for the tomb, derives from an inscribed stone with carved narrative décor placed in the ceiling to close the coffering: “Completed in the eighth month of the eighth year of the *jianchu* era; [his] filial son Zhang Wensi mourns his father and acts according to the rites; three thousand stones have been erected; constructed by Wang Ci [X] [X] [X]” (*jianchu banian bayue cheng; xiaozi Zhang Wensi ku fu er li; shi zhi sanqian; Wang Ci zuo [three characters illegible]* [建初八年八月成; 孝子張文思器父而禮; 石直三千; 王次作 (...)]). Although tomb ceilings were often decorated and could be inscribed, as at Anping (Hebei; *Anping*, 13, f. 26–8), this stone would be illegible in such a position. It must therefore have been reused, either from an earlier tomb or temple or, conceivably, as an unclaimed item from the producing workshop. An additional stone with closely related décor, which I would assume came from the same workshop, was placed in the wall of the tomb's front chamber. On both stones, the décor was framed by an abstract border which is interrupted on the lower edge of each side and missing across the lower edge of the carving, probably indicating resizing of the stones after carving. In itself, such resizing demonstrates that the stones were carved before being placed in the tomb, but need not indicate reuse of the stones. In comparison, a number of stones from the outer chambers of the tomb of (the consort of) Lord Feng (Tanghe [Nanyang Municipality, Henan]) are oddly sized, presumably to meet structural space requirements while preserving as much as possible of the images carved on these stones (*KGXB* 1980.2, 246, f. 10). At least part of one image (an elephant) was lost (*KGXB* 1980.2, 251, f. 21:1, right-hand side). Some objects were found when the tomb was originally discovered during an irrigation project, but were subsequently lost, making further dating impossible.

21 For the Jingyuan (Luoyang Municipality, Henan) unnumbered tomb, see Luoyangshi, *Luoyang Han mu bihua*, 111, f. 4; 113, f. 6 (reproduction); for the undatable Dahuting (Mixian, Henan), see Henansheng, *Mixian Dahuting*, Col. Pl. 6–10.

22 For oxen, see: Dongmenli (Liaoyang Old Municipality, Liaoning), *WW* 1985.6, 38, f. 44; Wang Deyuan tomb (Suide, Shaanxi), Shaanxisheng bowuguan, *Shaanbei*, 23, f. 12, lower frame; two undatable stones from Suide (Shaanxi) which appear to be a pair, Shaanxisheng bowuguan, *Shaanbei*, 109, f. 111–12. For fish and deer, see Anon., “Shandong Feicheng,” *WWCKZL* 1958.4, 35, f. 1, upper register, right-hand side.

23 Wu Hung, “Beyond the ‘Great Boundary’: Funerary Narrative in the Cangshan Tomb,” in *Boundaries in China*, ed. John Hay (London: Reaktion Books, 1994), 309, [footnote 14](#), notes that “excavators first dated the tomb to 424, but most scholars have rejected this dating,” as has Wu himself.

24 During the Later Han, the “Three Excellencies” were the positions of the Grand Commandant (*taiwei*; see *HHS*, *zhi* 24:3557), the Minister over the Masses (*situ*; see *HHS*, *zhi* 24:3560), and the Minister of Works (*sikong*; see *HHS*, *zhi* 24:3561).

25 The excavation report identifies the pronunciation of this character with the *chan* of Niu Gongchan (*WW* 1996.4, 26). I have been unable to verify pronunciation. The name on the seal would presumably be Niu's cognomen (*zi*).

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